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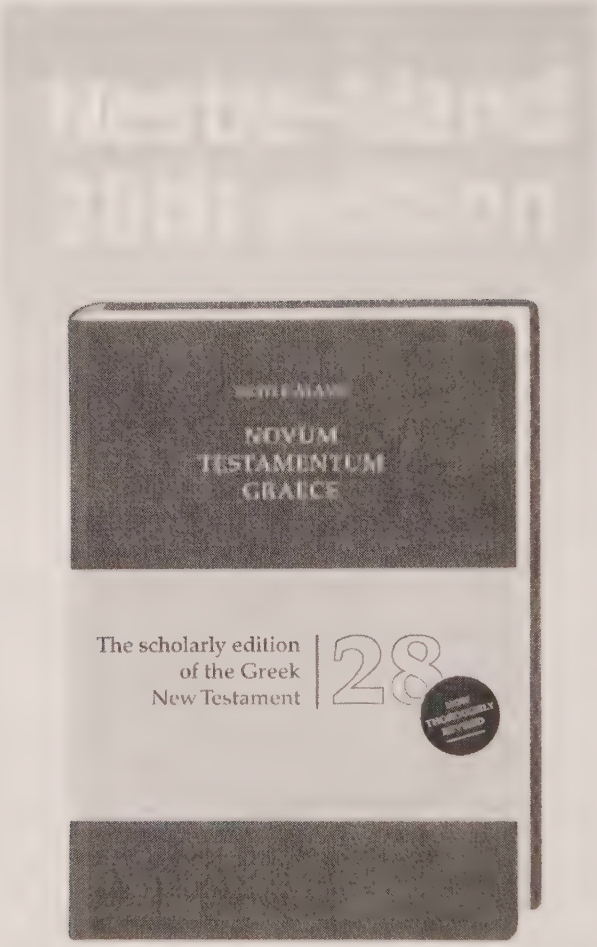

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An Examination of Ehrman's Case for ὀργισθείς in Mark 1:41

Peter J. Williams
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Abstract
Bart D. Ehrman has made one of the most detailed cases for the reading ὀργισθείς in Mark 1:41. This critical examination of his arguments and of the text seeks to demonstrate that his presentation, like that of other scholars, has not adequately explored ways by which an original σπλαγχνισθείς could be changed, largely by accident, into ὀργισθείς. It also highlights some of the methodological tensions in Ehrman's arguments for ὀργισθείς and argues that advocates of ὀργισθείς need to give a plausible explanation for the felicitous fit of σπλαγχνισθείς as both a contextually appropriate and graphically similar word.

Keywords
Ehrman; Mark 1:41; Textual Criticism

In recent years many scholars have been convinced that in Mark's account of the healing of the leper the reading ὀργισθείς is to be preferred over σπλαγχνισθείς (Mark 1:41). Thus, rather than being filled with compassion, as in the traditional reading, Jesus in fact grew angry before cleansing the leper. This reading appears in the main text of translations including the NEB,[1] REB, TNIV, and NIV (2010), and also meets the approval of many commentators including Taylor, Cranfield, Guelich, Hooker, Lamarche, and Marcus,[2] to name just a few.

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[1] I can only assume that ὀργισθείς lies behind the NEB's "In warm indignation..."

[2] Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1953) 187, declares himself "strongly in its favour." C.E.B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark: An Introduction and Commentary* (rev. ed.; Cambridge: CUP, 1972) 92. Robert A. Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26* (WBC 34A; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989) 71, 74. Morna D. Hooker, *The Gospel according to St Mark* (BNTC; London: A & C Black, 1991) 79, says that ὀργισθείς is "almost certainly the correct reading." Paul Lamarche, S.J., *Evangile de*

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The case for this reading has been made most strongly by Bart D. Ehrman, who has argued that the scribal change from ὀργισθείς to σπλαγχνισθείς dramatically alters one's understanding of Jesus in the whole book of Mark.[3] This example of a change has been one to which he has returned on many occasions and he has used it as a key example of "Orthodox Corruption."[4] His fullest and most sophisticated defence of the reading ὀργισθείς is to be found in his article "A Leper in the Hands of an Angry Jesus" and it is therefore with this article that I will principally interact.[5] Since Ehrman has made the most elaborate case for the reading ὀργισθείς engagement with his arguments can represent engagement with a number of other scholars who have preferred the reading ὀργισθείς, but have not explained at any length their reasons for doing so.

External Evidence

At one level the extent of scholarly support is rather surprising, given the relatively weak external attestation of ὀργισθείς. It is supported by the famous fifth century Greek-Latin bilingual manuscript D (Codex Bezae)

Marc (Etudes Bibliques NS 33; Paris: Gabalda, 1996) 90-91. Joel Marcus, *Mark 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2000) 206.

[3] Bart D. Ehrman, *Misquoting Jesus: The Story behind Who Changed the Bible and Why* (New York: Harper SanFrancisco, 2005) 133-139.

[4] This can be seen most readily in his collected essays: Ehrman, *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 33; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2006) 94-97, 110 n. 35, 120-141, 263-264, 310-316, 330-331. The original essays are "The Text of the Gospels at the End of the Second Century," in D.C. Parker and C.-B. Amphoux, eds., *Codex Bezae: Studies from the Lunel Colloquium, June 1994* (NTTS 22; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996) 95-122, esp. 118-120; "The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity," in Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, eds., *The New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the* Status Quaestionis (Studies and Documents 46; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 361-379, esp. p. 368 n. 34; "A Leper in the Hands of an Angry Jesus," in Amy M. Donaldson and Timothy B. Sailors, eds., *New Testament Greek and Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Gerald F. Hawthorne* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003) 77-98; "The Use and Significance of Patristic Evidence for NT Textual Criticism," in B. Aland and J. Delobel, eds., *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History: A Discussion of Methods* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1994) 118-135, esp. 133; "Text and Interpretation: The Exegetical Significance of the 'Original' Text," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 5 (2000); "Text and Transmission: The Historical Significance of the 'Altered' Text," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 5 (2000).

[5] Ehrman, "A Leper in the Hands of an Angry Jesus," in Ehrman, *Studies in the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 120-141.

and by a number of Old Latin manuscripts (a ff^{2} r^{1*}). This external support comes exclusively from areas where Latin was used. Moreover, as is well known, D varies at many points from all other manuscripts, and it and the Latin manuscripts also show a very great variety amongst themselves. In general it may be said that most scholars have been reluctant to follow D when it is the only Greek manuscript supporting a particular reading, and that this is one of the handful of readings where its testimony has tended to be given greater weight. Nevertheless, most scholars believe that its text contains a great many secondary variations and that the rigour of the transmission of its form of text has been far inferior to the form of transmission that went on, for instance, in the text form that P^{75} and B enjoy for the parts of Luke and John for which they overlap. This is not to say that the testimony of D should not be given weight, but rather that its text comes from a stream of transmission which has been particularly eventful. To the extent that this is the case the likelihood that it will have retained the original text unchanged is reduced.

Support for the reading ὀργισθείς from Efrem Syrus' commentary on the Diatessaron does not necessarily broaden the geographical support for the reading since, although it was probably produced in Syria, the Diatessaron was produced by someone who had spent extensive time studying in Rome and who might thereby have had contact with early traditions of the rendering of the Bible into Latin. The support of Tatian would, however, at least establish a *terminus a quo* for the reading to have existed if indeed the reading goes back to the original Diatessaron. If therefore we based our decision on external evidence alone the case for σπλαγχνισθείς would be quite clear.

Ehrman, however, makes the move of including Matthew and Luke as external evidence for ὀργισθείς.[6] His argument is that Matthew and Luke are dependent on Mark (the consensus view) and that their lack of any equivalent of either σπλαγχνισθείς or ὀργισθείς in their accounts of the same incident demonstrates that they read ὀργισθείς and were both offended by it and therefore chose to omit it.[7] Ehrman finds further support for this interpretation in the fact that the omission of such a word represents a "minor agreement" between Matthew and Luke and that most of these agreements are accidental. "The accidental agreement in the present case is understandable if—and only if—the participle in question may have caused offense or dissatisfaction to both authors."[8] The problem seems to me to be that Ehrman's arguments show an inconsistency in their appeal to coincidence. On the one hand, he finds the co-occurrence of a minus in a borrowing text (Matthew or Luke) evidence of an undesirable word in their putative *Vorlage* (Mark). The absence, according to Ehrman, cannot be mere coincidence. On the other hand, he is quite content with the coincidence of supposing that two writers (Matthew and Luke) just happened to adopt exactly the same strategy to deal with the undesirable word, namely omission.

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[6] There is precedent for this approach in earlier work, such as Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 187.

[7] Ehrman, "A Leper," 125.

The persuasiveness of Ehrman's argument will naturally depend to a considerable extent upon one's preferred solution to the Synoptic problem. However, in judging the probability of his argument one must constantly weigh his preferred model against all other models of synoptic relationship,[9] and likewise recognise the speculative nature of attributing motives to omissions. Matthew or Luke can only be said to omit something from Mark if they are dependent upon Mark in its current form and on the assumption that simple schemes (such as, for instance, the Two-source Hypothesis) can adequately describe the relationship between the gospels. Ehrman's inferences can never become more probable than the overarching scheme itself. Moreover, the reasonableness of appealing to coincidence (even without naming it such) in support of any scheme diminishes when one denies the legitimacy of appeal to coincidence in alternative accounts of the data. Thus I would conclude that Matthew and Luke should not be included in the external evidence for the reading ὀργισθείς.

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[8] Ehrman, "A Leper," 125.

[9] By "all other models" I include not only the Griesbach Hypothesis, the Proto- and Deutero-Mark Hypotheses, the view that Mark depends on an earlier version of Matthew, but also the virtually infinite number of *ad hoc* modifications one is able to make to the Two-source Hypothesis. For instance, we might suppose that the Two-source Hypothesis is broadly correct, but that the word σπλαγχνισθείς was illegible in the version of Mark available to Luke and he therefore omitted the word. The point is not that this *ad hoc* hypothesis has any great probability of its own, only that Ehrman's scenario must be weighed *against the combined probability of all possible alternative scenarios*. It may in fact emerge as the most probable hypothesis of all, and still attain to a probability of far less than 50%, i.e. more likely than not wrong. Thus to declare that a scenario of deliberate change is the best single explanation and that therefore the text was more likely than not changed deliberately is fallacious.

Internal Evidence

However, what has swung the balance of opinion against σπλαγχνισθείς has not been the external evidence, but rather the internal evidence and in particular the consideration that it is extremely difficult to imagine that a Christian scribe would ever deliberately change σπλαγχνισθείς into ὀργισθείς. The latter reading is thus the *lectio difficilior* and is to be preferred.

The unspoken assumptions in Ehrman's discussion of this matter seem to be that any change from one word to another has taken place in one step and that to resist his conclusions one must find a single scenario which is itself stronger than his own scenario of deliberate change. Since it is hard for him and others to *imagine* that anyone would deliberately change σπλαγχνισθείς into ὀργισθείς, they conclude that the latter must be the original and have been deliberately changed into the former. Thus Ehrman observes that the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament Committee, as reported by Metzger,[10] seems to lack a positive account of how "compassion" might be changed to "anger." The likelihood that a scribe was induced to change σπλαγχνισθείς to ὀργισθείς because of ἐμβριμάομαι in Mark 1:43 is wisely judged by Ehrman to be slim. Likewise he rightly judges the potential Aramaic confusion which they suggest to be improbable.[11] What Ehrman's discussion lacks is an engagement with the full range of possible accidental errors that could occur in a text. In particular, he seems to presuppose in this context that good explanations for how one textual form might change into another should involve a single step. Moreover, if one is wanting to decide whether a text has been deliberately changed or not it is reasonable to weigh all scenarios involving deliberate change against all scenarios involving accidental change (of course there may also be scenarios involving some elements of both sorts of change). It would be perfectly reasonable to conclude that an individual scenario of deliberate change was more probable than each individual scenario of accidental change and yet to conclude that the combined weight of all the various possibilities of accidental change was such that deliberate change was less probable than accidental change. Since in fact the sorts of unusual and unexpected secondary variants that occur in manuscripts show a great variety we should allow that the number of conceivable scenarios for accidental change in any given instance is likely to be large indeed.

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[10] B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994) 65.

[11] Ehrman, "A Leper," 127-128. Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 65, suggests a possible Aramaic corruption through a confusion similar to one confounding "Syriac *ethraḥam*, 'he had pity,' with *ethraʿem*, 'he was enraged.'"

Nevertheless, we must ask whether any of these has any great likelihood. A point that is not normally observed is that there is a considerable graphic resemblance between ΟΡΓΙϹΘЄΙϹ and ϹΠΛΑΓΧΝΙΘЄΙϹ in the form of script used in the earliest manuscripts. Not only do they end with the same six letters, but they also begin with the letters Ο and Ϲ respectively, which both begin with the same shape. They also share the letter Γ between their beginning and end. Within ϹΠΛΑΓΧΝΙϹΘЄΙϹ a parablepsis from Π to Γ omitting ΠΛΑ or a haplography of the adjacent letters Λ or Α or a parablepsis from Γ to Ν omitting ΧΝ are all very easy to imagine. If, for instance, one allows for the possibility first of the accidental omission of some letters in one manuscript,[12] and then of some attempt by a scribe copying that manuscript to make sense of a sequence of letters beginning with a lunate form Ϲ, ending in ΙϹΘЄΙϹ, and with Γ in between, one can easily imagine how the word ΟΡΓΙϹΘЄΙϹ might suggest itself. Nor do we have to assume that the scribe was paying any great attention to context. Such a scenario would involve both accidental and deliberate elements, though the initial force that brought about the change would have been accidental. Of course, there are also numerous alternative scenarios that can be considered with two words such as these that look relatively similar.

We may press the matter a little further. One of the problems with Ehrman's approach, which may be illustrated from his classic book *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, is that he often appeals to deliberate change to explain the relationship between two variants which actually show considerable graphic similarity.[13] Thus he seems to need to suppose (but nowhere to my knowledge does he say this) that not only did scribes change the text, but that frequently when they changed the text for theological reasons they changed it into something that very much resembled what they had changed the text from. The problem is that if *entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem* we see that the attribution of the change to deliberate action becomes less necessary the closer the two forms of text are to each other graphically.

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[12] This phenomenon is well documented for early manuscripts. See, e.g., James R. Royse, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) 578 n. 192, 652.

[13] Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture* (Oxford: OUP, 1993), argues for the likelihood of deliberate corruption in the cases of the variants γένεσις and γέννησις in Matt 1:18 (pp. 75-76), ΟϹ and ΘϹ in 1 Tim 3:16 (pp. 77-78), ΥϹ and ΘϹ in John 1:18 (pp. 78-82), ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ and ὃ λύει in 1 John 4:3 (pp. 125-135); χωρὶς θεοῦ and χάριτι θεοῦ in 1 John 4:3 (pp. 146-150); and γενόμενον and γεννώμενον in Gal 4:4 (p. 239).

Yet perhaps more difficult to explain from Ehrman's perspective is the fact that, on the supposition that ὀργισθείς is original, a contextually perfect and graphically similar word σπλαγχνισθείς lay ready to hand available for an emending scribe to use. The point is this, if Mark originally wrote ὀργισθείς, the scribes who copied Mark had no control over what suitable words would be available to them. Now if, as Ehrman suggests, the writers of Matthew and Luke independently and coincidentally were so offended by the word ὀργισθείς that they both decided to delete the word we are more struck by the fact that *ex hypothesi* this was not the course resorted to by another early scribe who copied Mark.[14] *Ex hypothesi* this scribe rather decided to change ὀργισθείς into σπλαγχνισθείς.

Now in biblical Greek there is only a limited number of words ending *ισθεις: there are 20 different forms and only 34 occurrences of all such forms show up in Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha. Of these ὀργισθείς is the most common with five occurrences besides the text in question.[15] Three other forms, including σπλαγχνισθείς have three occurrences each,[16] three have two occurrences each,[17] and the rest only occur once.[18] Of these forms, only a handful would in any way be contextually appropriate: σπλαγχνισθείς, πεισθείς, and, under Ehrman's understanding, ὀργισθείς, and therefore, I suppose, ἐρεθισθείς. In other words, any hypothetical scribe wanting to rid the text of Jesus' anger would only have a choice of two possible words σπλαγχνισθείς and πεισθείς,[19] and of these σπλαγχνισθείς appears much more appropriate and also happens to begin, like ὀργισθείς, with a lunate shape and to share with it the letter gamma.

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[14] Nor do the omissions in *l* 866 and it^{b} cited in UBS^{4} have to support the view that omissions were made because of the theological offensiveness of the *Vorlage*. The tendency of manuscripts to omit words accidentally is a sufficient explanation.

[15] Exod 32:19; Deut 6:15; Bel 21 (Theodotion); Matt 18:34; Luke 14:21.

[16] βαπτισθείς Matt 3:16; [Mark 16:16;] Acts 8:13; πεισθείς 2 Macc 4:34; 4 Macc 10:13; 12:5; σπλαγχνισθείς Matt 18:27; 20:34; Mark 9:22. The occurrence in Mark 1:41 which is currently under dispute is excluded from this reckoning.

[17] δαιμονισθείς Mark 5:18; Luke 8:36; διακομισθείς 3 Macc 1:9; 2:25; χρηματισθείς Matt 2:22; Heb 11:7.

[18] ἁγνισθείς Acts 21:26; αἰκισθείς 4 Macc 6:16; αὐλισθείς 1 Esd 9:2; βασανισθείς 4 Macc 12:4; διοργισθείς 3 Macc 4:13; ἐρεθισθείς 2 Macc 14:27; κακισθείς 4 Macc 12:2; καθαρισθείς Lev 14:8; καταικισθείς 4 Macc 11:1; κατακλεισθείς Wis 17:15; μαλακισθείς Job 24:23; ὁρκισθείς 1 Esd 1:46; χωρισθείς Acts 18:1.

[19] πεισθείς is not particularly appropriate because the leper has not made an argument. There are, of course, other words in Greek, but I am here using biblical Greek as illustrative

The problem may be put this way: Ehrman is asking us to suppose that just at the point when Mark made one of the most difficult statements in his whole gospel, by sheer coincidence there happened to be a supremely appropriate word to hand (σπλαγχνισθείς), which shared the shape of the difficult word (ὀργισθείς) better than almost any other form in biblical and related texts,[20] which would not only solve the difficulty, but would actually improve the story in the eyes of most readers. Moreover, it is not merely the case that σπλαγχνισθείς is contextually appropriate. When it occurs in the text it occurs at precisely the point when one would expect compassion to occur if it were in the story.

Moreover, it is interesting to notice how common ὀργισθείς is among forms ending in *ισθεις. Given that it is the most common form in the texts surveyed and that it does share such graphic similarity with σπλαγχνισθείς, it is hardly an implausible hypothesis to suggest that if some accidental corruption occurred to σπλαγχνισθείς a scribe struggling to read or make sense of a problematic exemplar might produce the word ὀργισθείς. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that σπλαγχνίζομαι as a deponent verb does not occur anywhere in the Greek Old Testament or Apocrypha.[21] It would therefore arguably suggest itself much less readily to a scribe than the extremely common ὀργίζομαι, which occurs 83 times in the Greek Old Testament and Apocrypha and a further 8 times in other parts of the New Testament. Given its rarity prior to the New Testament and the fact that, if σπλαγχνίζομαι is original, this is in fact its first occurrence in Mark's Gospel, a scribe beginning to copy Mark's gospel, who had not previously copied Matthew or Luke, might never have previously encountered the word σπλαγχνίζομαι. Unlike ὀργίζομαι, which would have been known well by every native speaker of Greek and is widely attested in a massive range of literature, σπλαγχνίζομαι is unknown outside biblical Greek.

Now Ehrman himself has argued in another instance that in considering accidental changes it is reasonable to suppose that a more unusual word is

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of a range of relevant Greek sufficient to show the sort of vocabulary that might readily suggest itself to a scribe.

[20] An exception would be ὁρκισθείς in 1 Esd 1:41, which is visually similar but would not be contextually appropriate.

[21] The compound ἐπισπλαγχνίζομαι occurs in Prov 17:5, and the active σπλαγχνίζω in 2 Macc 6:8.

in fact replaced by a more common one. This is what he says in the midst of an argument in support of χωρὶς θεοῦ as against χάριτι θεοῦ in Heb 2:9:

> Is a negligent or absentminded scribe likely to have changed his text by writing a word used *less* frequently in the New Testament (χωρίς) or one used *more* frequently (χάριτι, four times as common)? Is he likely to have created a phrase that never occurs elsewhere in the New Testament (χωρὶς θεοῦ) or one that occurs over twenty times (χάριτι θεοῦ)? Is he likely to produce a statement that is bizarre and troubling or one that is familiar and easy? Surely it is the latter: readers typically confuse unusual words for common ones and make simple what is complex, especially when their minds have partially strayed.[22]

Now leaving aside Ehrman's preference for the bizarre and troubling, which seems to be an unwarranted development of the principle of *lectio difficilior*, we see that Ehrman himself espouses the principle that a more unusual reading might be replaced by a more usual one. Since σπλαγχνίζομαι is a verb never used in OT Greek, and ὀργισθείς is the most common form in biblical Greek to end in *ισθεις from an extremely common verb ὀργίζομαι, surely his principles would suggest that the replacement of σπλαγχνισθείς by ὀργισθείς is more likely to occur than the converse.

Which is More Probable for Mark: Anger or Compassion?

Ehrman does, however, have a series of arguments that ὀργισθείς is in fact more appropriate within Mark. We examine these now.

Negatively, he says that "...Jesus is never described in this Gospel as exercising compassion when he heals. Instead, the emotion commonly associated with him—odd as it might seem—is anger."[23] This statement is debatable since the three other occurrences of σπλαγχνίζομαι within Mark's Gospel each occur in response to different problems: the lack of shepherd for the crowd (6:34), the hunger of the crowd (8:2), a boy affected by an unclean spirit (9:22). His responses are teaching, feeding, and exorcism respectively. Since each of the three other cases of compassion is different from others, one can hardly object to a unique instance of compassion with a healing in 1:41. Moreover, one might draw a parallel between the uncleanness of the leper in Mark 1:40-45 and the narrative of the unclean spirit in 9:22.

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[22] Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture*, 147.

[23] Ehrman, "A Leper," 129.

Ehrman, however, draws an analogy between 6:34 and 8:2, stating that in both cases: "Jesus is in a wilderness area and feels compassion for the crowds with him, because they are hungry."[24] Yet in fact the compassion of 6:34 is clearly connected with Jesus' teaching rather than his willingness to feed.

A further aspect of Ehrman's argument is that anger is intrinsically probable as the original text because Mark often presents Jesus as angry in relation to miracles of healing. With reference to the cleansing of the leper Ehrman asks: "What is Jesus' emotion on this occasion? Never in the Gospel of Mark is the term 'compassion' associated with Jesus healing; on several occasions anger is."[25]

He then goes on to try to demonstrate this, but there are several problems here. First, the "healing" of the leper is, in Mark's terms a "cleansing" more than a "healing". Secondly, though Ehrman attempts to bring ἀγανακτέω in Mark 10:14 into close connection with healing this is rather a stretch. He claims, "When Jesus 'blesses' these children and 'lays his hands' on them, is he actually *doing* something that 'heals' them or transmits his divine power to them ('such as these enter the kingdom of God')?"[26]

Though Ehrman may wish for a positive reply to this question, it is hard to grant one, at least in regard to the former of the possibilities he mentions. The picture of a thematic connection between "anger" and "healing" appears artificial. What makes Ehrman's attempt to bring 1:41 together with these texts on anger difficult to accept is that in the same article he resists attempts to draw parallels between 1:41, 3:5, and 10:14. His own *Doktorvater* Bruce Metzger had written (representing a committee) that the existence of anger in the text of 3:5 and 10:14 might provide some evidence against the idea of a deliberate removal of anger from 1:41.[27] To this Ehrman replies that these cases really are very different.

> The argument [of Metzger] sounds convincing at first, but not when the passages themselves are actually examined. In the other two instances it makes perfect sense for Jesus to get angry: in one he is angry at his enemies who have hardened hearts and misinterpret God's law in a way that allows them to perpetuate suffering (3:5); in the

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[24] Ehrman, "A Leper," 130.

[25] Ehrman, "A Leper," 132-133.

[26] Ehrman, "A Leper," 131.

[27] Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 65; see Ehrman, "A Leper," 127.

> other he becomes irritated with his disciples for not allowing children to come to him so that he can lay hands on them (10:14).[28]

However, the more different these two other passages are, the less necessary it is to form a group of passages in which Jesus' anger is a theme connected with healing. Ultimately the reason Ehrman gives for Jesus' alleged anger in 1:41 is that "Jesus is angered—not at the illness, or the world, or the law, or Satan—but at the very idea that anyone would question, even implicitly, his willingness to help one in need."[29]

There is, however, in Ehrman's presentation of Jesus a deep psychological tension. At one moment Jesus is so oriented towards the helping others that he is committed (apparently) always to healing upon request. His commitment is to such an extent that he will get angry if anyone questions this commitment and this will lead to rough treatment by Jesus, as in this case "throwing him out".[30] It is hard perhaps to argue that his "throwing out" of the leper is in itself intended as a helpful action. Jesus is thus supposed to be utterly benevolent when it comes to someone's illness, but extremely impatient when it comes to their epistemic limitations, as if someone who has only just met Jesus for the first time is inexcusable for their ignorance of his consistent willingness to heal, even though the same individual, arguably, demonstrates considerable faith through his unambiguous belief that Jesus *can* heal (1:40). It is noteworthy that the father in 9:23 who admits to uncertainty as to whether Jesus *can* heal is treated very positively by Jesus. Ehrman thus requires us to believe that Jesus is patient towards someone who only partly believes that he *can* heal but impatient with someone who is fully convinced that he can heal and dares to say ἐὰν θέλῃς. Such conditional expressions do not, of themselves, imply uncertainty (see 1 John 2:28), nor do they put greater weight on doubt over belief. Ehrman's whole edifice thus seems to stand on what could at best be seen as a narrow foundation.

Conclusion

Thus σπλαγχνισθείς is to be preferred in Mark 1:41 not only on the basis of the overwhelming external evidence in contrast to the narrow support for ὀργισθείς, but also because of the exegetical problems with ὀργισθείς and the methodological contradictions of attempts to support it. In addition to this there are highly plausible processes by which ὀργισθείς could be a corruption of σπλαγχνισθείς, which do not multiply entities (i.e. import intentionality) when it is not necessary. In addition to all these considerations supporters of ὀργισθείς have no explanation for the "coincidence" that a scribe who was troubled by one of the most difficult parts of Mark's text (*ex hypothesi*) just happened to have available such a perfectly contextually appropriate graphically similar word as σπλαγχνισθείς.

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[28] Ehrman, "A Leper," 127.

[29] Ehrman, "A Leper," 138.

[30] Ehrman, "A Leper," 138.

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Luke and the Septuagint

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Abstract
The choice of Greek words in two passages in the Lukan Gospel appears to suggest that the Evangelist was consciously drawing upon two OT passages in its Greek version, i.e. the LXX. This close dependence on the LXX was motivated by the thematic affinity between the Lukan passages and their respective LXX passages.

Keywords
Luke; Seputuagint

Among the authors of the New Testament documents Luke is universally known for his outstanding command of the linguistic resources of the Greek language and the agreeable and elegant style of his diction. Even he, however, has been charged from time to time with Semitisms and Septuagintalisms which jar in the ears of purists.[1] Many of these Septuagintalisms are mainly concerned with grammatical structures and Semitic lexical calques. e.g., λέγων introducing direct speech.

There appears to be another kind of interaction between Luke and his Greek-writing Jewish predecessors, namely the translators and authors of the Septuagint books. Two such instances have come to our notice, suggesting that Luke was familiar with whole narratives and stories in their Greek, Septuagintal version, not just isolated words, turns of phrases and the like.

Compare:

> Luke 15:20 καὶ ἀναστὰς ἦλθεν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ. Ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν ἀπέχοντος εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη καὶ δραμὼν ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτόν.

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[1] See an excellent survey in J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke* (Anchor Bible 28-28A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Comp. Inc., 1981-85) 113-127.

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and

> Gen 33:3-4 αὐτὸς δὲ προῆλθεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἑπτάκις ἕως τοῦ ἐγγίσαι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. καὶ προσέδραμεν Ησαυ εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῷ καὶ περιλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐφίλησεν καὶ προσέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔκλαυσαν ἀμφότεροι.

First of all, in the description of Esau's reaction at the sight of his brother and that of the father's reaction on spying his prodigal son still at quite a distance we note the use of three pairs of verbs, nearly synonymous: a) προστρέχω // τρέχω; b) φιλέω // καταφιλέω; c) προσπίπτω // ἐπιπίπτω.

What is more important than the similarity in the selection of lexemes,[2] striking though it is, is the thematic affinity between the two stories. Both are concerned with reconciliation, and in both the injured, estranged party goes out of his way, both literally and figuratively, to receive and welcome the miscreant, apostate. Fitzmyer thinks that Luke is probably imitating the LXX of Gen 33:4; 45:14-15 and 3 Macc 5:49.[3] In Gen 45:14-15 the LXX reads: καὶ ἐπιπεσὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον Βενιαμιν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ Βενιαμιν ἔκλαυσεν ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ καταφιλήσας πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλάλησαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν. We do find a similar diction to that which we find in the two passages dealt with, and here also we have a story of reconciliation. There are, however, significant differences. Joseph did not run out to meet his brothers, but they came to him, though not to get reconciled. The reaction on the part of both Esau and the father of the prodigal son was immediate, whereas Joseph's reconciliatory initiative took quite a while after he had recognized his brothers at the first sight and at close range. The similarity in diction between Luke's story and the Joseph story in the Septuagint version appears to be marginal and accidental.[4]

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[2] Already noted by many commentators on the third Gospel. E.g. Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1089, notes that the collocation προσπίπτω / ἐπιπίπτω ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλόν τινος also occurs at Acts 20:37 in combination with καταφιλέω, and they describe the same physical actions, but the scene is one of sorrowful parting, the opposite of joyful reunion. More or less the same can be said of 3 Macc 5:49.

[3] Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1089.

[4] Goulder thinks that in Luke's story there are reminiscences of the Joseph story, without elaborating the point: M.D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989) 237.

Our second pair for comparison is:

> Luke 1:58 καὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ περίοικοι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτῆς ὅτι ἐμεγάλυνεν κύριος τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ συνέχαιρον αὐτῇ.

and

> Gen 21:6 εἶπεν δὲ Σαρρα Γέλωτά μοι ἐποίησεν κύριος· ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ συγχαρεῖταί μοι.

In both places we find the verb συγχαίρω[5] c. dat. pers. In comparison with the first pair the linguistic affinity amounts just to one word. On the thematic level, however, we would note that both stories are about a miraculous birth of a baby boy to two aged and sterile Israelite women whose joy was going to be shared by their respective kinsmen and neighbours, and both of the boys came into the world as a result of direct divine intervention and were destined to play a vital role in God's *Heilsgeschichte*.

We submit that, as our Evangelist penned the story of the birth of John the Baptist and that of the prodigal son, he had the two Genesis stories at the back of his mind, and that in the Septuagint version.[6] A closer study of his Gospel might bring to light more cases pointing to our Evangelist's familiarity with the ancient stories in the Septuagint.

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[5] We have defined its sense as: "to show that one shares joy with," T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Peeters: Leuven, 2009) 644a. We believe this to be preferable to "congratulate" as found in the Lukan passage in some English translations, probably under the influence of the Vulgate.

[6] Goulder, *Luke*, 237, writes: "so he [= Luke] has recourse once more to his model of Abraham and Sarah," and then goes on to note some linguistic parallelism between Luke's Greek and that of Gen 21 in the Septuagint.

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Luke 2:22, Leviticus 12, and Parturient Impurity[1]

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Abstract

In Luke 2:22 Luke attributes parturient impurity to both Mary and Jesus (and/or Joseph). Interpreters have often concluded that this verse demonstrates that Luke misunderstands the levitical legislation pertaining to childbirth impurity (Leviticus 12), which discusses only the impurity of the new mother. This article argues that, despite the apparent contradiction between Leviticus 12 and Luke 2, Luke has not misunderstood Jewish conceptions of impurity after birth. Not only is it possible to conclude that Leviticus 12 implicitly ascribes impurity to the newborn child, but some Second Temple Jewish writers, such as the authors of *Jubilees* and 4Q265, also believed that the newborn child suffered the same manner of impurity as the new mother. Luke's gospel, therefore, demonstrates familiarity with contemporary Jewish purity beliefs and practices.

Keywords

Luke; Leviticus 12; *Jubilees*; 4Q265; impurity; parturient

Introduction

> And when the days of their purification were completed according to the law of Moses (Καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωϋσέως), they brought him to Jerusalem to present him to the Lord (as it is written in the law of the Lord, "Every male who opens the womb shall be called holy to the Lord") and to offer a sacrifice according to what is said in the law of the Lord, "a pair of turtledoves or two young pigeons" (Luke 2:22-24).
>
> Any woman who conceives and gives birth to a male will be impure seven days; according to the days of the separation of her menstruation she will be impure.... And thirty-three days she will remain in her impure blood. She will neither touch anything holy nor enter into the sanctuary until the days of her purification are completed (ἕως ἂν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι καθάρσεως αὐτῆς, LXX Lev 12:2b, 4).

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Luke's story of the presentation of Jesus in the Jerusalem Temple raises more questions than it answers. Raymond Brown summarizes the problems inherent in the account: "Imprecisely Luke seems to think that both parents needed to be purified ('their purification' in 2:22), that the child needed to be brought to Jerusalem to be presented to the Lord (2:22-23), and that the offering of two young pigeons was related to the presentation (2:24 in sequence to 2:22b)."[2] According to the scholarly consensus, Luke's belief that both Mary and Joseph [and/or Jesus, a possibility that Brown does not mention] need to undergo purification conflicts with levitical law, which requires only the purification of the new mother (Lev 12:1-8).[3] With regard to these issues Joseph B. Tyson states: "Here Luke probably misunderstood passages in the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as Jewish practices, since he conflated two different religious duties and failed to mention the practice of redeeming the first-born son."[4]

The purpose of this article is to question the seeming consensus that Luke has misunderstood Jewish purity laws dealing with childbirth. First, I will show that readers of the priestly legislation pertaining to purification after childbirth could conclude that either the newborn or someone else might become impure from a parturient; second, I will show that at least some Second Temple Jews did believe that infants were born ritually impure. Before doing so, though, the textual evidence of Luke 2:22 must be considered.

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[2] Brown, "The Presentation of Jesus (Luke 2:22-40)," *Worship* 51 (1977) 2-11 (3). Brown is not alone in concluding that Luke here demonstrates his lack of knowledge of Jewish customs. See H. Räisänen, *Die Mutter Jesu im Neuen Testament* (AASF 247; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1989) 127; E. Klostermann, *Das Lukasevangelium* (3rd ed.; HAT 5; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1975) 41; J. Mann, "Rabbinic Studies in the Synoptic Gospels, II: The Redemption of a First-Born Son and the Pilgrimages to Jerusalem," *HUCA* 1 (1924) 323-355; R. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition* (10th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995) 326; G. Schneider, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas, Kapitel 1-10* (ÖKT 3/1; Gütersloh: Gütersloh, 1992) 71; M. Soards, "Luke 2:22-40," *Int* 44.4 (1990) 400-405 (401); J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke (I-IX): Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981) 424; R.H. Stein, *Luke* (NAC 24; Nashville: Broadman, 1992) 113; C.F. Evans, *Saint Luke* (TPINTC; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990) 212; F. Bovon, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1-9:50* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002) 99; J. Nolland, *Luke 1-9:20* (WBC 35a; Dallas: Word Books, 1989) 117; and I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1978) 116.

[3] For example, Fitzmyer (*Luke*, 424) and Nolland (*Luke*, 117) conclude that "their" (αὐτῶν) refers to Joseph and Mary, while Origen (*Homilies on Luke* 14.3-6) believes αὐτῶν refers to Mary and Jesus. Although a number of Christian interpreters of Leviticus refer to Luke 2:22, they do not discuss the fact that Leviticus 12 mentions only "her purification," while Luke 2:22 mentions "their purification." See, for instance, J.E. Hartley, *Leviticus* (WBC 4; Dallas: Word Books, 1992) 170, and S.E. Balentine, *Leviticus* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1989) 104.

[4] Tyson, *Marcion and Luke-Acts: A Defining Struggle* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2006) 99.

Early Christian Corrections of Luke 2:22

According to the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland, the Greek text of Luke 2:22a states: Καὶ ὅτε ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωϋσέως ("And when the days of their purification were completed, according to the law of Moses"). The manuscript evidence demonstrates that early Christian scribes considered Luke's statement problematic. While the majority of witnesses contain the plural pronoun αὐτῶν (including א, A, B, L, W, Λ, Δ, Γ, Π, most miniscules, the Peshitta, Ethiopic, Armenian, Gothic, and Origen), a number of non-Greek witnesses attest to the third person feminine singular pronoun αὐτῆς, other manuscripts have the third person singular pronoun αὐτοῦ (D, and various miniscules), and still other manuscripts contain no genitive pronoun qualifying the word καθαρισμοῦ.[5]

The absence of a personal pronoun removes any problem in the text, suggesting that a scribe attempted to avoid the question of who required purification.[6] Similarly, since manuscripts containing the feminine singular pronoun αὐτῆς agree with LXX Lev 12:4 (ἕως ἂν πληρωθῶσιν αἱ ἡμέραι καθάρσεως αὐτῆς),[7] it is likely that scribal harmonization resulted in this reading. The remaining variants, αὐτοῦ and αὐτῶν, are difficult for two reasons. First, neither of these readings matches the priestly legislation on parturient impurity, which only mentions the mother's impurity. Second, readers could take either variant to suggest that Jesus suffered ritual impurity, an interpretation that likely would have troubled early scribes.[8] Although both readings are equally theologically difficult, the early, diverse, and weighty external support for αὐτῶν suggests that it is an earlier reading than αὐτοῦ. This conclusion suggests that the other variants (αὐτῆς and no personal possessive pronoun) are attempts to lessen the discrepancy between Lev 12:4 and Luke 2:22.

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[5] For the manuscript evidence, see American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project, ed., *The Gospel according to St. Luke, Part One: Chapters 1-12* (The New Testament in Greek 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984) 43, and W.H.P. Hatch, "The Text of Luke 2:22," *HTR* 14.4 (1921) 377-381.

[6] It is also possible that a scribe who knew the Hebrew of Lev 12:4 took the unpointed Hebrew phrase ימי טהרה, not as "the days of her purification," but as "the days of purification," since one could interpret טהרה as a feminine noun, and not as the masculine noun טהר with the third person feminine singular possessive suffix ה. If so, the scribe has harmonized Luke 2:22 with his reading of Lev 12:4. Compare the earlier occurrence of טהרה in Lev 12:4, which the MT points as a feminine noun (i.e., the final *heh* lacks a *mappiq*), but the LXX translates as ἀκαθάρτῳ αὐτῆς. See the following note for the manuscript evidence to LXX Lev 12:4.

[7] While there are a number of variants to this verse in mss of LXX Leviticus, all contain the feminine singular pronoun αὐτῆς. See J.W. Wevers, ed., *Leviticus* (SVTG 2.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) 138-139. The MT reads עד מלאת ימי טהרה.

Having determined which reading best accounts for the existence of other variants of Luke 2:22, I can now address the question of whether or not Luke misunderstands childbirth impurity.

Leviticus 12:1-8 and Parturient Impurity

According to the priestly legislation pertaining to childbirth, a woman bearing a male is impure, like a menstruant (כימי נדת דותה/κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ χωρισμοῦ τῆς ἀφέδρου αὐτῆς, 12:2),[9] for seven days. After this seven-day period, the male child undergoes circumcision and the mother's impurity continues, albeit in a downgraded state (בדמי טהרה/ἐν αἵματι ἀκαθάρτῳ αὐτῆς, 12:4),[10] for an additional thirty-three days. In contrast, if the mother gives birth to a female, she bears a menstrual-like impurity that lasts for fourteen days, and then her downgraded impurity continues for a further sixty-six days.[11] At the completion of this period, the mother must bring a lamb (a turtledove or pigeon if she is too poor) for a burnt offering (עלה), and a pigeon or turtledove for a purification offering (חטאת, Lev 12:6-8). During the period of impurity the new mother cannot touch holy things or enter Israel's sanctuary.[12] Of Leviticus 12, Jacob Milgrom states: "The active agent in this chapter is solely the new mother. It is she who must scrupulously keep count of the days of her purification period and, at its termination, bring its requisite offerings."[13]

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[8] See A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Luke* (5th ed.; ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1922) 63. Even the possibility that Mary might be deemed impure was problematic for early Christian interpreters. For instance, despite Luke 2:22 Origen says of Leviticus 12, "For the Lawgiver added this word [i.e., "conceived"] to distinguish her who 'conceived and gave birth' without seed from other women so as not to designate as 'unclean' every woman who had given birth but her who 'had given birth by receiving seed'" (*Homilies on Leviticus* 8.2.2; translation of G.W. Barkley, *Origen: Homilies on Leviticus* [FOC 83; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1990] 154).

[9] As J. Milgrom (*Leviticus 1-16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991] 744) notes, this phrase stresses "that the quality of the impurity and not just its length is equivalent to that of the menstruant (see 15:19-24)."

[10] On the meaning of this phrase, see Milgrom (*Leviticus 1-16*, 749), who argues that this downgraded impurity excludes the woman only from sancta.

[11] For a helpful depiction of these stages of impurity, see R. Whitekettle, "Leviticus 12 and

Taking into account the singular attention that the priestly legislation pays to the mother, Milgrom asks the following question: "What of the Israelite child? Is he (or she) rendered impure by contact with the mother? The text is silent. Nor is there even a hint of an answer in Scripture. Does its silence mean that the newborn is exempt from the laws of *niddâ*, or must we assume that the child's impurity is taken for granted, that the child is isolated with the mother during the seven (or fourteen) days, and that at the termination of this period it undergoes immersion with her? There is no clear answer."[14]

To be sure, Leviticus does not explicitly address the question of the purity or impurity of the newborn child. Yet the reader cannot take this silence as proof that the newborn child suffers no impurity. As Milgrom argues, Leviticus is not an exhaustive description of all the purity laws

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the Israelite Woman: Ritual Process, Liminality, and the Womb," *ZAW* 107.3 (1995) 393-408 (401).

[12] Scholars debate the reason why Leviticus excludes new mothers from sancta. G.J. Wenham (*The Book of Leviticus* [NICOT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1979] 188) and Milgrom (*Leviticus 1-16*, 767) argue that the blood loss of childbirth aligns the experience with death, while D. Klee ("Menstruation in the Hebrew Bible," Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1998), T. Frymer-Kensky ("Pollution, Purification, and Purgation in Biblical Israel," in *The Word of God Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* [ed. C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983] 399-414), and H. Maccoby (*Ritual and Morality: The Ritual Purity System and its Place in Judaism* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999] 49-50) argue that childbirth is the experience of new life, which must be kept out of holy space. Either interpretation suggests that the mortality of humanity is the issue and that it is such mortality that cannot approach God. As D.P. Wright ("Unclean and Clean [OT]," *ABD* 6:729-741 [739]) states: "[T]he mortal condition is incompatible with God's holiness."

[13] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 743.

[14] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 746. In contrast, in his brief discussion of Luke 2:22, Milgrom (*Leviticus 1-16*, 762) states: "Leviticus leaves no room for doubt that only one person needs be purified: the new mother." See the similar remarks of B.A. Levine, *Leviticus=Va-yikra: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: JPS, 1989) 72.

enjoined upon Israel; rather, in it the priestly writer lays out a system of purity that is at times elliptical, requiring understanding of the whole in order to apply it appropriately to individual cases.[15] Further, as Erhard S. Gerstenberger notes, even within Leviticus the legislation regarding parturition "is given an extraordinarily brief treatment."[16] This brevity leads to the omission of important information, for at the end of her initial seven- or fourteen-day period of impurity, Leviticus does not mention the way in which a woman removes this degree of impurity. Nonetheless, Milgrom argues that an ablution requirement is "omitted for the simple reason that it is taken for granted except in cases in which it is not self-understood."[17] If in Leviticus 12 the priestly writer leaves unstated so central a rite to purification as immersion, it is conceivable that he omits other aspects of the purity legislation as well. In the conclusion of this article, I will discuss why I believe Leviticus does not mention the child's impurity and Luke's gospel does.

Cross-cultural parallels strengthen the possibility that Leviticus leaves unstated the assumption of the child's impurity. In ancient Egypt and Greece, for instance, the parturient and her newborn child both suffered ritual impurity.[18] Just as Leviticus prescribes a lengthier period of impurity for the birth of a female than it does for a male, Hittite purity laws state that the male newborn and the mother remain impure for three months and the female newborn and the mother for four months.[19]

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[15] For a concise description of this system, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 976-1000. As M. Douglas (*Leviticus as Literature* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999] 39) rightly states of the priestly literature: "Meanings are not carried primarily through verbal channels but conveyed obliquely by reference to established analogies."

[16] Gerstenberger, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: WJK, 1993) 147.

[17] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 756. As Milgrom notes, some early rabbis assumed ablutions at the end of this initial period of impurity and debated whether it was also required after the second stage of impurity (cf. *m. Nid.* 10.7).

[18] A.M. Blackman, "Purification: Egypt," *ERE* 10:476-482 (477). For conceptions of birth impurity in Greece, see R. Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983) 49-52, and T. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult* (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1910) 25-36.

[19] For further examples, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 763-765, and, more broadly, D.P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature* (SBLDS 101; Atlanta: Scholars, 1987). Additionally, the birth equipment and the midwife become impure. See G.M. Beckman, *Hittite Birth Rituals* (2d rev. ed.; Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten 29; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983) 251. Gerstenberger (*Leviticus*, 148) notes that Leviticus 12 does not mention the impurity of midwives, but seems to assume it.

Reading Leviticus, one could conclude that the newborn child was impure. First, that the purification period of the parturient differed on the basis of the gender of the newborn child suggests that the woman's impurity is related directly to the child. If the newborn does not suffer ritual impurity, why would *its* gender have any bearing on the length of the *mother*'s purification process? Interpreters cannot adequately explain this correlation between the baby's gender and the length of the mother's impurity apart from positing the influence of the impurity of the child.[20]

Second, why does the circumcision of the male newborn take place on the eighth day after birth? Is it possible that the Priestly School believed that the male child suffered the same degree of impurity as the mother during the first seven days after birth and that circumcision needed to be delayed in order for this heightened level of impurity to pass?

Finally, Leviticus 12 twice likens the initial phase of impurity (the seven-day period after a male's birth, or the fourteen-day period after a female's birth) to the impurity of a menstruant (12:2-5; cf. Lev 15:19-24).[21] Accordingly, if we are to understand parturient impurity, we must do so in light of the lengthier discussion of menstrual impurity. Of particular importance is Leviticus 15, which asserts that a male who lies with a woman during her menstruation contracts an impurity lasting seven days (15:24).[22]

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[20] For attempts to explain this correlation scientifically, see D.I. Macht, "A Scientific Appreciation of Leviticus 12:1-5," *JBL* 52.4 (1933) 253-260, and J. Magonet, "'But if it is a Girl, she is Unclean for Twice Seven Days . . .': The Riddle of Leviticus 12:5," in *Reading Leviticus: A Conversation with Mary Douglas* (ed. J.F.A. Sawyer; JSOTSup 227; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996) 144-152. In *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 1.25, Philo provides an ancient scientific explanation, arguing that the male embryo takes forty days to form, while the female embryo takes eighty days. Philo seems to be indebted here to wider Graeco-Roman thinking on the differing developmental periods of male and female embryos, as a comparison with the Hippocractic work *On the Nature of the Child* (18.1) demonstrates. See the discussion of I.M. Lonie, *The Hippocratic Treatises, "On Generation," "On the Nature of the Child," "Diseases IV"* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981) 192.

[21] A. Dillmann (*Das Bucher Exodus und Leviticus* [KEH 12; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1888] 550) and K. Elliger (*Leviticus* [HAT 4; Tübingen: Mohr, 1966] 157) argue that Leviticus 12 was originally part of the legislation dealing with bodily emissions found in Leviticus 15. While this suggestion has no textual support, it does recognize the important interconnections between the two chapters.

[22] This impurity is only the case for accidental contact with menstrual blood. According to Lev 20:18, a man who knowingly has sexual intercourse with a menstruant is subject to the *karet*-penalty. See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 940-941, and D.J. Wold, "The *Kareth* Penalty in P: Rational and Cases," in *SBL Seminar Papers, 1979* (SBLSP 16; 2 vols.; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1979) 1:1-45.

As Jonathan Magonet argues, "the act of intercourse creates a single entity, 'one flesh', and both are equally affected by the status of uncleanness of the other."[23] This seven-day period of impurity contrasts with other forms of impurity contracted from the menstruant, which last only until evening (15:19-23). Since, unlike these other forms of contact, sexual intercourse with a menstruant brings about direct contact with menstrual blood, the woman's impurity is transmitted to the man (ותהי נדתה עליו, 15:24). Just as the menstruant suffers impurity for a seven-day period, so the man who has intercourse with her undergoes a seven-day period of impurity.

If parturient impurity is analogous to menstrual impurity, then presumably one contracts parturient impurity in the same manner.[24] Direct contact with the blood of childbirth should result in an impurity similar to direct contact with menstrual blood. Consequently, although Leviticus does not state so explicitly, one could conclude that a person who contacts the blood of the parturient suffers the same impurity as that which the parturient endures—a seven- or fourteen-day period of impurity, followed by a lessened state of impurity lasting thirty-three or sixty-six days. As Magonet suggests, "[I]f any entity can be considered to be a 'single flesh' made up of two persons, it is a mother bearing a child."[25] If this is the case, one cannot avoid the implication that the newborn child, having been in direct contact with both the mother's reproductive system and parturient blood at its birth, becomes impure in the same way as the mother, and like her, is thus in need of the same purification rites.

In light of both the Ancient Near Eastern context and the logic driving the legislation of the book of Leviticus, the reader cannot take the silence surrounding the question of the purity of a newborn in Lev 12:1-8 as evidence that the newborn existed outside the purity system.

Parturient Impurity in the Second Temple Period

Admittedly, the evidence of Leviticus does not demonstrate unequivocally that the newborn child requires purification. Nor does this silence help to determine the purification beliefs and ritual practices of Second Temple Jews. It is, therefore, necessary to determine whether or not evidence exists that suggests that at least some Jews in this period believed that newborns suffered impurity.

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[23] Magonet, "But if it is a Girl," 151.

[24] See also *11QT* 48.15-17, which equates menstrual and parturient impurity.

[25] Magonet, "But if it is a Girl," 151.

The second-century B.C.E. book of *Jubilees* provides the first indication that Jews could conclude that newborns suffered ritual impurity. In his discussion of the creation of Adam and Eve, the author states:

> In the first week Adam and his wife—the rib—were created, and in the second week he [i.e., God] showed her to him. Therefore, a commandment was given to keep (women) in their defilement seven days for a male (child) and for a female two (units) of seven days. After 40 days had come to an end for Adam in the land where he had been created, we [i.e., the angels] brought him into the Garden of Eden to work and to keep it. His wife was brought (there) on the eightieth day. After this she entered the Garden of Eden. For this reason a commandment was written in the heavenly tablets for the one who gives birth to a child: if she gives birth to a male, she is to remain in her impurity for seven days like the first seven days; then for 33 days she is to remain in the blood of purification. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary until she completes these days for a male. As for a female she is to remain in her impurity for two weeks of days like the first two weeks and 66 days in the blood of purification. Their total is 80 days. After she had completed these 80 days, we brought her into the Garden of Eden because it is the holiest in the entire earth, and every tree which is planted in it is holy. For this reason the law of these days has been ordained for the one who gives birth to a male or a female. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary until the time when those days for a male or a female are completed (3:8-13).[26]

At first glance, *Jubilees* says nothing about the impurity of the newborn child. Yet one could take the narrative explanation that the author gives for these differing periods of impurity as evidence that the child itself undergoes a period of impurity. For the analogy between Adam and Eve and the parturient to make sense the reader must assume that both had undergone a period of impurity prior to their entry into the Garden. The author states that Adam was kept in "the land where he had been created" for forty days, and that Eve was kept out of the Garden until the end of an eighty-day period. He also claims that the Garden of Eden was the holiest place on earth, and that the trees in it were holy (3:12). In fact, in *Jubilees* Eden functions as the Temple: "[Noah] knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies and is the residence of the Lord" (8:19).[27] The only reason why the author would narrate the exclusion of Adam and Eve from this sanctum after their creation would be if he believed that, as "newborns," they suffered ritual impurity. Once time, in accordance with Lev 12:1-8, removed their newborn impurity, God permitted them entrance into the sanctum (that is, the Garden) and allowed them to touch the sancta (that is, every holy tree within it). As a result of this narration of the creation of Adam and Eve and their period of purification outside of the Garden, we can conclude that the author believed that newborns suffer the ritual impurity associated with childbirth.[28]

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[26] Translation of Ethiopic comes from J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Edition* (CSCO 511; Louvain: Peeters, 1989).

[27] On the Garden of Eden as the Temple, see G.A. Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden? Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the

Similarly, 4Q265, while fragmentary, contains a mixture of laws with a narration of the creation of Adam and Eve. Joseph M. Baumgarten's reconstructed text demonstrates that this work, too, links God's placement of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden to the parturient legislation of Leviticus 12.[29] Like *Jubilees*, the author of 4Q265 believes that the Garden and its trees are holy: "[For] the Garden of Eden is holy and all its young shoots are holy" ([כי] קדוש גן עדן וכול האב אשר בתוכו קודש, fragment 7, line 14). As Baumgarten states, "The entrance of Adam and Eve into the garden, after their respective periods of purification, can with little difficulty be viewed as paradigmatic for the acceptance of newly born infants of both sexes into the sacred sphere."[30]

Both *Jubilees* and 4Q265 connect the creation of Adam and Eve, and their entry into Eden, to the laws of the parturient in Leviticus 12. Although neither work explicitly states that all subsequent newborn Israelites suffer childbirth impurity, this conclusion seems to be the logical result of the juxtaposition of levitical legislation and primeval narrative. Significantly,

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Garden of Eden," *HTR* 82 (1989) 121-148 (129-131), C.T.R. Hayward, "The Figure of Adam in Pseudo-Philo's Biblical Antiquities," *JSJ* 23 (1992) 1-20 (6-7), and B. Ego, "Heilige Zeit—heiliger Raum—heiliger Mensch: Beobachtungen zur Struktur der Gesetzesbegründung in der Schöpfungs- und Paradiesgeschichte des Jubiläenbuchs," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997) 207-219 (214).

[28] So, too, J.M. Baumgarten, "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G.J. Brooke with F. García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 3-10, and H.K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 5; London: T&T Clark, 2004) 62, 100.

[29] In addition to Baumgarten's article, "Purification after Childbirth," see also his critical edition with commentary, "265. 4QMiscellaneous Rules," in *Qumran Cave 4, XXV: Halakhic Texts* (ed. J. Baumgarten et al.; DJD XXXV; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999) 57-78.

[30] Baumgarten, "Purification after Childbirth," 5.

the ninth-century c.e. Byzantine chronicler George Syncellus, makes this connection:

> For this reason, that is on account of the days of their separation from Paradise after their creation, God ordained through Moses in Leviticus that in giving birth to a male, a woman is impure for forty days, in giving birth to a female, for eighty days. For since Adam was introduced into Paradise on the fortieth day after he was formed, for this reason they also introduce male children that are born into the temple on the fortieth day, in accordance with the law. But in the case of a female child, God ordained that she is impure for eighty days, because of Eve's entrance into Paradise on the eightieth day, and because of the impurity of the female in relation to the male (*Chronography* 5).[31]

It appears that Syncellus wrongly attributes this passage to the *Life of Adam*; instead, it seems likely that he is actually citing a slightly different version of *Jub.* 3:8-13.[32] Regardless, Syncellus preserves a compelling piece of evidence that some Jews in the Second Temple period believed that newborn infants suffered ritual impurity, just like their mothers.

I should stress that I am not arguing that all Jews in the Second Temple period concluded, on the basis of Leviticus 12, that newborns suffered childbirth impurity. 4Q266 provides the clearest evidence that this was not the case, since it forbids the new mother to nurse her child and requires the use of a wet nurse (4Q266 6 ii 10-11). The underlying assumption of this halakhah is that, if the mother nurses the newborn, she will convey impurity to her child. Thus, the author of 4Q266 agrees with *Jubilees* and

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[31] Translation taken from W. Adler and P. Tiffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[32] W. Adler (*Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* [Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989] 85) argues that the *Life of Adam* to which Syncellus refers is a modified and enlarged account of *Jubilees*' version of the creation of Adam and Eve. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between *Jubilees* and the *Life of Adam*, see H. Gelzer (*Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* [2 vols.; Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1885] 2:264-272), who concludes that this passage is an "Auszug aus dem Jubiläenbuch." Jean-Daniel Kaestli has kindly pointed out to me that one version of the *Traditional Life of Adam and Eve* contains a reference to the purification periods of Adam and Eve prior to their entry into the Garden, although this passage does not explicitly address the impurity of the newborn. J.H. Mozley ("The Vita Adae," *JTS* 30 [1929] 121-149 [124]) concludes that this passage's connection "with the 'Vita' dates at least to the eighth century, for it appears in the Paris MS of the ninth [century]."

4Q265 in their belief that newborn children are susceptible to impurity, but disagrees with them regarding when (at the time of birth, or during the initial period of impurity) such transference of impurity occurs. As Martha Himmelfarb concludes: "[This] reading of the text of Leviticus is so persuasive that it is hard not to agree that P must have shared the view that the parturient conveyed impurity to those who touched her during the first stage of her impurity. Surely it would not have escaped P's notice that the newborn baby could not avoid such contact."[33]

Conclusion: The Presentation of the Newborn Jesus in the Jerusalem Temple

Despite the concern *Jubilees* and 4Q265 demonstrate over the possibility of the impurity of the newborn, Leviticus 12 does not address the child's status. Himmelfarb helpfully explains why this is so: "Leviticus 12 betrays no anxiety about this contact. Perhaps P ignores the question because it does not think it important. The consequences of impurity as specified in Leviticus 12 are hardly relevant to a newborn, who is most unlikely to have the opportunity to enter the sanctuary or touch holy things and who is certainly incapable of eating sacrificial meat and other kinds of consecrated food."[34] Since *Jubilees* and 4Q265 narrate the entrance of Adam and Eve into the Garden of Eden, that is, into a sanctum, the authors of these works must make clear that Adam and Eve have completed the period of purification that Leviticus 12 requires. This observation is of utmost importance for the interpretation of Luke 2:22. Like *Jubilees* and 4Q265, but in contrast to Leviticus, Luke explicitly portrays the entrance of the newborn Jesus into sacred space when his parents present him to the Lord

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[33] Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512," *DSD* 8.1 (2001) 9-37 (26).

[34] Himmelfarb, "Impurity and Sin," 26. Himmelfarb's remarks are similar to the conclusions of W. Paschen (*Rein und Unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte* [SANT 24; Munich: Kösel, 1970] 60), who argues that the parturient transmits impurity throughout the entire period of her purification. Interestingly, a late-second century Christian work, *Protevangelium of James* 5, claims that Mary's mother, Anna, gave birth to her but did not breastfeed her until she underwent purification. The author of this work shares with the author of 4Q266 the belief that a newborn child is susceptible to parturient impurity and attempts to protect Jesus' mother from this ritual impurity. The *Canons of Hippolytus* (see esp. Canon 18) demonstrate that in the fourth-century C.E. Christians still believed that childbirth brought about impurity, requiring the separation of both parturients and midwives from sacred space.

(i.e., at the Jerusalem Temple). While the priestly writer of Leviticus did not need to address the purity status of the newborn, Luke is compelled to do so in order to portray Jesus in the temple precincts. Luke's infancy narrative stresses the law observance of Jesus' family (cf. 1:6, 9; 2:22-24, 27, 41-42); if he is not careful, he might implicate the infant Jesus in bringing ritual impurity into the sanctum.

This connection between Jesus' presentation in the temple and the need for the preceding purificatory rites explains one more of the three perceived errors Brown detects in Luke's understanding of the law. Brown argues that Luke wrongly conflates the childbirth sacrifices with temple presentation.[35] But this combination of the legislation of Leviticus 12 with the presentation in the temple makes good halakhic sense. Since Luke portrays Jesus' parents presenting him to the Lord (an interpretive issue which I will not deal with here), he must ensure that his readers realize that all the requisite childbirth purificatory rites occurred prior to this presentation.

I have argued that Luke 2:22 contradicts neither the legislation of Leviticus 12 nor the childbirth practices of Luke's contemporary Jews. In fact, one could argue that Luke's views on childbirth impurity coincide with some of the stricter halakhic rulings on childbirth impurity in Second Temple Judaism.[36] As a result, I would briefly like to touch upon the question of the identity of the author of Luke-Acts. In light of what he believes to be Luke's error regarding childbirth impurity, Brown concludes that the author of Luke was a Gentile convert to Christianity, perhaps a Gentile proselyte to Judaism prior to believing in Jesus, who only had "book knowledge" of Jewish customs.[37] In similar fashion, although not excluding the possibility that Luke was a Diaspora Jew, Joseph Fitzmyer states: "What has to be recognized is that Luke, not being a Palestinian Jewish Christian, is not accurately informed about this custom of the purification of a woman after childbirth."[38]

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[35] Brown, "Presentation of Jesus," 3.

[36] In Chapter Five of *Contesting Conversion: Genealogy, Circumcision, and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), I argue that Luke's halakhic rulings on circumcision also coincide with the strictest Second Temple period views on the rite.

[37] Brown, "Presentation of Jesus," 4, n. 4. Similarly, M. Wolter (*Das Lukasevangelium* [HNT 5; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008] 135) argues that Luke may have been influenced not by Jewish but by Greek conceptions of impurity.

[38] Fitzmyer, *Luke I-IX*, 424.

Neither Brown nor Fitzmyer rest their conclusion about Luke's non-Jewish identity solely upon their belief that he was unfamiliar with Jewish childbirth rituals, yet clearly such supposed ignorance would support their conclusion. In contrast, I have argued that Luke does not display such ignorance. In fact, contrary to Brown, Luke does not display book knowledge of childbirth impurity, for if he did, he would conclude, following only the explicit instructions of the book of Leviticus, that the mother alone suffered impurity after giving birth. Luke goes beyond the written instruction of Leviticus 12, displaying a deeply knowledgeable understanding of impurity, one that comports with the book of *Jubilees* and 4Q265. Rather, it is later Christian scribes, who demonstrate their book knowledge of Leviticus by conforming Luke 2:22 to the explicit legislation of Leviticus 12. Of course, intimate knowledge of Jewish ritual legislation does not demonstrate that the author of Luke-Acts was a Jew. Nonetheless, perhaps the fact that Luke-Acts evidences sophisticated knowledge of ritual practice should cause us to reconsider long-cherished orthodoxies on the identity of Luke and his portrayal of Judaism and the Jewish Law.

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The Significance of the Distribution of Self-designations in Acts

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Abstract
An analysis of the distribution of self-designations in Acts reveals that Luke's use of these self-designations is not random. Rather significant insight into Luke's theology and into early Christian history can be gained by looking at the way these self-designations are distributed throughout Acts, when they are actually used, and whether they are used by Luke's narrator or by actors in his story. The self-designations discussed here are ἀδελφοί, μαθηταί, ἐκκλησία, "the believers" and "the saints" or "the sanctified ones."

Keywords
Self-designations; Acts; brothers and sisters; disciples; church or assembly; the believers; the saints; the sanctified ones

Luke uses a range of self-designations for "Christians" in Acts. These have been studied on a number of occasions, but the distribution of these self-designations has never been fully investigated.[1] I will argue that in a range of cases there are either theological or historical reasons why Luke uses particular self-designations in particular places or ways. Overall, I hope to show that Luke is very careful in his use of these self-designations.[2]

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[1] For discussion of previous work on self-designations see P.R. Trebilco, *Self-designations and Group Identity in the New Testament* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), chapter 1. Discussions of the self-designations in Acts dealt with in this article are found in chapters 2-6 of *self-designations* but as part of a quite different argument from that pursued here.

[2] The use of some self-designations has been taken as an indication of Luke's sources; e.g. the first use of μαθητής in Acts 6:1 as indicating an Antiochene source; see C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994, 1998) 1:54-55, 305. However, here I am dealing with the final form of the text, regardless of what sources Luke may have used. I will not deal with all the self-designations used in Acts, but only those where an analysis of the distribution leads to

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1. The Use of μαθηταί at the End of the Gospels of Mark and Luke

A helpful place to begin in this discussion is by looking more generally at the use of μαθηταί in the Gospels. Stanton notes: "Mark does not call the inner circle of followers 'disciples' from the Gethsemane incident (14:32) right through to the message of the mysterious young man sitting at the entrance to the empty tomb. The young man hints at the eventual restoration of the disciples. 'But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going ahead of you to Galilee; there you will see him, just as he told you' (16:7)."[3] Mark is very careful in his use of μαθηταί; they cease to be μαθηταί from 14:32 onwards, but restoration is promised in 16:7.

Luke follows Mark here and does not use μαθηταί after Luke 22:45, despite many opportunities to use μαθηταί after this.[4] This avoidance of μαθηταί seems to be entirely intentional—they are *no longer* disciples, since they abandon Jesus and flee. Hence Luke refrains from using the term—until Acts 6:1 in fact. Does Luke use other self-designations as carefully as this? Of course, dimensions of Luke's style have long been discussed. Cadbury for example, and following him Dawsey, have discussed variations in style in Acts and identified that Luke's characters use different language in their speeches from that used by his narrator, and that Luke differentiates between different characters through their use of particular titles for Jesus in their speeches.[5] But this issue has not been discussed in relation to self-designations.

2. ἀδελφοί and Gentile Christians

In Acts ἀδελφοί is used metaphorically 54 times.[6] It is used as a designation by Jews (who are sometimes Jewish Christians) of each other with the

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further insight. For discussions of ἡ ὁδός and Χριστιανός see Trebilco, *Self-designations*, chapters 7-8.

[3] G.N. Stanton, *The Gospels and Jesus* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: CUP, 2002) 271.

[4] See e.g. Luke 22:49-50, 58-59; 23:49; 24:9-10, 13, 33; *TDNT* 4:442-443, 446-447; cf. John 18:17, 25.

[5] See H.J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (2nd ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1958) 227-230; J.M. Dawsey, "What's in a Name? Characterization in Luke," *BTB* 16 (1986) 143-147, each with examples. More generally on lexical variation in Acts see G. Mussies, "Variation in the Book of Acts," *Filología Neotestamentaria* 4 (1991) 165-182; 8 (1995) 23-61; Mussies does not address the issue of variation in Luke's use of self-designations in detail.

[6] See R. Aasgaard, "Brothers and Sisters in the Faith: Christian Siblingship as an

meaning of "fellow kinsman" or "compatriot,"[7] Jewish Christians address other Jewish Christians as ἀδελφοί,[8] and similarly Luke uses ἀδελφοί as a designation for Jewish Christians.[9] A significant new usage is introduced in Acts 15:1 and 15:22-23. Acts 14:27-15:1 refers to Paul and Barnabas in Antioch and reads:

> When they arrived, they called the church together and related all that God had done with them, and how he had opened a door of faith for the Gentiles. And they stayed there with the disciples (σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς) for some time. [15:1:] Then certain individuals came down from Judea and were teaching *the brothers* (ἐδίδασκον τοὺς ἀδελφούς), "Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved."

The mixed make-up of the church in Antioch has been clarified by Luke in Acts 11:20-26, and so in this context ἀδελφοί in 15:1 clearly refers to *both* Jews and Gentiles, although it is only to Gentile males that the teaching applies, since the Jews will already have been circumcised. This is the *first* application of ἀδελφοί to both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Acts, although Luke does not elaborate on this at this point.[10] However he does do this in 15:22-23:[11]

> Then the apostles and the elders, with the consent of the whole church, decided to choose men from among their members and to send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas. They sent Judas called Barsabbas, and Silas, leaders among *the brothers*

Ecclesiological Mirror in the First Two Centuries," in *The Formation of the Early Church* (ed. J. Ådna; WUNT 183; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 315.

[7] See H.J. Cadbury, "Note XXX. Names for Christians and Christianity in Acts," in *The Beginnings of Christianity, Part 1: The Acts of the Apostles, Vol. 5: Additional Notes to the Commentary* (ed. K. Lake and H.J. Cadbury; London: Macmillan, 1933) 379; see e.g. Acts 2:29, 37; 3:17, 22; on fourteen occasions ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί is used rather than ἀδελφοί; see e.g. Acts 1:16; 2:29; cf. 4 Macc 8:19; Barrett, *Acts*, 1:96.

[8] See 1:16; 6:3; 9:17; 15:7, 13; 21:20; 22:13.

[9] See 1:15; 9:30; 10:23; 11:1, 12, 29; 12:17; 14:2; 15:1, 3, 22; 21:7; 21:17; 28:14-15.

[10] The use of ἀδελφοί in 15:1 seems to be an anticipation of its use in 15:22-23, and it is clearly used to introduce the whole issue dealt with in Acts 15. I am grateful to Claire Pfann for making this point in an unpublished paper.

[11] In 15:3 we are to think of those who hear Paul as Jewish Christians (or not-Gentile Christians), including Samaritans, since these "brothers and sisters" rejoice at the conversion of Gentiles, clearly implying that they are rejoicing over something that does not include their own conversions.

> (ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς),[12] with the following letter: "*The brothers*, both the apostles and the elders,[13] to *the brothers of Gentile origin in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia*, greetings (Οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν χαίρειν)."

The Jewish ἀδελφοί, who are clearly Christians and who are said to be apostles and elders, write "to *the brothers of Gentile origin* (τοῖς... ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν)." Up until this point, apart from the introduction to this episode in 15:1, ἀδελφοί has *never* been used of Gentile Christians,[14] even though the first Gentile conversion—that of Cornelius—was narrated in Acts 10, and there have been a significant number of Gentile conversions in chapters 11-14; ἀδελφοί seems to have been studiously avoided in Acts 11-14 with regard to Gentiles.[15] Here in 15:22-23, Luke makes it crystal clear that ἀδελφοί is being used of Gentile Christians by saying that they are brothers τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν. He emphasises this by again using ἀδελφοί in 15:32 and 33 of the (clearly mixed) Christian community in Antioch. *Jewish* and *Gentile* Christians are thus ἀδελφοί *because* they are Christians.

Then in Acts 15:36 we read: "After some days Paul said to Barnabas, 'Come, let us return and visit *the brothers and sisters* (τοὺς ἀδελφούς) in every city where we proclaimed the word of the Lord and see how they are doing.'" The context makes it clear that these ἀδελφοί are in Cyprus, Syria and Cilicia (see 15:39-40), and so are those whose conversions had been described in Acts 13-14. But these Christians had *never* been described as ἀδελφοί in that section of Acts; rather in 13:52; 14:20, 22, 28 the mixed Jewish and Gentile Christian groups had been designated as μαθηταί,[16] and in 13:1; 14:23, 27 as ἐκκλησία.[17]

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[12] In context, these are ἀδελφοί in Jerusalem.

[13] There is considerable textual variation here; see Barrett, *Acts*, 2:740.

[14] This key point is generally overlooked by commentators; an exception is J. Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998) 400.

[15] The use of self-designations in Acts 11-14 is as follows: 11:1: ἀδελφοί of Jewish Christians in Judea; 11:12: ἀδελφοί of Jewish Christians in Joppa; 11:21: ὁ πιστεύσας of Gentile Christians; 11:22: ἐκκλήσια of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem; 11:26: ἐκκλήσια, μαθητής and Χριστιανοί of Jewish and Gentile Christians in Antioch; 11:29: μαθητής of Jewish and Gentile Christians in Antioch and ἀδελφοί of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem; 12:1 and 5: ἐκκλήσια of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem; 12:17: ἀδελφοί of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem; 13:1: ἐκκλήσια of both Jewish and Gentile Christians in Antioch; 13:15, 26, 38: ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί of Jews; 13:39: ὁ πιστεύσας of Jewish Christians; 13:52: μαθητής of both Jewish and Gentile Christians (see 13:42-3, 48) in Pisidian Antioch; 14:2: ἀδελφοί of Jewish Christians; 14:20: μαθητής of Gentile Christians (14:6-18) in Lystra; 14:21: μαθητής of Christians whose ethnicity is unstated in Derbe; 14:22, 23: both μαθητής and ἐκκλήσια used of Christians in Lystra, Iconium and Pisidian Antioch, with the fact that these are (predominantly) Gentile Christians being emphasised in 14:27; 14:27, 28: μαθητής and ἐκκλήσια used of Syrian Antioch, clearly a Jewish and Gentile Christian community. Thus, ἀδελφοί is used of Jewish Christians in 11:1, 12, 29; 12:17; 14:2 and of Jews in 13:15, 26, 38.

Acts 11:27-9 provided an opportunity to use ἀδελφοί of Gentile Christians. There, of a mixed group (11:20-26), we read:

> At that time prophets came down from Jerusalem to Antioch. One of them named Agabus stood up and predicted by the Spirit that there would be a severe famine over all the world; and this took place during the reign of Claudius. *The disciples* (τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν) determined that according to their ability, each would send relief to the *brothers and sisters living in Judea* (τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς).

In 11:29, ἀδελφοί could have been used to designate the Jewish and Gentile Christians in Antioch, which would have complemented the use of the same term for Jewish Christians in Judea, and made a strong point of their theological unity, especially when Gentile Christians were assisting Jewish Christians financially; instead Luke uses μαθηταί here.[18] Luke's narrator seems to be very careful in his use of μαθητής and ἀδελφοί in Acts 11-15.[19] I suggest his over-riding concern is *not* to use ἀδελφοί of Gentile Christians in this section, a usage he reserves for 15:1 and 15:22-23. This means it is striking when ἀδελφοί is *finally* used of a group of Christians *including Gentiles* in Syrian Antioch (15:1) and Syrian Antioch, Syria and Cilicia (15:22-23), the first such uses of ἀδελφοί which includes Gentiles. The net result of the use of designations in 11:26-15:1 is that Luke can *delay* using ἀδελφοί of Gentiles until 15:1 and 15:22-23,[20] when he discusses the Council in Jerusalem.

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[16] Μαθητεύω is found in 14:21.

[17] Acts 14:2, in Iconium, is not evidence against this: "But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles and poisoned their minds against the brothers (κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν)." ἀδελφοί here refers to Paul and Barnabas, who are the subject of the verbs in 14:1 (see also 13:50-51). This is also shown by 14:3-4. The immediately following clause in 14:3 ("So they remained for a long time [ἱκανὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον διέτριψαν]") does not make sense if ἀδελφοί refers to Christians in Iconium, since these Christians never leave the city; the clause can only refer to Paul and Barnabas, who are thus the referents of ἀδελφοί in 14:2. Further, the mention of signs and wonders done by "their hands" (v. 3) and mention of the apostles (v. 4), also makes it clear that ἀδελφοί in 14:2 refers to Paul and Barnabas, not the Christians in Iconium; see J. Roloff, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (NTD 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981) 211; J. Zmijewski, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (RNT; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1994) 525; cf. C.W. Stenschke, *Luke's Portrait of Gentiles Prior to Their Coming to Faith* (WUNT 2.108; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999) 328.

[18] Note by contrast Acts 15:23 where Luke *does* use ἀδελφοί of *both* Jewish Christians in Jerusalem and Gentile Christians in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia.

[19] In Acts 16:2 ἀδελφοί is used with regard to Lystra and Iconium; in the narratives about these cities in Acts 14 the term had *not* been used of Gentile converts, but rather we have πιστεύω used of those in Iconium (Acts 14:1) and μαθητής used with regard to Lystra (14:20).

After 15:23, Luke uses ἀδελφοί a number of times in Acts 16-18 of groups which are made up of both Jewish and Gentile Christians. For example, in Acts 16:2 we read of ἀδελφοί in Lystra and Iconium, who clearly include Gentiles in the light of the narrative in Acts 14, and in Acts 17:1-15 it is emphasised that in Thessalonica and Beroea, *both* Jews and Gentiles became Christians (17:1-4, 11-12). In 17:6, 10 and 14 the community as a whole or some of its members in both places are described as ἀδελφοί.[21]

So why does Luke *delay* using ἀδελφοί of Gentile Christians until 15:1 and 15:23? It seems clear that, as Luke presents the story, this should be connected to the Apostolic Council of Acts 15 and is one of Luke's ways of emphasising the significance of that Council. *Now* that the Jerusalem Council has affirmed the legitimacy of the salvation of Gentile Christians without circumcision, and without them keeping the whole law, and thus has affirmed that they can be fully part of the new movement (see 15:5, 7-11, 13-21), Luke *can* use ἀδελφοί of *both* Jewish and Gentile Christians. For the first time, they truly are "brothers and sisters" together, because the Council has expressly given its approval to the salvation of uncircumcised Gentiles, and hence its tacit approval for the use of ἀδελφοί for Gentile Christians.[22] But this is clearly *Luke's* own theological usage, since ἀδελφοί was used by Paul from the beginning of his Gentile mission.[23] Accordingly, ἀδελφοί carries significant theological freight for Luke. This also emphasises that for Luke the key background context of usage of ἀδελφοί is the OT and Jewish usage for members of God's people, as his abundant on-going use of it as a term for Jews bears witness.[24] By using it of Gentiles as well as Jews, it is clear that Gentiles are part of the one people of God; they too are "brothers and sisters" of the new family.[25]

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[20] In Chapter 15 we have ἐκκλήσια (of Jewish and Gentile Christians in Syrian Antioch) and ἀδελφοί (of Jewish Christians in Phoenicia and Samaria) in 15:3; ἐκκλήσια of Jerusalem Christians in 15:4; a believer-designation of Jerusalem Christians (who belonged to the Pharisees) in 15:5; μαθητής of Gentile Christians in unspecified places in 15:10; ἐκκλήσια and ἀδελφοί (both of Jerusalem) in 15:22.

[21] See also Acts 16:40; 18:18, 27 where ἀδελφοί is used of the Christian community.

[22] Luke uses ἀδελφός 57 times in total in Acts, so the statistical sample is not too small to draw these sorts of conclusions.

[23] See e.g. 1 Thess 1:4; 2:1, 9, 14, 17; 3:2, 7; Gal 1:2, 11; 3:15; and Trebilco, *Self-designations*, chap. 2.

All of this shows the careful use of self-designations by Luke in this section of Acts, and with considerable theological freight. Do we also see such careful use elsewhere?

3. μαθηταί in Acts

In Acts, Luke uses μαθηταί 28 times and the feminine μαθήτρια once (Acts 9:36). Generally, he uses it of all the "Christians" in a particular place.[26] For example, the first use of μαθηταί in Acts is in Acts 6:1-2: "Now during those days, when *the disciples* were increasing in number (πληθυνόντων τῶν μαθητῶν), the Hellenists complained against the Hebrews.... And the twelve called together the whole community of *the disciples* (τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν)." Noteworthy also is Acts 11:26: "it was in Antioch that *the disciples* (τοὺς μαθητὰς) were first called 'Christians.'" Here Luke uses "the disciples" as a designation for those whom he also calls "Christians."

In Acts as a whole, μαθηταί is used of Christians in Jerusalem (6:1-2, 7; 9:1, 26 [twice]; 15:10), Damascus (9:10, 19), Joppa (9:38 and μαθήτρια in 9:36), Antioch (11:26, 29; 14:28), Antioch of Pisidia (13:52), Lystra (14:20; 16:1), Derbe (14:22),[27] Galatia and Phrygia (18:23), Achaia (18:27), Ephesus (19:1, 9, 30; 20:1, 30), Tyre (21:4) and Caesarea (21:16, twice). This geographical spread indicates that, as far as Luke was concerned, Christians everywhere could be called "disciples." That μαθηταί is not used in conjunction with say Corinth, Philippi or Rome, does not seem to suggest that Luke thinks the term is inappropriate in these places. Rather, he simply does not use it in these sections of the narrative.[28]

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[24] See Barrett, *Acts* 1:95.

[25] D. Seccombe, "The New People of God," in *Witness to the Gospel: The Theology of Acts* (ed. I.H. Marshall and D. Peterson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 372 notes that ἀδελφοί in Acts indicates that "transcending all ethnic, cultic and social differences, they are one new people, brothers and sisters to each other, and also to the human Jesus." But Luke indicates this in a very careful way, as I hope to have shown.

[26] See Barrett, *Acts* 2:759; 9:25 and 19:1 are two probable exceptions to the general usage of μαθητής with the meaning of "Christian."

[27] Note also μαθητεύω in 14:21.

Does this usage indicate that the term was used in the early churches? μαθηταί is not used at all by Paul, nor by any other NT book outside the Gospels and Acts. If μαθηταί was being used in the early churches with the frequency and geographical spread that Luke's usage in Acts suggests, it is very hard to explain its complete absence from all other NT books. This suggests Luke's usage does not reflect what people in these places called *themselves*, but rather that μαθηταί is Luke's *own term*.[29] If μαθηταί in Acts does not reflect actual historical usage, it seems likely that Luke uses it to show *continuity* between Jesus and the early churches.[30] By using the same term of "followers of Jesus after the resurrection,"[31] he is able to create a strong link between the time of Jesus and the time of the church and thus to emphasise continuity. The same self-designation can be used in both settings.

Does Luke's actual usage give any indication that this is Luke's *own term*? With the one exception of Acts 15:10, which I will discuss shortly, *Luke does not have speakers* address others as μαθηταί or use μαθηταί at all; rather, he restricts the usage of the term to *his narrator's comments, introductions and conclusions*.[32] Luke has plenty of opportunity for speakers to use μαθηταί; for example, he has speakers use ἀδελφοί,[33] and "the believers"[34] on a range of occasions, and could clearly have used μαθηταί instead in any of these texts. This careful restriction of μαθηταί to his narrator's voice, suggests that Luke was aware that the actual speakers in his story (e.g. Paul) would *not* have used the term. This is reinforced by the lack of usage of μαθηταί in the rest of the NT.

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[28] Luke's usage of μαθηταί seems to be in blocks. He does not use it before Acts 6:1 and then uses it in 6:1-7; 9:1-38; 11:26-29; 13:52-15:10, 16:1 (once), 18:23-21:16, and then not after this. This usage seems to best explain why he does not use μαθηταί with regard to some locations.

[29] See W. Reinbold, *Propaganda und Mission im ältesten Christentum: Eine Untersuchung zu den Modalitäten der Ausbreitung der frühen Kirche* (FRLANT 188; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) 16-17; J.P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus, Vol. 3: Companions and Competitors* (New York: Doubleday, 2001) 41.

[30] See Seccombe, "New People," 372; Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 3:41, 84 n. 4. Luke uses μαθητής 37 times in his Gospel.

[31] Of course Luke uses a lot of other self-designations in Acts, but this does not reduce the impact of his use of μαθηταί in Luke-Acts, since he uses very few self-designations across both volumes.

[32] See Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 3:41.

[33] See e.g. 1:16; 6:3; 11:12; 12:17; 15:7, 13, 23, 36.

[34] See 10:43; 13:39; 16:15; 19:2; 21:20, 25; 22:19.

The one exception to the term being used solely by Luke's narrator is 15:10. Peter, in addressing the council at Jerusalem says: "Now therefore why are you putting God to the test by placing on the neck of *the disciples* (τῶν μαθητῶν) a yoke that neither our ancestors nor we have been able to bear?" Here μαθηταί refers in the first instance to Gentile Christians in Antioch, although the letter that results from the Council is written to Christians in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia (Acts 15:23, where they are called ἀδελφοί), and clearly for Luke relates to Gentile Christians everywhere. But in Acts 15:10 μαθηταί is used by Peter, and thus by a speaker in the narrative. It is possible that the term could have been used in Jerusalem at this point, and Luke might be reflecting that usage.[35] However, given the lack of usage in the rest of the NT, *and* that this passage is an exception to the narrator's normal careful usage—reflected in the other 27 occasions he uses it—it seems most likely that the author has put the term on the lips of Peter here as a designation that he considers appropriate in the circumstances,[36] but that Peter himself, or others in Jerusalem, would not have used it at this time.[37]

We conclude that Luke's general rule of restricting the use of μαθηταί to his narrator's voice suggests that he was aware that the actual speakers in his story would *not* have used the term. This again suggests that Luke uses self-designations very carefully; the distribution of at least some self-designations is not random but rather reflects some important patterns and has significant implications. Part of this is that Luke can distinguish between the use of a term by his narrator and in his narrator's summaries, and the use of terms by his speakers.

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[35] It is used in relation to Jerusalem in Acts 6:1-2, 7; 9:1, 26.

[36] This raises the question of why Luke uses μαθηταί in 15:10. The most obvious alternative here is ἀδελφοί, but Luke has used this of *Jewish* Christians in Phoenicia and Samaria in 15:3, and then has Peter use ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί as a term of address to *Jewish* Christians in 15:7 and James again uses ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί to *Jewish* Christians in 15:13. So to use ἀδελφοί of *Gentile* Christians in 15:10 would have been very confusing. This seems to necessitate the use of some other term and μαθηταί has been used with regard to Gentiles (although often including Jewish Christians) since 11:26 (see 11:29; 13:52; 14:20, 21, 22, 28). The main alternative would have been ἐκκλήσια, but this has been used in 15:4 of the *Jewish* Christians in Jerusalem, so the use of ἐκκλήσια in 15:10 would again have been confusing. This seems to necessitate the use of μαθηταί on the lips of Peter here.

[37] E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971) 460 argues that, as we have it, Luke is responsible for the wording of this speech; see also Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 3:84 n. 5.

4. "Believer-designations"

In Acts, Luke uses the substantivized participle of πιστεύω as a self-designation twelve times, and the substantivized adjective πιστός three times.[38] Because of this variety of linguistic forms, I will discuss this topic under the rubric of "believer-designations."

Before considering Luke's usage, we need to provide some background by asking how early believer-designations were used? These designations were probably *not* created by Paul, but are pre-Pauline. Believer-designations play a significant role in 1 Thessalonians, probably Paul's earliest letter, being found in 1 Thess 1:7, 2:10, 13. In all three cases he uses οἱ πιστεύοντες absolutely, without explaining the object of "belief," and thus in a form which suggests it was *already* a technical abbreviation.[39] This probably reflects Paul's preaching and teaching in Thessalonica, and elsewhere.[40] Further, along with the use of πίστις,[41] believer-designations play a key role in distinguishing the Thessalonian Christians in their present situation from the situation they were in prior to receiving the gospel.[42]

Paul also uses οἱ πιστεύοντες in Romans on eight occasions[43] and without explanation to a community he had not founded. This suggests that Paul could simply take it for granted that this self-designation was standard terminology which was widely known in Rome. This suggests it was an established term in Paul's time, and that its use goes back much earlier than the writing of his letters. The use of believer-designations is not a Pauline innovation.

Other factors suggest believer-designations were developed at an early point. Firstly, Gal 2:15-16 shows that an emphasis on faith was common in early Jewish Christianity. Here the first person plural—"yet *we* know (εἰδότες) that a person is justified not by the works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ"—probably includes all Jews who have become Christians.[44] Paul can assume that other Jewish Christians share his views on faith and can argue *from* this assumption.[45] He is reflecting a *common emphasis of many Jewish Christians*,[46] which means that we can well understand others, prior to Paul's letter-writing career and in circles he did not influence, describing themselves as "the believers."

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[38] The substantivized participle of πιστεύω is found in Acts 2:44; 4:32; 5:14; 10:43; 11:21; 13:39; 15:5; 18:27; 19:18; 21:20, 25; 22:19; the substantivized adjective πιστός in Acts 10:45; 16:1, 15. In the NT the totals are 65 and 14 respectively.

[39] Paul uses believer-designations nineteen times in total.

[40] See J.W. Taylor, *Paul's Understanding of Faith* (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 2004) 58.

[41] See 1 Thess 1:3, 8; 3:2, 5-7, 10; 5:8.

[42] Taylor, *Paul's Understanding*, 178.

[43] See Rom 1:16; 3:22; 4:5, 11, 24; 9:33; 10:4, 11.

[44] It probably does not include the opponents Paul faces in Galatia; see W.O. Walker, "Does the 'We' in Gal 2.15-17 Include Paul's Opponents?" *NTS* 49 (2003) 560-565.

Secondly, faith is mentioned in a range of traditions about the resurrection, which suggests the significance of believing from a very early stage.[47] This emphasis on faith in connection with the resurrection, again suggests that at a very early period Christians could have described themselves as "the believers." Thirdly, the "Stone saying" in Isa 28:16 in the LXX was probably a key factor in the development of "the believers" as a self-designation.[48] This use of the LXX does not mean that it cannot be early however, particularly since some Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christians almost certainly knew Greek,[49] and because of the presence of the Hellenists, who used the LXX, in Jerusalem.[50]

But how early were believer-designations used? On three occasions in Acts 1-5, Luke uses a believer-designation: 2:44: "All those who believed (πάντες δὲ οἱ πιστεύοντες) were together"; 4:32: "Now the whole group of those who believed (τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν πιστευσάντων)"; and 5:14: "Yet more than ever believers were added to the Lord (πιστεύοντες τῷ κυρίῳ)."

These are comments by *Luke's narrator*, rather than reports of the words of a speaker. Since the designation is only used by the *narrator* in these passages, does Luke mean to indicate that the people involved in the story did not call *themselves* "the believers" at this very earliest point? That Luke almost exclusively restricts the use of μαθηταί to his narrator's voice, and that I have suggested this is his way of showing that μαθηταί was not a term that was actually used by the early churches, but is rather a term that Luke chooses to use, raises this possibility. The very early use of "the believers" in Acts 1-5 could be similar, and would be the narrator's way of emphasising the importance of "believing" from the first and of tying together "faith language" in the Gospel[51] and in Acts, *rather than* suggesting that believer-designations were actually used as early as Acts 1-5. So I suggest that by *only* having his *narrator* use believer-designations in Acts 1-5, Luke may be showing that he is simply using his own language at this point.

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[45] See R.B. Hays, *The Faith of Jesus Christ: The Narrative Substructure of Galatians 3:1-4:11* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 123; H.D. Betz, *Galatians* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press; 1979) 115 with n. 28.

[46] For a full discussion of 2:16 see J.L. Martyn, *Galatians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1997) 249-253, 260-277.

[47] See 1 Cor 15:1-5, 11; Rom 10:9-10; 1 Thess 4:14.

[48] This is dependent on the LXX text with both the occurrence of ὁ πιστεύων and the addition of ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ to the MT of Isa 28:16. See further Trebilco, *Self-designations*, chap. 3.

[49] On the use of the LXX in Jerusalem see M. Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2002) 80-82, 108-109.

[50] See Acts 6:1; J.D.G. Dunn, *Beginning From Jerusalem: Christianity in the Making, Vol. 2* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009) 312, 314.

The use of believer-designations as Acts progresses is interesting with regard to how early they may have been used. A *speaker* first uses "the believers" in 10:43,[52] in Peter's speech to Gentiles in Cornelius' house, which is clearly a Greek-speaking setting. There Peter says: "All the prophets testify about him that all the believers in him (πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα εἰς αὐτόν) receive forgiveness of sins through his name." Luke's narrator then writes in 10:45 of "the circumcised believers (οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοί) who had come with Peter." In 11:19-21 the narrator writes of Jewish Greek-speaking Christians from Cyprus and Cyrene being scattered after Stephen's death; he comments that as a result of their work in Antioch "a great number became believers (ὁ πιστεύσας)". From this point on, *speakers* use believer-designations six times (13:39 in Pisidian Antioch; 16:15 in Philippi; 19:2 in Ephesus; 21:20, 25; 22:19 in Jerusalem), as well as continuing use by the narrator.[53]

Perhaps the point is an historical one then—and these are indications from Luke that "the believers" was *first* developed in a Greek-speaking setting outside of Jerusalem, not at the very beginning of the movement, but still *at a relatively early point.* I noted at the beginning of this section that a range of other independent points favour an early development of believer-designations. Certainly, the way Luke has *speakers in the story* actually use "the believers" as a self-designation supports the suggestion that the term developed at a comparatively early point, perhaps by the time of Peter's mission and the beginnings of Christianity in Antioch. Thus, Luke's actual usage, in partnership with other evidence, gives us grounds for arguing that believer-designations were historically used from a *comparatively* early stage in Greek-speaking Christianity.

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[51] See e.g. Luke 1:45; 5:20; 7:9, 50; 8:12-13, 25, 48, 50; 17:5-6, 19; 18:8, 42; 22:32; 24:25.

[52] There are of course a range of speeches prior to Acts 10:43.

[53] Overall, the narrator writes of "believers" in his summaries or comments relating to Jerusalem (2:44; 4:32; 5:14; 15:5), Caesarea (10:45) and Antioch (11:21), Lystra (16:1), Corinth (18:27) and Ephesus (19:18).

5. ἐκκλησία

Luke uses ἐκκλησία 23 times in Acts, 19 times with reference to Christians, three times of a city "assembly" and once of Israel. Before considering Luke's usage, we must briefly discuss the origin of the use of the term.

It has often been argued that ἐκκλησία was first used as a self-designation in Jerusalem by the Hellenists who are first referred to in Acts 6:1. In this regard, Paul refers to his activity as a persecutor in Gal 1:13, 1 Cor 15:9 and Phil 3:6 and in the first two passages he says he persecuted ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ while in Phil 3:6 he simply says he persecuted ἡ ἐκκλησία. Roloff suggests that in speaking of ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ, Paul "takes up the self-designation of the early Jerusalem church as 'the church of God'... [O]ne may proceed with the assumption that ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ (*qᵉhal ‘el*) was first a self-designation of the early community coming into existence after Easter."[54] A number of other scholars agree that here Paul is citing an *existing* way in which the Christians in Jerusalem whom Paul persecuted referred to themselves.[55]

Gal 1:22 reinforces the likelihood that ἐκκλησία was first used as a self-designation in Jerusalem and Judea. There we read: "and I was still unknown by sight to *the assemblies of Judea* that are in Christ (ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν Χριστῷ)." Paul refers here to a time three years after his Damascus Road experience (Gal 1:18), and so to a very early period. As Dunn notes, this passage implies that "Paul's usage was not original to him or to his mission."[56] That in these four passages Paul chose to use ἡ ἐκκλησία rather than οἱ ἅγιοι, or οἱ ἀδελφοί suggests the origin of the term in pre-Pauline Christianity and that ἐκκλησία was applied to the Jerusalem "assembly" and to those in Judea.

Several points suggest that the term originated with the Hellenists in Jerusalem in particular.[57] Firstly, it seems likely that Paul persecuted the

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[54] J. Roloff, "ἐκκλησία," *EDNT* 1:412.

[55] See J. Hainz, *EKKLESIA: Strukturen Paulinischer Gemeinde-Theologie und Gemeinde-Ordnung* (Biblische Untersuchungen 9; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1972) 236, 251; H. Merklein, "Die Ekklesia Gottes: Der Kirchenbegriff bei Paulus und in Jerusalem," in *Studien zu Jesus und Paulus* (WUNT 43; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1987) 301-302; W. Krauss, *Das Volk Gottes: Zur Grundlegung der Ekklesiologie bei Paulus* (WUNT 85; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1996) 112.

[56] Dunn, *Beginning*, 600. Note also 1 Thess 2:14.

[57] See H.-J. Klauck, "Volk Gottes und Leib Christi, oder: Von der kommunikativen Kraft der Bilder. Neutestamentliche Vorgaben für die Kirche von heute," in *Alte Welt und neuer Glaube: Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte, Forschungsgeschichte und Theologie des Neuen Testaments*

Hellenists rather than all of the earliest Christians,[58] and so he is recalling an early designation of the Hellenists when speaking of his persecution. Secondly, we have no evidence for an underlying Aramaic term; the designation seems to have first emerged as the Greek term ἐκκλησία, rather than this being a translation of an earlier Aramaic designation.[59] This evidence is in keeping with the term originating with the Hellenists, who are clearly associated with Jerusalem in Acts 6.

With regard to the Christian community, Luke always has his *narrator* use ἐκκλησία, apart from 20:28 when Paul speaks to the Ephesian elders of the ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ.[60] So in this case, Luke rarely has speakers in the narrative use ἐκκλησία. This is partly because of the meaning of ἐκκλησία—it is a designation for and a description of the corporate group, and as such is more likely to be used by the narrator in summaries than in first-person speech.[61] But *in this case*, since we can argue that ἐκκλησία goes back to the pre-Pauline period and is clearly used regularly by a range of NT authors, that Luke has it predominantly used by his narrator is not to be taken as an indication that its use in Acts does not have a historical basis. This is quite a different case from μαθητής then, and shows that Luke uses self-designations in a variety of ways.

But an examination of the distribution of ἐκκλησία is enlightening. The first time Luke's narrator uses ἐκκλησία is in Acts 5:11 of the assembly in Jerusalem; he then uses it of the OT "ἐκκλησία in the wilderness" in Stephen's speech in Acts 7:38. The assembly in Jerusalem is spoken of in Acts 8:1, 3; 11:22; 12:1, 5; 15:4, 22 (and probably in 18:22). Further, in Acts 9:31 we read of "the assembly/church throughout Judea, Galilee, and Samaria" and from 11:26 onwards the narrator speaks of the assembly in Antioch (11:26; 13:1; 14:27; 15:3), Lystra and Iconium (14:23), Syria and Cilicia (15:41), Ephesus (20:17), unnamed cities (16:5).

One notable point that emerges here is the absence (apart from Acts 5:11) of ἐκκλησία with regard to the Christian "assembly" *until Acts 8.* Seccombe writes: "The community which we meet in the early chapters of Acts—the Jerusalem followers of Jesus gathering in homes and at the

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(NTOA 29; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1994) 289; A.B. du Toit, "Paulus Oecumenicus: Interculturality in the Shaping of Paul's Theology," *NTS* 55 (2009) 133.

[58] See Dunn, *Beginning*, 274-278.

[59] Du Toit, "Paulus," 139 n. 100.

[60] In 7:58 Stephen uses it of the ἐκκλησία in the wilderness, and in 19:39 the town clerk in Ephesus uses it of the city ἐκκλησία.

[61] By contrast believer-designations and ἀδελφοί can regularly be used in both.

temple—is a community without a name. From our vantage point we recognize it immediately as the Church of Jerusalem, the original Christian ἐκκλησία, but Luke does not say so. Instead he uses every art to avoid the word."[62] Luke's narrator uses a range of other designations for Christians in Acts 1-4: "Men of Galilee" (1:11); "all those devoting themselves with one accord to prayer" (1:14); "the brothers and sisters" (1:15-16); "the company together (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό)" (1:15); "the eleven apostles" (1:26); "all those together at the same place (ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό)" (2:1); "all the believers (πάντες δὲ οἱ πιστεύοντες)" (2:44); "those being saved" (2:47); those who "had been with Jesus (σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἦσαν)" (4:13); "their own people" (4:23) and "the community (πλῆθος) of those who had believed" (4:32).[63]

Seccombe goes on to note that some textual changes in 2:44 and 2:47 (where ἐκκλησία was inserted in many manuscript) are "testimony to the difficulty Greek readers experienced with the awkward way Luke uses ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, and alerts us to the fact that he was deliberately avoiding using ἐκκλησία, at the same time as he wished to stress the close association of the believers."[64] It is also notable that Luke does not use ἐκκλησία with regard to Pentecost. As Campbell notes, Luke "seems deliberately to avoid using the word in his account of the happenings on the day of Pentecost, doubtless because he felt that to use it there would have been an anachronism."[65]

What do we make of this avoidance of ἐκκλησία? If it is a theological point that Luke is making, it is hard to see what it is, particularly after the Pentecost narrative. Rather, I think a historical point is clear here. For all of this suggests that ἐκκλησία was *not* the term used in the very earliest period—hence Luke's *avoidance* of it until 5:11, and then *further* avoidance of it with regard to Christians until 8:1. Thus, he is avoiding anachronism. It is also clear that ἐκκλησία is not a Lucan creation, given its probable pre-Pauline origin and its widespread use in Paul. If Luke

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[62] D. Seccombe, "Luke's Vision for the Church," in *A Vision for the Church: Studies in Early Christian Ecclesiology in Honour of J.P.M. Sweet* (ed. M.N.A. Bockmuehl and M.B. Thompson; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997) 47-48; see also Seccombe, "New People," 353.

[63] Of particular interest here is Luke's use of ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό; he uses it four times in Acts 1-2 (Acts 1:15; 2:1, 44, 47) and never again after he has introduced ἐκκλησία. We can suggest that his early use of the phrase may in part be to avoid using ἐκκλησία in the narrative of a period when it was not actually being used historically.

[64] Seccombe, "Luke's Vision," 48.

[65] J.Y. Campbell, "The Origin and Meaning of the Christian Use of the Word ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ," in *Three New Testament Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1965) 41.

had created the term, the actual point at which his narrator first used ἐκκλησία might bear little weight historically, but given that he is using a pre-existing term, and that we can argue that he *avoids* using the term in the early chapters of Acts, we can suggest that his actual usage reflects the historical development of the use of the term ἐκκλησία. That is, it was not used in the *very* earliest period after the resurrection, but its use emerged as time progressed, firstly in Jerusalem (as confirmed by Paul's usage) where other evidence suggests it was developed by the Hellenists, not the Hebrews, and then elsewhere.[66] This careful presentation by Luke's narrator would also suggest that the geography of its usage might be reliable—that it did emerge in Jerusalem. So in this case, I suggest this careful usage reflects the *historical* situation.

6. The Saints or "the Sanctified Ones"

οἱ ἅγιοι ("the saints") is used 60 times in the NT as a self-designation and the substantivized participle of ἁγιάζω is used five times to refer to people as "the sanctified ones." It is predominantly a Pauline term (38 times), although it occurs significantly in Revelation (14 times).

Luke uses οἱ ἅγιοι of Christians on four occasions, and so it is not one of his favourite terms. The first use is Acts 9:13, during Luke's account of Ananias' vision of Jesus: "But Ananias answered, 'Lord, I have heard from many about this man, how much evil he has done to *your saints* (τοῖς ἁγίοις σου) in Jerusalem.'" It is also found in 9:32, 41 and 26:10.[67] In these passages, Luke uses οἱ ἅγιοι only in connection with Jerusalem, Lydda and Joppa, and only of Jewish Christians. Paul's usage, particularly in connection with the Collection,[68] suggests οἱ ἅγιοι was originally used as a self-designation by the earliest Jerusalem church; the usage in Acts is in keeping with this view of the origin of the self-designation among the earliest Jewish Christians in and around Jerusalem.

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(66) See J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Designations of Christians in Acts and Their Significance," in *Unité et diversité dans l'Église: Texte officiel de la Commission Biblique Pontificale et travaux personnels des Membres* (ed. Commission Biblique Pontificale; Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1989) 231.

(67) In 9:32, 41 Luke's narrator uses οἱ ἅγιοι, and in 9:13 and 26:10 it is used by speakers, so in this case Luke does not seem to distinguish between his narrator's use and that by actors in the story.

(68) See Rom 15:25-6, 31; 1 Cor 16:1; 2 Cor 8:4; 9:1, 12; for discussion see Trebilco, *Self-designations*, chap. 4.

Luke's use of the substantivized participle of ἁγιάζω is interesting. In Acts 20:32 as part of Paul's address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus we read: "And now I commend you to God and to the message of his grace, a message that is able to build you up and to give you the inheritance among *all the sanctified ones* (δοῦναι τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πᾶσιν)." In Acts 26:18, the risen Jesus commissions Paul to go to Gentles "to open their eyes so that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, so that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among *those who are sanctified* by faith in me (κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ)."

ἁγιάζω is only found in these two passages in Acts, and it is only used once in Luke's Gospel, in the Lord's Prayer in dependence on Q (Luke 11:2),[69] so it cannot be said to be one of Luke's favourite verbs.[70] Fitzmyer comments that the participle in 20:32 is "undoubtedly another way of saying the same thing" as οἱ ἅγιοι.[71]

We can suggest that in using the perfect participle of ἁγιάζω in this way, Luke is reflecting some knowledge of actual Pauline usage.[72] Although Paul only uses the participle of ἁγιάζω as a self-designation to refer to Christians in 1 Cor 1:2, he uses ἁγιάζω on four other occasions,[73] and it is found in Ephesians and the Pastorals on three occasions.[74] Further, as we have noted, the use of the participle of ἁγιάζω in Acts is equivalent to the use of ἅγιος as a substantive, and Paul uses οἱ ἅγιοι of Christians 30 times. Perhaps in using the participle of ἁγιάζω in Pauline contexts in Acts then, Luke is reflecting Paul's use of this word group—both of οἱ ἅγιοι and also (his somewhat limited use) of ἁγιάζω. Given *Luke's* very limited used of the verb, this seems the most likely explanation of the substantive use of the participle, particularly given that Luke does use it in Pauline contexts.

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[69] ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου is found in both Luke 11:2 and Matt 6:9.

[70] The participle from ἁγιάζω can be used substantively with the sense of "the sanctified ones" in the LXX; see for example Deut 33:3 and 4 Macc 17:19 (which quotes Deut 33:3).

[71] Fitzmyer, "Designations," 229.

[72] See O.E. Evans, *Saints in Christ Jesus: A Study of the Christian Life in the New Testament* (Swansea: John Perry Press, 1975) 38. It is possible that in using οἱ ἡγιασμένοι here Luke has been influenced by Deut 33:3-4 where the participle is found, but J. Dupont, *Le discours de Milet, testament pastoral de saint Paul (Actes 20:18-36)* (LD32; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1962) 281 notes that Deut 33:3-4 is quite different in content from Acts 20:32.

[73] See Rom 15:16; 1 Cor 6:11; 7:14; 1 Thess 5:23.

[74] See Eph 5:26; 1 Tim 4:5 and 2 Tim 2:21.

This is made more likely by the fact that the speech in Acts 20:18-35 contains a number of specifically Pauline words and phrases, and many echoes of Paul's actual teaching.[75]

In Acts 20:32 God is said to give the Ephesian elders, who are probably predominantly Gentiles,[76] "the inheritance *among all who are sanctified* (δοῦναι τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πᾶσιν)." In Acts 26:18 Paul is to go to Gentiles "so that they may receive... a place *among those who are sanctified* by faith in me (κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ)." Owen Evans comments in regard to the usage of οἱ ἅγιοι and of the participle of ἁγιάζω in Acts:

> it is Palestinian Christians in and around Jerusalem that are designated as "saints" in each of the occurrences of *hoi hagioi*. Moreover, the two passages which refer to *hoi hêgiasmenoi* have to do with *Gentiles* being given a place among "those who are consecrated", a fact which may indicate that the latter term in its original application referred to *Jewish* Christians.[77]

The usage of οἱ ἅγιοι and of the participle in Acts is thus very interesting. That the point is made in *both* Acts 20:32 and 26:18 that Gentiles are *included* among οἱ ἡγιασμένοι clearly reflects Paul's emphasis on the Gospel being for the Jew *first* but also for the Greek.[78] The use of πᾶς in Acts 20:32 may be coincidental, but in light of Pauline language in the speech, it clearly has a "Pauline ring" to it—Gentiles are to be included alongside Jewish Christians, so *all* are united.[79] But the inference that Jewish Christians were *originally* "the saints," and so Gentiles are now given "a share" (κλῆρος) in the self-designation is revealing—and Pauline. Further as Turner points out, the particular construction of ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις in 20:32 and 26:18 is noteworthy. He comments that Acts 20:32 is "not simply a general statement that God's grace gives an inheritance *to* those who are sanctified, but that he will give to these particular saints at Ephesus... an inheritance *among* all the sanctified, emphasizing the corporate nature of the Church *within* which these believers have their place."[80] An inheritance for Gentiles "*among* all the sanctified" then clearly stresses the connections of sanctification with the OT people of God, and the inclusion of Gentiles in the renewed people, who were originally the Jerusalem Christians.

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[75] See Trebilco, *Early Christians in Ephesus*, 177-183.

[76] See Trebilco, *Early Christians in Ephesus*, 143-145.

[77] Evans, *Saints*, 41; italics original.

[78] See Rom 1:16, 2:9-10; 11:17-24.

[79] See e.g. Rom 16:15; 2 Cor 1:1; 13:12; Phil 1:1; 4:21-22; Col 1:4; 1 Thess 3:13.

But we note again that Luke does *not* use οἱ ἅγιοι (as opposed to the participle) of *Gentiles*, and hence again may be reflecting an awareness of the original application of this self-designation to Jerusalem Christians. Is it going too far to suggest that Luke avoids using οἱ ἅγιοι of Christians outside Palestine (and hence avoids using it of Gentile Christians), and uses the participle of ἁγιάζω with reference to Gentile (as well as Jewish) Christians instead? But this *in fact* is his usage. The *effect* of this is to suggest firstly, that Luke knows that οἱ ἅγιοι was originally a designation of the church in Jerusalem and the surrounding area (Joppa and Lydda); secondly, that Paul extended the usage of οἱ ἅγιοι to Gentile churches; and thirdly, that to acknowledge this later extension, but still to preserve the original sense of οἱ ἅγιοι with reference to Jerusalem and environs, Luke uses the participle of ἁγιάζω (for which there was Pauline precedent, probably unknown to Luke) to include Gentiles among "those who are sanctified."

This certainly explains the fact that Luke never speaks of members of the Pauline churches as οἱ ἅγιοι,[81] which is otherwise particularly curious since the majority of actual occurrences of the self-designation in the NT are in Paul's letters.[82] It seems likely that the point here is historical then: Luke wishes to "reserve" the title οἱ ἅγιοι for Jerusalem and environs, thus reflecting the historical origin of the term, and so chooses not to use it beyond this geographical sphere, but uses the participle of ἁγιάζω instead with reference to Paul and Pauline Christians.

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[80] N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. 3: Syntax* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1963) 264-265, emphasis original; see also Barrett, *Acts*, 2:981.

[81] It is used in 26:10 by Paul, but as we have noted, here it concerns Paul's conversion and is used with reference to those he persecuted in Jerusalem.

[82] Barrett (*Acts*, 2:981) is unable to give an explanation for this variation in usage, and notes: "It is not easy to find a reason why the perfect participle passive of ἁγιάζειν should be used (as at 26.18) instead of the adjective ἅγιος. The question is discussed in relation to OT passages by Wilcox but without adequate ground for suspecting the use of an aberrant LXX text."

7. Conclusions

I suggest that Luke's use of self-designations in Acts is not random; rather the analysis of their distribution leads to significant insight. This paper has discerned three key literary devices used by Luke with regard to self-designations, devices through which he makes theological or historical points. Firstly, he uses the device of *timing*—delaying the use of a term until a particular point in the story. Secondly, he restricts the application of a term at times so it only refers to particular people and particular places. Thirdly, he restricts the use of some self-designations to his narrator's comments and summaries, and so avoids having his actors use the term in their speeches; in this way I have suggested Luke indicates that the term in question is one *he* wishes to use in writing the story but which *the actors themselves* would not have used.

Luke's use of some self-designations is theologically loaded and contributes to his overall theology. He refrains from using ἀδελφοί of Gentile Christians until Acts 15 for theological reasons; the term can be used of Gentile Christians only in conjunction with and after the Jerusalem Council. Luke uses μαθηταί for theological reasons to tie together "being a disciple" before and after the resurrection, but in order to show that this is *his* term, and not one used historically, he restricts the use of the term (with one exception) to his narrator's voice and does not have speakers in the story use it.

At other points, we can suggest that Luke's use of self-designations reflects the historical situation of the earliest Christians. I suggest Luke's avoidance of ἐκκλησία until 5:11, and then further avoidance of it with regard to Christians until 8:1 makes a historical point—the term was not used in the very earliest period. Luke's restriction of believer-designations to his narrator's voice prior to 10:43 suggest that "the believers" was *first* developed in a Greek-speaking setting outside of Jerusalem, not at the very beginning of the movement, but still *at a relatively early point.* Similarly, for historical reasons Luke reserves οἱ ἅγιοι for Jerusalem and environs, reflecting the historical origin of the term, and chooses not to use it beyond this geographical sphere, but instead uses the participle of ἁγιάζω to include Pauline Gentile Christians. All of this means that we need to consider the distribution of each self-designation in turn with great care.

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Reading ἔγϱαψα in 2 Corinthians 2:9 as an Epistolary Aorist

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Abstract

This article offers a re-reading of ἔγραψα in 2 Cor 2:9. It argues that this verb should be interpreted as an epistolary aorist—thereby indicating a reason for why Paul is presently writing—rather than as a preterit aorist, referring to the "tearful letter." Reading ἔγραψα as an epistolary aorist in 2:9 resolves tensions with the preceding context produced by the typical interpretation. It also results in a fully coherent reading of 2:5-11, where Paul exhorts the Corinthians to receive back the offender. This study supplements K.L. McKay's treatment of the epistolary aorist in *Novum Testamentum*.

Keywords

epistolary aorist; tearful letter; interim events; literary integrity; 2 Corinthians

The purpose of this essay is to challenge the pervasive exegetical judgment that, in 2 Cor 2:9, Paul refers back to the letter about which he wrote at the end of the previous paragraph (2:3-4). To my knowledge, practically all translations and contemporary commentators render the verb ἔγραψα in 2:9 as a simple or preterit aorist, thereby indicating Paul's act of writing that occurred at some time in the past (and thus prior to his present act of writing).[1] The RSV's translation of this verse is typical: "For this is why

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[1] The most recent unequivocal exception I have found is H. Olshausen (1796-1839), who followed the Church Fathers (e.g., J. Chrysostom, *Homilies on 2 Corinthians*, 4:2-5) in reading the three instances of ἔγραψα in 2:3-4 and 2:9 as referring to the present act of writing. See H. Olshausen, *Biblical Commentary on St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians* (trans. J.E. Cox; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1851) 284-287. My interpretation differs in that while I propose that ἔγραψα in 2:9 is an epistolary aorist, the two usages in 2:3-4 are preterit aorists. M. Zerwick and M. Grosvenor (*A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament* [5th rev. ed.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1996] 537) raised the possibility that ἔγραψα in 2:9 is an epistolary aorist, but thought it unlikely (as they

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I wrote [ἔγραψα], that I might test you and know whether you are obedient in everything" (italics added).

My thesis is that ἔγραψα in 2:9 should be understood as an epistolary aorist. By that I mean that Paul here employs the literary convention in which an author uses a past tense verb in order to describe an event that is happening as he or she writes but that, from the perspective of the letter recipients, will be in the past. Thus the instantiation of the verb here signifies his *present* act of writing to the Corinthians. I contend that interpreting ἔγραψα in 2:9 as an epistolary aorist results in a more coherent reading of 2:5-11, as well as of the preceding and following contexts.

My argument proceeds in the following steps: First, I review the rationale behind the typical reading of 2 Cor 2:9. Then I point out tensions this interpretation creates in light of the preceding context (1:23-2:4). Next I offer a verse-by-verse analysis of 2:5-11 in order to show that the typical reading produces an oft-overlooked exegetical difficulty, one that is resolved by reading ἔγραψα in 2:9 as an epistolary aorist. I then respond to anticipated objections to my proposed reading; in doing so, I will argue that my reading of 2:9 is not inconsistent with Paul's use of the verb γράφω in other letters. Finally, I suggest how this interpretation has implications for reading 2 Corinthians as a whole.

Typical Reading of 2 Cor 2:9

Admittedly, the typical reading seems perfectly straightforward. In 2:1-4 Paul explains to the Corinthians why he chose not to make "another painful visit" (2:1).[2] Here he alludes to the visit he made to Corinth in the not so distant past, a visit that apparently ended abruptly on a bitter note. Unfortunately, what transpired during that visit, which marked the second time Paul was in Corinth, is not entirely clear.[3] He specifies it as "painful"

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also judged to be the case in 2:3-4). S.E. Porter (*Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood* [SBG 1; New York: Lang, 1989] 228) lists 2:9 as a possible epistolary aorist (placing a question mark behind it), but makes no comment on the verse itself. K.L. McKay ("Observations on the Epistolary Aorist in 2 Corinthians," *NovT* 37 [1995] 154-158) limits the question of the epistolary aorist in this letter to 8:17, 18, and 22; and 9:3.

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

[3] This second visit is often called the "intermediate visit" (the first was his founding visit). In 2 Cor 12:14 and 13:1 Paul announces that he will shortly come to Corinth for the third time. Moreover, in 13:2 he refers to "the second [visit]" in which he issued a warning

(ἐν λύπῃ—2:1) and soon refers, in 2:5, to one who "has caused pain," using the perfect tense verb λελύπηκεν to indicate that what happened still has lingering deleterious effects. The standard hypothesis, one I find as persuasive as any, is that a member of the community insolently confronted Paul and called into question his apostolic credentials and authority.[4] To make matters worse, no one in the community came to Paul's defense.[5] Stunned by the insolence of the offending member and disappointed by the community's silence, Paul hastily left Corinth, probably returning by sea to Ephesus.

Instead of making another visit shortly thereafter, a visit he feared would be fruitless, Paul opted to write a letter to the community in Corinth (2:3-4). He poignantly describes his emotional state as he wrote this letter: "out of great distress and anguish of heart" and "with many tears" (2:4). In doing so, Paul twice employs ἔγραψα as a preterit aorist ("I wrote").[6]

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against "those who sinned previously." Most scholars equate this reference to a second visit with the painful visit alluded to in 2:1. See, e.g., F.J. Matera, *II Corinthians: A Commentary* (NTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003) 16.

[4] See, e.g., A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1915) 55. Plummer surmises that both a personal insult and defiance of Paul's authority were involved. While most commentators agree with the contours of this reconstruction, there are exceptions. C.K. Barrett ("Ὁ ἈΔΙΚΗΣΑΣ [2 Cor 7:12]," in *Essays on Paul* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982] 108-117) argues that the person in question was not a member of the Corinthian church but a visiting missionary who opposed Paul and his ministry. M.E. Thrall ("The Offender and the Offence: A Problem of Detection in 2 Corinthians," in *Scripture: Meaning and Method—Essays Presented to Anthony Tyrell Hanson for His Seventieth Birthday* [ed. B.P. Thompson; Hull, UK: Hull University Press, 1987] 65-78, at 74-76) proposes that the offender was a member of the Corinthian church who stole money that had been temporarily entrusted to Paul for the collection. In line with a tradition dating back to the Church Fathers, C.G. Kruse ("The Offender and the Offense in 2 Corinthians 2:5 and 7:12," *EvQ* 60 [1988] 129-139) identifies the offender with the incestuous man to whom Paul refers in 1 Cor 5:1-5.

[5] According to J.P. Sampley ("The Second Letter to the Corinthians: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," in *The New Interpreter's Bible: A Commentary in Twelve Volumes* [ed. L.E. Keck; Nashville: Abingdon, 1994-2002] 11:1-180, at 53), "... Paul had very painfully experienced their abandonment of him in the face of the wrong done him by the man during his painful visit (1:23-2:1)."

[6] Here I am in agreement with the vast majority of commentators. There is not a full consensus, however. Porter (*Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament*, 228, 399) reads ἔγραψα in 2:3 and 2:4 as instances of the epistolary aorist. W. Barclay (*The Letters to the Corinthians* [3rd rev. ed.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002] 211) renders ἔγραψα in 2:3 as an epistolary aorist ("I write this very letter so that when I come...),

He also sets forth his purpose—employing two ἵνα clauses—for writing what is now known as the "tearful letter," a letter most scholars believe is no longer extant.[7] First, he wanted to avoid another painful visit, one that would cause pain both to him and to the community (presumably because, had he returned immediately, he would have come bearing the rod of discipline—see 1 Cor 4:21). Second, he desired to make clear the abundance of his love for them.[8]

From the Corinthians' reaction to the tearful letter—reported to Paul by his co-worker Titus, as the Apostle himself recounts in 2 Cor 7:8-13—we can ascertain that it had a powerful effect. The members of the community, at least the majority of them (2:6), were grieved by the letter's contents. (My sense is that, among other things, Paul likely expressed to them his sorrow and disappointment over what appeared to him as their complicit silence.) The community responded by expressing their longing and desire to see Paul again, their profound sorrow over what had transpired, and their zeal for him (7:7). They manifested their zeal by punishing the offending party, probably by administering some sort of formal disciplinary measure, ostracization or even excommunication.[9]

Paul then takes up the issue of the punished community member in 2:5-11, the paragraph containing the verse that is the subject of this essay. Did Paul, in the course of writing the tearful letter, command the Corinthians to punish the offender? That is what most exegetes presume. They interpret Paul's statement in 2:9—"For this reason ἔγραψα, that I might

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although he translates ἔγραψα in 2:4 as a preterit aorist ("So I wrote you a letter out of much affliction...").

[7] Among those who label this epistle the "tearful letter" is V.P. Furnish, *II Corinthians: Translated with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 32A; New York: Doubleday, 1984) 41. It is also called the "painful letter" (e.g., by M.E. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* [ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994-2000] 1:57) and the "severe letter" (e.g., by M.J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [NIGTC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005] 3). The vast majority of commentators regard this letter as lost. A notable exception is C.J. Roetzel (*2 Corinthians* [ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2007] 30-35), who indentifies 2 Cor 10:1-13:10 as "the letter in tears."

[8] Paul gives added emphasis to his love for the Corinthians by placing τὴν ἀγάπην before ἵνα γνῶτε ("in order that you might know") and by adding the elative superlative περισσοτέρως.

[9] Furnish (*II Corinthians*, 161) opines that the punishment was "likely to have been some temporary exclusion from the Christian community, or at least from such central congregational activities as the eucharistic meal...."

know your proven character, whether you are obedient in all things"—as indicating that he had issued a challenge to them to demonstrate that they recognized his apostolic status and authority. Paul also indicated, so goes the hypothesis, the means by which they would pass the test he imposed, namely, by punishing the offender.[10]

Tensions with the Preceding Context

But is this what Paul is really saying in 2:9? In my opinion, there are a few snakes in the exegetical grass. The typical reading creates some tension between this verse and the preceding context. First is the issue of squaring the typical interpretation with Paul's insistence, expressed several lines before, that he does not "lord it over" the Corinthians' faith (1:24). Margaret E. Thrall is aware of the tension between Paul's disclaimer of authoritative control over the community's faith and his demand that they punish the offender. She suggests the following resolution of the tension: "…these apparently conflicting attitudes may be to some extent explicable. He saw himself as acting in a fatherly capacity. Hence, he desires his converts' maturity, and disclaims any wish to overburden them with his authority, but at the same time he does expect their obedience."[11] She goes on to add that, in Paul's mind, the Corinthians' obedience would not be directed simply to himself, but to himself "as a representative of Christ."[12] Thrall makes as good a case as any for attempting to resolve the tension between what Paul says in 1:24 and 2:9. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of his claim not to lord it over the Corinthians' faith with his acknowledgment that he has put them to a test—the purpose of which is that they acknowledge his authority—leaves him open to the charges of vacillation and untrustworthiness that he has just denied (1:15-22).

Another tension that the typical reading produces involves Paul's expressed purpose for writing the tearful letter. We have already observed that, in 2:3-4, he offers two reasons for writing: to avoid another painful visit and to express his abundant love for the Corinthians. Now, in 2:9—according to the typical reading—he appears to offer another reason:

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[10] See, e.g., P. Barnett (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* [NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997] 126), who regards the punishment as "arising out of Paul's admonition in the 'Severe Letter.'"

[11] Thrall, *II Corinthians*, 1:179.

[12] Ibid.

he wrote in order to test the community's obedience, whether they would obey his command to punish the offender.

How do commentators interpret the relationship between 2:3-4 and 2:9? Victor Paul Furnish argues that Paul's comment in 2:9 "supplements" what he wrote in 2:3. According to Furnish, Paul does not actually add another reason in 2:9; rather, he formulates the earlier point in another way.[13] But, as Thrall points out, the argument for supplementation suffers from the fact that the backward reference is remote.[14]

Murray J. Harris offers a more straightforward explanation. He suggests that, in 2:9, Paul simply "introduces the third purpose of the 'severe letter,' which was to test the Corinthians' obedience."[15] But Murray's solution is problematic in light of the emphasis given to the phrase εἰς τοῦτο—"for this [reason]"—which occupies the prominent first position in 2:9. If Paul were simply offering a further reason for writing, the word καί would have to modify the phrase εἰς τοῦτο, which would yield the following sense: "I wrote for another reason, namely...." But Paul's formulation—εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἔγραψα —is such that καί here modifies the verb ἔγραψα. Given this datum, along with the prominent first position of εἰς τοῦτο, Thrall suggests that the force of the beginning of 2:9 is: "For it was for this reason that I *actually* wrote, namely...."[16] While Paul has offered two ancillary reasons for writing the tearful letter in 2:3-4, he now puts all his cards on the table. The actual—that is, the ultimate—reason was to determine whether the community would prove its character by being obedient,[17] an obedience manifested by their punishing the offender.

While Thrall's rendering does justice to the grammar of 2:9, it also creates tension with the mollifying tone and content of 2:3-4. The problem is compounded when one considers that Paul's strategy throughout 1:15-2:13 is to attempt to clear up several misunderstandings that have arisen between himself and the community. The typical reading of 2:9 would seem to add to the misunderstanding and confusion. One can imagine the Corinthians, upon hearing the letter read to them, saying, "Wait a minute, he just said that he wrote to express his abundant love for us. But now we hear that, in ordering us to punish one of our members, his *real* reason was to put our obedience to the test. And how does this square with his claim not to lord it over us?"[18] Admittedly, an expression of one's love can co-exist with challenge and even reproval—such is known as "tough love." But if that is what Paul is expressing here, he has chosen a peculiar way to do it, especially given his intent in 1:15-2:13 to clarify past misunderstandings.

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[13] Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 157.

[14] Thrall, *II Corinthians*, 1.178.

[15] Harris, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 230-231. See also P.E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1962) 69.

[16] Thrall, *II Corinthians*, 1.163 (italics added).

[17] See also J. Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians* (SP 8; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999) 32.

To be sure, these tensions between 2:9 and the preceding context are not sufficient in and of themselves to warrant overturning the typical reading. Exegetes attempt to find ways, some better than others, to lessen the tensions, arguing that they are more apparent than real.[19] In my opinion, however, these tensions invite the consideration of another possible reading of 2:9.

Verse-by-Verse Analysis of 2 Cor 2:5-11

Setting aside the aforementioned tensions for the time being, I submit that the *main* reason to call the typical reading of 2:9 into question is that it interrupts the flow of Paul's discourse in 2:5-11. In order to substantiate this claim, it is necessary to set forth the content and logic of this paragraph.

Verse 5: Paul picks up on the theme of "causing pain" from 2:4. In doing so, he makes a transition from explaining why he wrote the tearful letter to giving an exhortation about what to do with the punished member. This exhortation is necessary in light of the community's reaction to the tearful letter.[20] Paul now refers, albeit in an indirect manner (τις), to the person who caused pain, the man whom he later describes as "the wrongdoer" (ὁ ἀδικήσας—7:8). We have already noted the perfect tense verb λελύπηκεν, which signifies that what transpired during Paul's second visit has ongoing consequences. Not only has Paul been hurt by the incident; he also claims that the entire community has been adversely affected. The following verse suggests one way in which the Corinthians have suffered pain: division in the community over the punishment.

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[18] Thrall herself (*II Corinthians*, 1.179) recognizes the difficulties: "Unfortunately, he seems now to have laid himself open to a different accusation of inconsistency. In 2.4 he maintains that his aim in writing the Painful Letter was to demonstrate his love for his readers, whilst here he suggests that he intended to exercise his apostolic authority. Furthermore, in 1.24 he disclaims authoritative control over the Corinthians' faith, whilst here he speaks of testing their obedience in every particular."

[19] See, e.g., Barnett (*Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 128-129), who argues that Paul's ultimate reason for writing the tearful letter was not to punish the offender but rather to know the outcome of the punishment, namely, the Corinthians' obedience.

[20] Similarly, G. Tatum (*New Chapters in the Life of Paul: The Relative Chronology of His Career* [CBQMS 41: Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2006] 56) argues that the Corinthians punished the offender in *response to* the tearful letter, not

Verse 6: Paul expresses his judgment that the punishment imposed on the offender is "sufficient" (ἱκανόν). In doing so, he also notes that it was "the majority" (οἱ πλείονες) of the Corinthians who meted out the punishment, one they initiated after they had heard Paul's side of things as expressed in the tearful letter.[21] It is not clear whether the reference to "the majority" means that a minority opposed the punishment or whether they thought it was insufficient.[22] In either case, the fact that there was not unanimity in the decision to punish bears witness to how the incident and its aftermath have produced splintering effects in the community, effects Paul now seeks to remedy.

Verse 7: Paul conveys what he regards as the proper consequence—signaled by ὥστε—that should follow in light of his judgment that the community's punishment has been sufficient. He exhorts the Corinthians to offer forgiveness and consolation to the man who had offended him.[23] It is important to observe that Paul says nothing here about the offender's repentance. This datum, I suggest, is another reason for calling into question the typical reading that has Paul command the offender to be punished. His expressed concern is that the man not be overwhelmed by excessive sorrow over the community's action.

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because Paul had ordered the punishment. I concur, although I disagree with his assessment that the tearful letter be identified with 2 Cor 10-13.

21) Harris (*Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 228) is likely correct when he states that "it is difficult not to envisage... some formal gathering of the whole Corinthian church where a deliberative decision was made that was approved and carried out...."

22) Among those who think that the minority was an anti-Pauline faction are Hughes (*Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 68) and Barnett (*Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 125). Among those who identify the minority as a pro-Pauline group are Plummer (*II Corinthians*, 58) and Harris (*Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 229).

23) In exhorting the Corinthians "to console" or "encourage" (παρακαλέσαι) the offender, Paul picks up a theme announced in the opening blessing (1:3-7): those who have been consoled by the God of consolation are in turn to offer consolation to those who are afflicted.

Verse 8: Employing the inferential conjunction διό ("therefore"), Paul continues the exhortation begun in 2:7, as he now expresses his desire that the community "confirm" their love for the offender. The verb κυρόω is a technical legal term (see Gal 3:15). Paul employs it here to exhort the Corinthians to officially annul the punishment and to reinstate the man into their local ἐκκλησία.[24] What is crucial to observe is that 2:7-8 sets forth the major point in this paragraph—namely, Paul's exhortation to the Corinthians to reach out to and restore the offender to the life of the community.

Verse 9: We now arrive at the critical verse. The first thing to note is the postpositive conjunction γάρ. Used in connection with the phrase εἰς τοῦτο, Paul offers an *explanation* ("For this is why . . ."). An explanation for what? The typical reading picks up the references to punishment in 2:6 and to the tearful letter in 2:3-4. But it ignores the content of 2:7-8, where Paul exhorts the community to forgive the offender. I propose that what Paul does in 2:9 is offer an explanation, not for why he wrote the tearful letter (as he has already done that in 2:3-4), but rather for *why he is presently writing to them*. Now that the community has expressed their sorrow for what happened as well as their longing and zeal for him (7:7), manifested (at least in part) by their decision to punish the offender, Paul is confident that he can challenge them to prove their obedience by reaffirming their love for the offender and by reconstituting him into the life of the community. The strength of this interpretation is that it maintains the flow of the immediately preceding verses—and, as we will see in a moment, the logic of the two verses that follow, where he continues the theme of forgiveness.

I thus propose that ἔγραψα in 2:9 should be read as an epistolary aorist and translate it as follows: "For this is why I am now writing, that I might know your character, whether you are obedient in everything." That is, Paul is presently testing the community to show their true colors by offering love and forgiveness to the offender. In fact, this would not be the only instance of the epistolary aorist in 2 Corinthians. Paul uses it in 8:17

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[24] For more on the background of κυρόω and on Paul's use of the term, see C. Spicq, *Agape in the New Testament* (3 vols.; trans. M.A. McNamara and M.H. Richter; St. Louis: Herder, 1965) 2:185-187. Spicq notes Paul's "unexpected juxtaposition of legal terminology and the idea of love" (ibid. 185).

(ἐξῆλθεν, in connection with Titus's decision to return to Corinth); in 8:18 and 8:22 (συνεπέμψαμεν, where Paul announces that he is sending along two unnamed brothers to accompany Titus); and in 9:3 (ἔπεμψα, where Paul reiterates that he is sending the three men to Corinth).[25] Therefore, in arguing that Paul employs the epistolary aorist in 2:9, I am not suggesting a *sui generis* usage in 2 Corinthians.

Verses 10-11: Paul goes on to inform the Corinthians that he has already forgiven the offender. Note that he does so in such a manner as to continue to encourage the community to receive back the one who caused pain: "Any one to whom you offer forgiveness, so do I." As John Chrysostom noted, Paul exercises pastoral sensitivity here. While he indicates that he has forgiven the man, Paul also invites the community to take the lead in the matter, the lead he will then follow.[26] He thereby offers a concrete instantiation of not lording it over their faith (1:24).

Paul then reminds the Corinthians of the larger spiritual context in which they live. First, he refers to acting as "in the presence of Christ" (2:10).[27] In doing so, he offers more motivation to the community to forgive the offender, for it is through Jesus that they have been reconciled to God (5:18-19). Second, he warns them not to be taken advantage of by Satan (2:11), whose malevolent designs include rending asunder the body of Christ.

Below is laid out, in schematic form, a comparison between my understanding of the logic and progression of the passage with that of the typical interpretation:

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[25] See McKay, "Observations on the Epistolary Aorist in 2 Corinthians," 154-158. McKay is more tentative about 9:3. However, many translations (e.g., RSV, NRSV, and NIV) render ἔπεμψα in 9:3 as "I am sending," as do many exegetes (e.g., Furnish [*II Corinthians*, 421], Harris [*Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 616], and Matera [*II Corinthians*, 199]).

[26] Chrysostom's (*Homilies on Second Corinthians*, 4:5) comment on 2:10 begins: "Seest thou how again he assigns the second part to himself, showing them as beginning, himself following. This is the way to soften an exasperated, to compose a contentious spirit." Quoted from *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* (Series 1; 14 vols.; ed. P. Schaff ; Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1886-1889) 12:297.

[27] For rendering ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ "in the presence of Christ," see Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 157-158.

Verse	**Typical Reading**	**Reading 2:9 as an Epistolary Aorist**
5	Segue to issue of the offender	Segue to issue of the offender
6	Paul's judgment: punishment was sufficient	Paul's judgment: punishment was sufficient
7-8	Exhortation: *forgive* the offender	Exhortation: *forgive* the offender
9	Reason for having written: Test the Corinthians' character: would they **punish?**	Reason for presently writing: Test the Corinthians' character: will they **forgive?**
10a	Paul will follow their lead in offering *forgiveness*	Paul will follow their lead in offering *forgiveness*
10b	Community lives in the presence of Christ	Community lives in the presence of Christ
11	Warning vs. Satan's designs	Warning vs. Satan's designs

Set out in schematic form, we see that reading ἔγραψα in 2:9 as an epistolary aorist maintains the flow of 2:5-11, especially verses 7-11, where the main topic is the forgiveness of the offender. Paul's central concern is found in 2:7-8, where he exhorts the community to forgive, to comfort, and to confirm their love for the man in question. Paul accentuates this exhortation in 2:9 by emphasizing that this is the reason (or at least one of the reasons) he now writes to them: he wants them to mature in their identity and to deepen their character as "holy ones, called to be holy" (the way he has identified them in 1 Cor 1:2; see also 2 Cor 6:16). As we will see momentarily, Paul wants them to be obedient to God's will that they participate in the work of reconciliation. He can do so because he and the Corinthians are now on the road to being reconciled with one another (as he will make clear in 7:8-13). Finally, in 2:10-11 Paul continues his exhortation to extend forgiveness to the offender, as he offers to follow their lead and warns them that failing to reconcile unwittingly aids the designs of Satan.

The typical reading of 2:9, conversely, produces a strange intrusion into Paul's line of thought. What sense does it make, in between exhortations to forgive the offender, to refer to his past insistence that the community *punish* this person as a sign of their obedience (whether to Paul, or to

Christ/God, or to both)? Would such a recollection effectively function to motivate them to heed his present exhortation to forgive?[28]

One final argument for reading ἔγραψα as an epistolary aorist: If one grants that 2 Cor 5:11-21 belongs to the same piece of correspondence that contains 1:1-2:13—which the majority of exegetes argue is the case[29]—we can bring Paul's teaching about the ministry of reconciliation to bear on our passage. In 5:14-21 he discusses the love of Christ that was revealed most dramatically in his dying for the sake of all (5:14-15). Through Jesus' death and resurrection, God has brought about a "new creation" (5:17), one marked by reconciliation. This reconciliation entails the forgiveness of sins, which Paul describes as God's "not counting" people's "trespasses against them." Moreover, God has bestowed on the church, through ministers like Paul, the message and ministry of reconciliation (5:18-19). To be sure, the focal point of this passage is the reconciliation between God and human beings (5:20), what might be called the vertical axis of reconciliation. But, as Paul makes clear throughout 2 Corinthians, the community cannot be fully reconciled with God unless they are reconciled with the one whom God sent to proclaim the gospel to them. That is why he spends so much time explaining to them his manner of being an apostle (2:14-7:4).

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[28] Matera stands out among exegetes in recognizing that Paul's test of the Corinthians' obedience entails their offering forgiveness to the offender. Nevertheless, in line with other commentators, he interprets 2:9 as referring to the tearful letter. Matera concludes that "Paul's reason for writing the harsh letter (to test their obedience) provides *further* motivation to forgive the offender, since their obedience must be *ongoing*." See *II Corinthians*, 62 (italics added). While I am in full agreement with the last clause—that the Corinthians' obedience must be ongoing—Matera fails to demonstrate any specific textual connection between Paul's demand to punish on the one hand, and his exhortation to offer forgiveness on the other hand (both as manifestations of their obedience). See also Barnett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 128.

[29] A prominent exception is G. Bornkamm (*Die Vorgeschichte des sogenannten zweiten Korintherbriefs* [2nd ed.; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1965]), who separates portions of five different letters, in the following chronological order: 1] 2:14-7:14 (minus 6:14-7:1); 2] 10:1-13:13; 3] 1:1-2:13 + 7:5-16; 4] 8:1-24; and 5] 9:1-15. See idem, "The History of the Origin of the So-Called Second Letter to the Corinthians," *NTS* 8 (1962) 258-264. Bornkamm has been followed by, among others, H.D. Betz, "Corinthians, Second Epistle to the," in *ABD* (6 vols., ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 1:1148-1154, at 1148-1150; and, with one significant change in the chronology, by M.M. Mitchell, "Paul's Letters to Corinth: The Interpretive Intertwining of Literary and Historical Reconstruction," in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (ed. D. Showalter and S.J. Friesen; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005) 307-338.

Returning to 2:5-11, I submit that Paul here puts into practice the message and ministry of reconciliation.[30] He is willing to move beyond what transpired during the painful visit. In response to the community's initiative to punish the offender, Paul now extends the olive leaf as part of his strategy to clear up past hurts and misunderstandings. He wants the Corinthians to be fully reconciled to him because he regards himself as God's special envoy to the community and as their father in faith (see 1 Cor 4:14-15; 2 Cor 6:11-13; 10:13-14; 11:2). Moreover, he wants the community to be fully reconciled with one another. Because of his understanding that the ἐκκλησία constitutes the body of Christ (Rom 12:1-8; 1 Cor 12:12-31), Paul is passionate about the need for mutual love, edification, forbearance, and forgiveness in local communities.[31] Therefore the obedience to which he calls the Corinthians in 2:9 is, ultimately, the obedience to *God's* work of reconciling the world to God through Christ, the reconciliation that also entails the horizontal dimension of offering forgiveness to fellow community members. [32]

Responses to Anticipated Objections

Can my proposed reading of 2 Cor 2:9 withstand scrutiny? Here I anticipate four possible objections to my interpretation. One involves the apparent parallel structure that exists between 2:3 and 2:9:

> 2:3 begins: καὶ ἔγραψα τοῦτο αὐτό, ἵνα….
> 2:9 begins: εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἔγραψα, ἵνα….

Prima facie, the similarity can suggest that Paul is talking about the same thing—namely, the tearful letter and his reasons for writing it. This is how the RSV understands these verses (2:3, "And I wrote as I did, so that I..."; 2:9, "For this is why I wrote, that I..."). The phrase τοῦτο αὐτό in 2:3, however, is not adverbial. Rather, it is the simple object[33] of the verb ἔγραψα and thus should be rendered "this very thing," referring either to the tearful letter as a whole[34] or to a particular point in that letter.[35] Meanwhile, the prepositional phrase εἰς τοῦτο in 2:9 is adverbial, introducing the reason for writing ("this is why"). To be sure, this grammatical distinction does not prove that ἔγραψα in 2:9 refers to a different act than that expressed in 2:3. My point is that the structural parallel between 2:3 and 2:9 is more apparent than real. Any determination of the meaning of the latter should be based on the content of the immediately preceding and following verses. As I have argued above, the topic of 2:7-11 is Paul's exhortation to forgive and receive back the offender. His reason for writing and the test involved more likely concern this exhortation and therefore point to the present act of writing.

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[30] Barnett (*Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 127) also sees that, in 2:5-11, "Paul reveals himself to be 'in Christ,' committed to a practical expression of the reconciliation that lies at the heart of the gospel he proclaims (cf. 5:18-6:2; 13:9, 11)." See also Matera (*II Corinthians*, 62), who connects Paul's exhortation to forgive in 2:7-8 with his role as "Christ's ambassador calling people to be reconciled to God (5:20)."

[31] See, e.g., Rom 14:13-15:13; 1 Cor 14:1-5, 26-32; 2 Cor 13:11; Gal 6:2; Phil 2:1-4; and Col 3:12-14.

[32] This understanding of obedience—as rendered to God—is in line both with Paul's claim not to lord it over the Corinthians' faith (1:24) and with his later warning not to receive God's grace in vain, a warning that immediately follows his teaching about the message and ministry of reconciliation (5:18-21).

A second possible objection is that my interpretation does not take adequate account of Paul's description of the letter and its effects in 7:8-13. In particular, 7:11 lists seven aspects of the Corinthians' response to the tearful letter, culminating with references to their "zeal" (ζῆλος) and to the "punishment" (ἐκδίκησις) they had administered. Does not this verse confirm the view that Paul had ordered the community to punish the offender? Ralph P. Martin reads this passage as saying so: "It is more in keeping that the apostle would commend the Corinthians for heeding his advice and punishing anyone who assailed him or his Gospel (for it is the ruling idea that to attack Paul is to attack God)."[36] But this interpretation is based on the *previous* judgment (from analysis of 2:9) that Paul had demanded punishment. This judgment is one that my analysis of 2:5-11 has called into question. In fact, a straightforward way of interpreting the Corinthians' action is that, having read Paul's letter—which likely expressed his side of things as well as his disappointment over the community's silence—they (or at least a majority) took the initiative to punish the offender. This explanation gains force when one recalls that Paul does not make any mention of the man's repentance in 2:5-11, something that might be expected if he had ordered the latter's punishment.

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[33] For similar usage of τοῦτο αὐτό, see 2 Cor 7:11; Gal 2:10; and Phil 1:6.

[34] See, e.g., Thrall, *II Corinthians*, 168; and Lambrecht, *Second Corinthians*, 31.

[35] See, e.g., Plummer, *II Corinthians*, 49; and Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 154.

[36] R.P. Martin, *2 Corinthians* (WBC 40; Waco, TX: Word, 1986) 236.

A third and more substantive objection is that my proposal entails reading the same word in close proximity in two different ways (i.e., ἔγραψα in 2:3-4 as a preterit aorist; ἔγραψα in 2:9 as an epistolary aorist). This objection seems to gain force when one considers Paul's usage in 1 Cor 5:9-11. In 5:9 he employs ἔγραψα in referring to a previous letter he had written to the Corinthians, now almost universally regarded as no longer extant, in which he commanded them not to associate with "immoral people." In this case, ἔγραψα is a preterit aorist. Then in 5:11 Paul again uses ἔγραψα, but modifies it with the adverb "now" (νῦν δὲ ἔγραψα). Nearly all translations and commentators render the second instance of ἔγραψα as an epistolary aorist—"But now I am writing"—as Paul explains that he presently writes in order to exhort the community not to associate with one of their own members who is engaged in immoral activity.[37] Therefore—so runs the objection—the problem with my interpretation is that there is no explicit signal in 2 Cor 2:9, as there is in 1 Cor 5:11, to indicate that Paul intends a change in temporal aspect. I respond by pointing out that Paul introduces a new (albeit related) topic in 2 Cor 2:5-8, as he turns his attention to the punished offender and his desire that the latter now be forgiven.[38] Therefore he has changed subjects between the uses of ἔγραψα in 2:3-4 and 2:9. Moreover, it is possible that the versatile καί with which Paul modifies ἔγραψα in 2:9 functions analogously to νῦν in 1 Cor 5:11, thereby providing further emphasis to the present act of writing.[39]

A fourth objection is that Paul has used the present tense of γράφω in 2 Cor 1:13 (γράφομεν) to indicate his present act of writing. Given that he employs the aorist ἔγραψα in 2:3-4 to signify a prior activity, would it not be anomalous if he were to turn around and use ἔγραψα as an epistolary aorist in 2:9? Moreover, Paul later uses ἔγραψα in 7:12 (in reference to the tearful letter) as a preterit aorist and then employs the present tense (γράφω) in 13:10. Hence it seems that my interpretation would create an anomalous usage in 2 Corinthians. While this objection appears weighty, it loses its force when one looks at Paul's use of γράφω elsewhere. In 1 Cor 4:14 he employs the present tense of γράφω. This usage appears 18 verses before the epistolary aorist ἔγραψα in 1 Cor 5:11, approximately the same interval that exists between 2 Cor 1:13 and 2:9 (20 verses). Furthermore, Paul's utilization of γράφω in 1 Corinthians is not completely consistent. He employs the present tense twice (4:14 and 14:37), the preterit aorist once (5:9), and the epistolary aorist twice (5:11 and 9:15). Similarly, in Galatians Paul uses both the present tense (1:20) and the epistolary aorist (6:11). What I propose to be a "mixed case" in 2 Corinthians is therefore not incommensurate with his usage elsewhere.[40]

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[37] See, e.g., R.F. Collins (*First Corinthians* [SP 7; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1999] 222), who comments on 5:11 thus: "On balance it would appear that Paul had previously exhorted the community not to associate with evil people without necessarily specifying.... First Corinthians adds a specification to what had been implicit in the earlier exhortation. Now Paul exhorts the community to shun any of its members who falls back into an egregiously sinful pattern of conduct (cf. 6:9)." The NAB, NRSV, and NIV also translate the second use of ἔγραψα as an epistolary aorist. However, the RSV renders both 5:9 and 5:11 as preterit aorists.

[38] Martin (*2 Corinthians*, 36) similarly observes in connection with 2:5: "This verse opens a new subsection of the present letter."

[39] I am indebted to H.W. Attridge for this suggestion. Commentators struggle to make sense of καί in 2:9. In fact, many (e.g., Barnett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 128 n. 37) mistakenly take it as modifying εἰς τοῦτο rather than ἔγραψα. Thrall (*II Corinthians*, 1:163) appropriately renders καί as "actually." I would modify her translation thus: "For it was for this reason that *I am actually writing....*"

Conclusion

What are the implications of reading ἔγραψα in 2:9 as an epistolary aorist? In the first place, it produces a more coherent reading of the paragraph in which it is found and a better fit with the immediately preceding context. As I have argued, this interpretation maintains better the flow of Paul's presentation in 2:5-11, where his central concern is to exhort the Corinthians to receive back the offender into their community. It resolves the tension between 2:3-4 and 2:9, where commentators grapple with making sense of Paul's listed motives for writing the tearful letter. The tension dissolves when 2:9 is understood as offering a motive for his present act of writing. This interpretation also lessens the tension caused by the proximity of Paul's statement in 1:24 that he does not lord it over the Corinthians' faith. To be sure, some tension remains, as my reading still entails Paul issuing a test to ascertain the community's character. There is, however, a significant difference in tone and content in the test my interpretation proposes. Rather than order the Corinthians to punish the offender as a sign of their recognition of his authority, what I suggest Paul does here is challenge them to participate in the work and ministry of reconciliation. Their obedience would then be rendered, ultimately, to God. Moreover, because Paul himself is willing to forgive the offender, he is not asking the community to do something he is not willing to do—and, in fact, has already done.

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[40] The first person of γράφω appears 17 times in the undisputed Pauline writings. Excluding Paul's usage in 2 Cor 2:3-4, 9 and in Rom 16:22 (where the secretary Tertius employs ἔγραψα as an epistolary aorist), the use breaks down as follows: present tense—five times (1 Cor 4:14; 14:37; 2 Cor 1:13; 13:10; Gal 1:20); epistolary aorist—six times (Rom 15:15; 1 Cor 5:11; 9:15; Gal 6:11; Phlm 19, 21); preterit aorist—two times (1 Cor 5:9; 2 Cor 7:12). In addition, the present tense of γράφω is found in 2 Thess 3:17 and 1 Tim 3:14.

In addition to offering a smoother, more coherent reading, this interpretation of 2:9 has a broader implication, one that pertains to why Paul writes 2 Corinthians. This implication, I submit, extends to the issue of the letter's literary integrity. I have claimed that Paul offers in 2:9 a reason for writing, namely, to encourage the community to forgive and confirm their love for the offender. In doing so, Paul employs the term δοκιμή, meaning "character" or the "test" that ascertains one's character. His exhortation to ratify their love for the offender by forgiving him is, in reality, a concern for the community to grow in their identity as the "ἐκκλησία of God," the assembly of "holy ones" (ἅγιοι).[41] Will they be obedient to the ways of God by manifesting their love and concern for the offender? Will they participate in the ministry and work of reconciliation?

Paul does something similar in chapters 8-9 in his exhortation to the Corinthians to be generous to the collection for the Jerusalem church. In 8:8 he denies that he is demanding their contribution; rather, he presents it as a test (employing the verb δοκιμάζω) of the genuineness of their love for fellow Christians, the love that is grounded in Christ's love (5:14). Paul reiterates in 8:24 his exhortation to give proof of their love (although here he uses ἔνδειξις and its verbal cognate ἐνδείκνυμι). The point is that, as was the case in 2:9, Paul brings up the notion of testing character and does so in terms of expressing love through concrete actions. In addition, in 9:13, at the conclusion of the collection appeal, he again identifies the collection as a test (δοκιμή). A pattern thus begins to emerge.

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[41] A corroborating parallel to 2 Cor 2:9 (understood thus) is Phlm 21, where Paul uses ἔγραψα as an epistolary aorist in the context of testing obedience. Phlm 21 reads: "Confident in your obedience, I am writing to you, knowing that you will do even more than I say." The context is Paul's having asked Philemon to receive back his slave Onesimus in the same manner in which he would receive the Apostle (17). Paul also intimates that Philemon should forgive Onesimus any wrongdoing (18). Verse 21, in which Paul expresses confidence that Philemon will be obedient and that he will do even more than what has been requested, thus demands magnanimity. Moreover, it is followed by Paul's announcement that he will be coming soon to visit (22), which ratchets up the pressure on Philemon even more. Similar to 2 Cor 2:9, Phlm 21 functions as a test: whether Philemon will show obedience (ὑπακοή) to God's designs that the ἐκκλησία be a place where ethnic, socioeconomic, and gender distinctions lose their force to divide peoples and where Christians regard one another as brothers and sisters.

The literary unity of 2 Corinthians, of course, has been called into question (although the scholarly pendulum has swung back to arguing for unity, or, at least, to reading chapters 1-9 and 10-13 as coherent units). More evidence is necessary to make the claim for literary unity than the presence of δοκιμ-terminology. But it is striking how this terminology permeates 2 Corinthians in comparison with other letters. Taking the seven undisputed letters into account, four of the seven instances of δοκιμή occur here,[42] as do two of the five instances of the adjective δόκιμος[43] and three of the five instances of ἀδόκιμος.[44] What is most conspicuous is the preponderance of δοκιμ-terminology at the climax of canonical 2 Corinthians (13:3-7; six occurrences), epitomized by Paul's challenge, "Examine yourselves, whether you are holding to the way of faith; test (δοκιμάζετε) yourselves" (13:5). I propose that, taken together, these data offer support for a recurring theme throughout the canonical text, a theme that reveals one of the main reasons for Paul's writing 2 Corinthians: to exhort and challenge the community to attend to their character as the "ἐκκλησία of God." And, as I have argued, one of the ways they can prove their character is to forgive and receive back the offender.

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[42] Rom 5:4 (two times); 2 Cor 2:9; 8:2; 9:13; 13:13; and Phil 2:22.

[43] Rom 14:18; 16:10; 1 Cor 11:19; and 2 Cor 10:18; 13:7.

[44] Rom 1:28; 1 Cor 9:27; 2 Cor 13:5, 6, and 7.

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Crucifixion as Spectacle in Roman Campania

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Abstract

Four artifacts from ancient Campania illuminate Roman crucifixion: a notice in Pompeii announcing the execution of some individuals by crucifixion in Cumae during a gladiatorial spectacle; the *lex Puteolana* which regulated both the crucifixion at private expense of slaves and public crucifixions in that town; the *lex Cumana* which probably regulated crucifixion there; and a graffito in a *taberna* of Puteoli that appears to be the oldest surviving Roman portrayal of crucifixion in existence. This evidence provides those in the guild of New Testament studies with additional tools for understanding the scandalous nature of Paul's gospel of the crucified Christ.

Keywords

Gal 3:1; CIL IV, 9983; *lex Puteolana*; *lex Cumana*; Puteoli crucifixion graffito

> Ὦ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν, οἷς κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς προεγράφη ἐσταυρωμένος; (Gal 3:1)

Paul portrayed the crucifixion of Jesus Christ before the eyes of the Galatians. The writers of the Gospels did the same for their audiences. Consequently, research on the nature of crucifixion in the Roman empire remains

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essential for serious readers of the New Testament. It is intriguing that four pieces of evidence have survived from Roman Campania which provide unusual illumination of the reality of crucifixion: a notice from Pompeii announcing the execution of some individuals by crucifixion in Cumae during a gladiatorial spectacle; the *lex Puteolana* which regulated both the crucifixion at private expense of slaves and public crucifixions in that town;[2] the *lex Cumana* which probably, among other things, regulated crucifixion there; and a graffito in a *taberna* of Puteoli that at this time appears to be the oldest surviving Roman portrayal of crucifixion in existence. Together this evidence provides those in the guild of New Testament studies with additional tools for understanding the scandalous nature of Paul's gospel of the crucified Christ. There is an irreducible element in all four pieces of evidence: all have a provision for the public spectacle of crucifixion.[3]

1. CIL IV, 9983a = GladPar 79: Crucifixions as Spectacle in Cumae

In 1958 Matteo Della Corte published an *edictum muneris* (announcement of a show) that was painted between the entrances of tombs 30 and 31 outside the Porta Nucerina in Pompeii.[4] The graffito comprises a painted announcement of a show coming to the amphitheatre in Cumae, and such announcements were as important to the people of Pompeii as "electoral posters."[5] Luciana Jacobelli describes the geographical context of these announcements in Pompeii:

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[2] The public crucifixions were also presumably of slaves or perhaps *peregrini* (foreigners, non-Roman citizens).

[3] The *lex Cumana* is somewhat ambiguous on this point. This essay is a continuation of my earlier study of the *lex Puteolana*, "Envisioning Crucifixion: Light from Several Inscriptions and the Palatine Graffito," *NovT* 50 (2008) 262-285. J. Bodel commented on the manifold interconnections in this material in "The Organization of the Funerary Trade at Puteoli and Cumae," in Libitina *e dintorni:* Libitina *e i* luci *sepolcrali. Le* leges libitinariae *campane.* Iura sepulcrorum. *Vecchie e nuove iscrizioni. Atti dell'XI Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie* (ed. S. Panciera; Libitina 3; Rome: Quasar 2004) 147-172, esp. 156-157. The genesis of my paper was comments on CIL IV, 9983a in K.M. Coleman's commentary on Martial.

[4] M. Della Corte, *NSA* (1958) p. 146, § 360a. That gate is on the southeast side of the city, near the amphitheatre (which is inside the Porta Nucerina).

[5] A particularly apposite analogy of Luciana Jacobelli (*Gladiators at Pompeii* [Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum 2003] 39).

> There are numerous gladiatorial notices on tombs, especially those outside of the Nucerian Gate. This gate adjoined a major road linking the coastal centers (Pozzuoli, Naples, and Herculaneum) with the south, and the rich inland areas. Many of the gladiatorial notices refer to the spectacles that were to be given in these important centers of Campania.[6]

After the publication of Della Corte's manuscript of the inscription in CIL,[7] Patrizia Sabbatini Tumolesi reedited the text in her collection of announcements of gladiatorial spectacles found in Pompeii. She read *cruciarii* (individuals to be crucified) instead of Della Corte's *cruciani* and dated the graffiti (i.e., the *edicta muneris*) in Pompeii to the middle of I C.E.[8]

The graffito, painted between the doors of two tombs, is as follows (see fig. 1):[9]

> *Cumis gl(adiatorum) p(aria) XX*
> *[et eorum] suppos[iticii pu]gn(abunt) k(alendis) Oct(obribus) III pr(idie) n[onas Octobres]*
> *cruciarii*[10] *ven(atio) et vela er(unt)*

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[6] Jacobelli, *Gladiators*, 41. The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, made in the thirteenth century, is based on ancient maps that show the coastal road linking Pompeii with Cumae (there is a small gap). Cf. L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana: Una descrizione pittorica del mondo antico* (Rimini: Magioli 1983) P. 40, Segmentum V, 3-5 and the website with high resolution images: http://soltdm.com/sources/mss/tp/tp_0.htm (last accessed 22 Dec. 2010).

[7] CIL IV, 9983a in *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum: Consilio et auctoritate Academiae scientiarum Germanicae editum. Voluminis quarti supplementi pars tertia. Edidit Matthaeus Della Corte. 4. Lieferung. Inscriptiones Pompeianae parietariae et vasorum fictilium annis 1951-1956 repertae. Edendas curavit Fulcherus Weber. Inscriptiones Herculanenses parietariae et vasorum fictilium. Edidit Pius Ciprotti* (Berlin: de Gruyter 1970). Della Corte had died in 1962.

[8] P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Gladiatorum paria: Annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompei* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura 1980) (GladPar) 79, Plate V,2 and XIV,1 (with map I,2), 107-109. On 112-116 she summarizes the results for the graffiti with chronological indications. Cf. H. Solin, rev. of CIL IV, supp. 3, fasc. 3 and 4, *Gn.* 45 (1975) 258-277, esp. 260 on problems of apographa in Della Corte's edition, in particular the interpretation of "indecipherable scrawl" (unverständliche Kritzeleien) in graffiti (with the correction of *cruciani* to *cruciarii* on 265). Although Solin made corrections in his review based on an examination of the photographs of the graffiti in the Institute for Paleography at the University of Rome, he does not specify that the photograph aided him with reference to CIL IV, 9983a.

[9] Image furnished and reproduced by permission of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (© Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum).

[10] Della Corte in the transcription in CIL IV printed: "*cruciani* (pro *cruciarii*)." In the drawing in CIL the word appears as: CAVCIANI (using here the *lambda* to approximate

Written between the two numbers on the first line are (in much smaller letters):

> *Cunicl(us)*[11]
> *Lucceio*[12]
> *sal(utem)*
>
> At Cumae, 20 gladiatorial pairs and their substitutes will fight on 1 October, 5 October, 6 October, and 7 October. There will be *cruciarii* (individuals to be crucified), a fight with wild beasts and the *velarium* (awning)[13] will be used [over the arena]
> Cuniculus hails Lucceius

The height of the letters in the first line indicates in part the function of the text as an advertisement to those who could read about the promised spectacle. The words of the greeting from Cuniculus to Lucceius are .08, .05, and .04 meters high respectively. The letters in the second line of the inscription are .09 meters high and those in the third line are .075 meters high.

1.1 Cumis (In Cumae)

A translation problem needs to be settled. Occasionally scholars have referred to this graffito as advertising a show in Pompeii in the amphitheatre.[14] *Cumis* is clearly a locative. The graffiti (*edicta munerum edendorum*

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the cursive *R*). Cf. R. Cagnat's table of cursive letter forms at Pompeii: *Cours d'épigraphie latine* (2nd ed.; Paris: Ernest Thorin 1890) 7. In CIL IV, 9838c the AI of *Materia[e]* appears quite similar to the N in the following word, *venales*, in Della Corte's drawing. P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, "Pyrricharii," *ParPass* 25 (1970) 328-338, esp. 337 notes that a more careful examination of the text yields *cruciarii.*

11) Della Corte transcribes the text as *Cunic(u)[l(us scriptor).* The downward stroke at the end of the word (i.e., the *l*) is clear in the drawing, and consequently Sabbatini Tumolesi transcribes the text as above. The name *Cuniculus* appears in CIL IX, 1078.

12) Della Corte adds the interpretive *(editori)* after *Lucceio.*

13) In Nero's wooden amphitheatre in Rome, built in 57 in a year, Pliny the elder says the awnings were the color of the sky interwoven with stars. Cf. L. Richardson, "Amphitheatrum Neronis," *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University 1992) 10-11 with reference to Plin., *N.H.* 19.24. There is a famous ancient fresco depicting a fight between the Pompeians and Nucerians in and around the amphitheatre, and it clearly shows part of the *velarium.* Cf. Jacobelli, *Gladiators,* fig. 58.

14) *M. Valerii Martialis Liber Spectaculorum* (ed. with intro., trans., and commentary K.M. Coleman; Oxford: Oxford University 2006) 92. B. Incigneri, *The Gospel to the Romans: The Setting and Rhetoric of Mark's Gospel* (Leiden: Brill 2003) 243 "a line from an

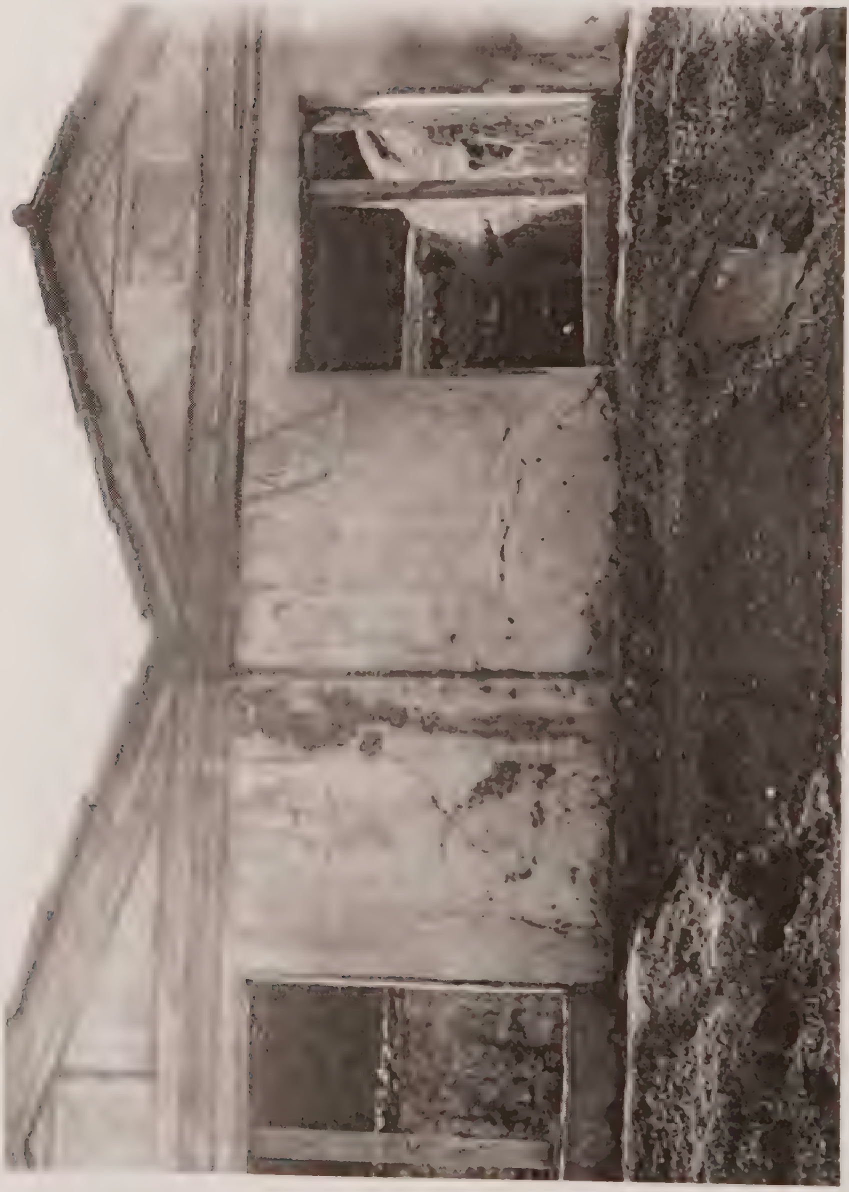

Figure 1. CIL IV, 9983a

[proclamations of shows that are going to be put on]) frequently mention the places where the shows will take place and the dates. A few examples of *edicta* found in Pompeii that describe where the fights will occur are:

AE 1990, 177b *pug(nabunt) / Cap(uae)* (Capua)
AE 1990, 177c *pug(nabunt) / in Falerno Foro Popili* (Forum Popili in the Ager Falernus)
CIL IV, 1179 = GladPar 10 *pugn(abunt) Pompeis* (Pompeii)
CIL IV, 1204 (p 204) = GladPar 73 *No]lae pu[g(nabunt)]* (Nola)
CIL IV, 9969 = GladPar 77 *pugn(abunt) Herculanei* (Herculaneum)
CIL IV, 9970 = GladPar 75 *pugna(bunt) / Puteol(is)* (Puteoli)[15]
CIL IV, 9976 = GladPar 80 *Glad(iatorum) pa[r(ia)... pugn(abunt)] Cum[is]* (Cumae)

All these texts include a mention of gladiatorial pairs. The large letters of the first line of the inscription, beginning with *Cumis*, indicate to the Pompeian population just what entertainments they could expect in the nearby Campanian town with its amphitheatre that still survives ("just outside the walls" of the ancient city). It probably was built in first century B.C.E.[16] The destruction of Pompeii in 79 C.E. provides the chronological limit of the graffito.

1.2 Scriptor (Painter) and Editor (Sponsor of the Show)

The smaller inscription written between the numbers of gladiatorial pairs may refer to the *scriptor*, Cuniculus. Whether Lucceius was the *editor* (the "sponsor in charge of financing the show") is an open question.[17] It does

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inscription from Pompeii (CIL IV, 9983a), has a line advertising that criminals would be crucified in the amphitheatre as part of the show" itself based on Coleman's "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments," *JRS* 80 (1990) 44-73, esp. 56, a seminal article. G. Chamberland, "Remarques sur quatre inscriptions 'Amphithéâtrales' italiennes," *ZPE* 156 (2006) 284-292, esp. 286 argues that Cumae was the place of the spectacle, although one usually expected the name of the *munerarius* (sponsor) or that of the gladiatorial troupe at the beginning—in large letters.

[15] 49 pairs are mentioned in another show announced for Puteoli in CIL IV, 7994 = GladPar 74.

[16] K.E. Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University 2007) 204-208 (with architectural sketch and photographs). She (206) has doubts about the method of dating using black glaze pottery found in the "concrete foundations (a somewhat problematic method of dating)..." Cp. ibid., 294 on the rebuilding of the amphitheatre in the early imperial period.

[17] On *editores*, cf. Jacobelli, *Gladiators*, 19-20, 26, 40, etc. Solin, rev. of CIL IV, 265 justifiably entertains doubts that Lucceius is the *editor*. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Gladiatorum paria*,

not seem appropriate for the *editor* to appear in such small letters. In a graffito discussed by Jacobelli, the *scriptor* describes himself (*Scr(ipsit) / Aemilius / Celer sing(ulus) / ad luna(m)*; Aemilius Celer painted this by himself, by moonlight) in small letters to the right of the announcement, but the *editor* appears at the beginning of the graffito in large letters in the genitive (*D(ecimi) Lucreti* Decimius Lucretius).[18] Such examples indicate that *scriptores* sometimes enjoyed painting their own messages in smaller letters, including good wishes for their friends.

1.3 Suppositicii (Substitutes)

The substitutes presumably fought the winners of the original contest when a replacement was needed for a dead gladiator.[19] A well-known example is *Hermes vincere nec ferire doctus / Hermes suppositicius sibi ipse* (Hermes knows how to win but not deliver the killing blow, Hermes is his own substitute).[20] Centuries later Lactantius expressed his own views of the shows, and perhaps referred to substitutes:

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p. 109 notes that Luccei are attested, besides in Pozzuoli and Capua, for the aristocracy of Cumae, with reference to F. Münzer, "Lucceius 3," *PRE* XIII (1927) 1553 (CIL X, 3685 [7 C.E.]: two *praetores*, father and son, named Caius Lucceius in Cumae who restored a temple of Demeter); Pozzuoli: Cic., *Fam.* 5.15.2, W.C. McDermott, "De Lucceiis," *Herm.* 97 (1969) 233-256, and J.H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples: A Social and Cultural Study of Villas and their Owners from 150 B.C. to A.D. 400* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University 1970) 188. P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus: Polity and Society in Roman Pompei* (Rome: Bardi 1975) 184 thinks Lucceius (possibly a *lanista*) may have been a Pompeian. Although Sabbatini Tumolesi affirms that references to Lucceii at Pompeii are rare, CIL IV contains these: 2159, 2787, 3340.94, 8649, and 9983aa. Cicero encountered his friend Cn. Lucceius burying his mother in Cumae (*Att.* 15.1a.1, 18 May 44 B.C.E.).

[18] CIL IV, 3884 = GladPar 5. Trans. of Jacobelli, *Gladiators*, 40 (with a drawing of the graffito). Celer also was apparently responsible for CIL IV, 9977 = GladPar 82 *Ce[ler scr(ipsit?)]*. The names of *editores*, often appear in the genitive in large letters in the first line of the graffiti: cp. CIL IV, 7991 = GladPar 9 and CIL IV, 1179 = GladPar 10.

[19] D.S. Potter and D.J. Mattingly, *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan) 1999, 313 (*suppositicius* and *tertiarius* as the same), G. Ville, *La gladiature en occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* (BEFAR 245; Rome: École française de Rome 1981) 395-398. Cp. Petr. 45.11 *tertiarius mortuus pro mortuo* (a third [gladiator], a dead man to replace a dead man), Plin., *Ep.* 8.14.21, and L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (vol. 4; London/New York: Routledge 1913) 520-521.

[20] Mart. 5.24.7-8.

> They are angry with the fighters, if one of the two is not quickly killed, and as though they thirst for human blood, they hate delays. They want similar and fresher fighters to be given to them, so that as soon as possible they can satisfy their eyes.
>
> *irascuntur etiam pugnantibus, nisi celeriter e duobus alter occisus est, et tamquam humanum sanguinem sitiant, oderunt moras. alios illis conpares dari poscunt recentiores, ut quam primum oculos suos satient.*[21]

Thomas Wiedemann argues that "Particularly unacceptable was forcing a victorious gladiator to face an opponent immediately (a substitute, *suppositicius*)."[22] The *editor* had the decision over the fate of the loser.[23]

1.4 A Standard Program?

The hypothesis that spectacles usually followed the order of a *venatio* in the morning, execution of condemned criminals (*noxii*) at midday, and gladiatorial combat in the afternoon is frequently repeated, but the evidence is only fragmentary. That is, as Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard argue, references to each of the elements individually are stitched together "into a 'programme'."[24] The witness usually appealed to, Seneca (*Ep.* 7.3-5), describes animal fights in the morning and midday executions, but Seneca was expecting "wit and humour" when he went at noon.

> By chance I attended a mid-day spectacle, expecting some fun, wit, and relaxation,—an exhibition at which people's eyes have respite from human blood. But it was quite the reverse.
>
> *Casu in meridianum spectaculum incidi lusus expectans et sales et aliquid laxamenti, quo hominum oculi ab humano cruore adquiescant. contra est.*[25]

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[21] Lact., *Inst.* 6.20.13.

[22] T. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (London: Routledge 1995) 119. Cp. ibid., 120-121 on the life expectancy of gladiators (inscriptions show many survived fights that they lost) and Jacobelli, *Gladiators,* 52 who concludes that in the *munera* of Pompeii practically all the defeated contestants survived (see her numbers in ibid., 41-43). CIL X, 6012 (249 C.E.), however, celebrates an *editor* who in four days that included fights of eleven gladiatorial pairs "killed eleven first rate gladiators of Campania."

[23] Cf. Juv. 3.36-37.

[24] K. Hopkins and M. Beard, *The Colosseum* (London: Harvard University 2005) 70, 72.

[25] Sen., *Ep.* 7.3, trans. of Seneca, *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales* (vol. 1; LCL; ed. and trans. R.M. Gummere; London/New York: Harvard University 1925) 30, slightly modified.

Should one then argue that "burlesque and comedy" were the regular midday entertainment?[26]

1.5 Executions of Noxii (Criminals) in Roman Spectacles

The *noxii* are a central concern of this investigation, since the individuals to be crucified were criminals whose alienation from the civic community became a matter of public spectacle.[27] Jean-Jacques Aubert summarizes their condition:

> Crucifixions were usually carried out outside the city limits, thus stressing the victim's rejection from the civic community. Because of the absence of blood shed out of an open and lethal wound, which evoked the glorious fate of warriors, this type of death was considered unclean, shameful, unmanly, and unworthy of a freeman. In addition, the victim was usually naked. Essential, too, was the fact that the victim lost contact with the ground, which was regarded as sacrilegious.[28]

The criminals are obvious in the ancient mosaics and other representations because they are either nude or clothed in loin cloths.[29] Georges Lafaye described a (presumably) second century lamp from Rome on which a

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[26] Hopkins and Beard, *Colosseum*, 72. Tert., *Apol.* 15.5 also speaks of "ludicrous cruelties at midday" (*ludicras meridianorum crudelitates* [their translation]). Cassius Dio 60.13.4 mentions midday deaths during spectacles of Claudius's reign, but does not specify that they were deaths of *noxii*. Cp. Suet., *Cl.* 34.2. Tert., *Nat.* 1.10.47, after describing the burning of a criminal playing the part of Hercules, then says that during the midday break "Pluto" drags away dead gladiators. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 55 lists the standard program, but does not cite evidence other than the association of the three categories in a mosaic (the Zliten mosaic in Libya, fig. 5, and p. 15), the *edicta munerum* and Mart., *Sp.* That mosaic, however, combines scenes from all three elements of the standard program (*venationes*, gladiatorial combat, and executions of *noxii* by beasts are depicted), but not in the narrative order of the alleged "program."

[27] See the important comments of H. Galsterer, "Die Begräbnisgesetze von Puteoli und Cumae," in Panciera, *Libitina*, 119-132, esp. 128-129.

[28] J.-J. Aubert, "A Double Standard in Roman Criminal Law?," in *Speculum Iuris: Roman Law as a Reflection of Social and Economic Life in Antiquity* (ed. J.-J. Aubert and B. Sirks; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 2002) 94-133, esp. 113 (with reference to supporting literature).

[29] Cf. G. Lafaye, "La venatio dans les jeux de l'ampithéâtre," *DAGR* V (1892) 700-711, esp. 708: a drawing of a clay bas relief, now in the Louvre shows a nude woman (wearing a loin cloth), hands tied behind her back, sitting on a bull, being attacked by a panther (see the photograph in Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, fig. 7).

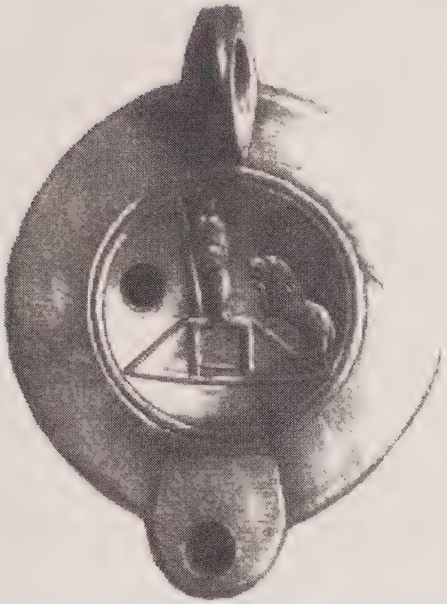

Figure 2. Roman Lamp: *damnatio ad bestias*

youth was depicted, wearing a loincloth (*subligaculum*, διάζωμα), standing up with his hands tied behind his back around a stake (itself set on a *pulpitum*),[30] being attacked by a lion (fig. 2).[31]

Annewies van den Hoek has called the scholarly community's attention to a flask (*lagynos*) made of African red slip ware that portrays a disturbing scene of public death by wild beasts in which the *noxius* is suspended on a stake.

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[30] For this term, cf. Pass. Perp. 19.3 (*Atti e passioni dei martiri* [ed. A.A.R. Bastiaensen, et al.; (Milan): Mondadori 2007] 140).

[31] G. Lafaye, "Crux," *DAGR* I/2, 1573-5, esp. 1574. Cf. the discussion of G.B. de Rossi, "25 novembre," "9 dicembre 1877," *BArC* Ser. 3, Year 4 (1879) 21-23, 24-26, Pl. III/1 (in L. Costa's collection) and H. Dressel in CIL XV, 6515,1 (*Leae Sae* on the reverse; the *noxius* could be an *Amor* tied to a spear).

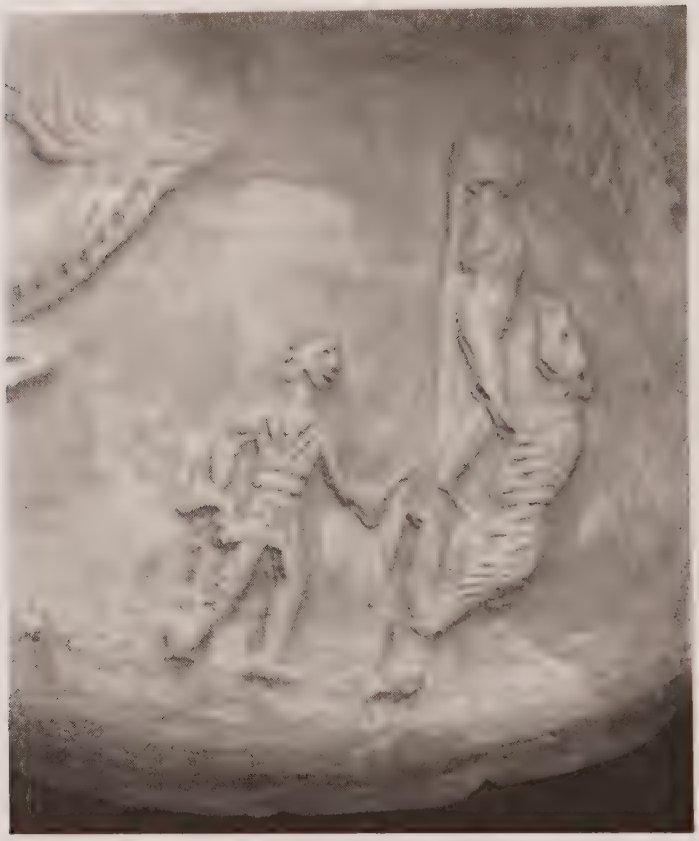

Figure 3. *Lagynos* of *damnatio ad bestias*[32]

A number of African red slip bowls also depict executions by wild animals. Presumably these objects (lamp, flask, and bowls) were used in daily life.[33]

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[32] Photograph courtesy of Annewies van den Hoek (from the workshop of Navigius; ca 400 C.E.) used by permission of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz (O.39628). See A. van den Hoek and J.J. Herrmann, Jr., "Thecla the Beast Fighter: A Female Emblem of Deliverance in Early Christian Popular Art," *StPhilo* 13 (2001) 212-249, esp. 232-233, 245, fig. 15.

[33] A. van den Hoek, in a communication with the author, makes this point and notes that the bowls were found in "funerary contexts." For the images (many of which are women condemned *ad bestias*) on ceramic objects, cf. van den Hoek and Herrmann, "Thecla," fig. 14 (3 executions, 2 Hadrianic and one Domitianic to Antonine), 16-21 (many from 350-430 C.E.). Most of these are African red slip bowls. On the *lagynos*, cf. also Coleman, *Liber Spectaculorum*, 89, pl. 18. A hook for suspending individuals on the stake *ad bestias*

In the mosaic frieze depicting gladiator scenes from the amphitheatre in the Roman villa at Zliten (now in the archaeological museum of Tripoli), North Africa, leopards attack two *damnati* in loin cloths who are tied to poles with their hands behind their backs—the poles are mounted on wheeled devices that appear to be small chariots.[34] Various inscriptions congratulate individuals for providing condemned criminals for public execution. The Roman imperial treasury could sell the *noxii* to a sponsor who in turn was responsible for the executions.[35] In an inscription from a statue base in Paestum a *duovir quinquennalis*, Marcus Egnius Fortunatianus, is honored for giving funds to provide noble gladiators, and for enhancing the day with giant bears and a *noxius* to be executed in the arena (*nobilium gladi/atorum conductionem / adiectis etiam ursis mi/rae magnitudinis set et / noxeo omni quoque / cultu atparatuque aucto / diem sublimiter exornavit*).[36] There is much of this kind of material, and it all seems to share this common characteristic: the community or the individual's family honored the individual for providing criminals to be publicly executed.[37]

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can clearly be seen on a bowl from 350-430 in J. Herrman and A. van den Hoek, *Light from the Age of Augustine: Late Antique Ceramics from North Africa* (Austin, TX: Institute for the Study of Antiquity & Christian Origins of the University of Texas at Austin 2003) § 88 (the rim of a bowl depicting a condemned man [wearing a loincloth] at the stake).

[34] Coleman, *Liber Spectaculorum*, pl. 16, Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, fig. 5a.

[35] P. Veyne, "Païens et chrétiens devant la gladiature," *MEFRA* 111 (1999) 883-917, esp. 895.

[36] AE 1975, 255 (II C.E.) Paestum (uncorrected). CIL IX, 3437 = ILS 5063 honors a quinquennial prefect who sponsored a three-day gladiatorial spectacle which included *noxeos quattuor* (four condemned individuals). In EAOR III, 42 = ILS 5063a, a wife, in a funeral monument to her husband who was aedile of Puteoli, mentions his patronage of a four-day show in Beneventum that included the death of four wild animals, sixteen bears, four *noxii* and some herbivores.

[37] AE 1975, 256 (Paestum, time of Marcus Aurelius): a quinquennial duovir who provided a *venatio* with convicts; CIL IV, 9978 = GladPar 72 (Nola): *servi ferro s[anguinari iussi—]* murderous slaves condemned to the sword; CIL XIV, 4616 + XIV, 5381 = EAOR IV, 29 = AE 1977, 153 (Ostia 2nd half of II C.E.): a duovir who sponsored games that may have included women condemned to death (*et mulieres [a]d ferrum dedit*...)—see EAOR IV, p. 65 for the difficulty of deciding whether *ad ferrum dare* means "give [them] over to execution" or "make [them] fight"—for the latter sense, cf. Suet., Nero 12.1 (*exhibuit autem ad ferrum etiam quadringentos senatores*) and CIL X, 3704 (*IIII paribus / ferro dimicantib[us]*); CIL IV, 1203 = GladPar 55: a spectacle in Pompeii that included condemned individuals called *pyrricharii*. On that category, see Plutarch, *Sera* 9, 554B, Sabbatini Tumolesi, "Pyrricharii," passim; idem, *Gladiatorum paria*, 87, and Coleman, "Fatal Charades," 56, 68, 70. For a gladiatorial troupe (Aphrodisias) owned by a high priest that included condemned criminals (καταδίκοι) see Roueché, PPAphr 13 (and cp. PPAphr 14).

Certain people made a lot of money on the death of the condemned (called *trinci* in the Gallic provinces), and a decree of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus attempted to reduce the profit.[38] The great Stoic emperor, according to Cassius Dio, did not let gladiators in Rome fight with sharpened weapons and refused to look at a man-eating lion (or to emancipate the lion's trainer).[39]

1.6 Cruciarii (Individuals to be Crucified)

The announcement of the show in Cumae included the promise of *cruciarii*, which the OLD defines as "a crucified person; one who deserves crucifixion, a gallows-bird."[40] Kathleen Coleman believes the crucifixions may have been combined with another punishment such as execution by wild animals (*damnatio ad bestias*), because "crucifixion alone would be distinctly lacking in spectator appeal, since it would be a static and long drawn-out spectacle."[41] The mime of the robber "Laureolus" in Martial depicts the victim hanging on "no unreal cross," dripping blood while being mauled by a Caledonian bear:

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[38] CIL II, 6278 (Baetica) and CIL III, 7106 = IGLSardis I, 16. Cf. J.H. Oliver and R.E.A. Palmer, "Minutes of an Act of the Roman Senate," *Hesperia* 24 (1955) 320-349, A.C. Johnson, P.R. Coleman-Norton, and F.C. Burne, *Ancient Roman Statutes: A Translation with Introduction, Commentary, Glossary, and Index* (Austin, TX: University of Austin 1961) 217 (with a note on the *trinci* on 218), and M. Carter, "Gladiatorial Ranking and the *SC de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis* (CIL II 6278 = ILS 5163)," *Phoenix* 57 (2003) 83-114. The *Senatus Consultum* is dated to 177 by D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle: Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie* (3rd ed.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 2004) 138.

[39] Cassius Dio 71.29. Cp. *SHA Marcus Aurelius* 11.4 *gladiatoria spectacula omnifariam temperavit* (he limited gladiatorial spectacles in every way). Trans. modified of *Historia Augusta* (3 vols.; LCL; ed. and trans. D. Magie; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University 1921-1932) 1:161.

[40] Cf. OLD, s.v. Petr. 112.5 *unius cruciarii parentes* (parents of a crucified man); Sen., *Con.* 7.6.2 *Fecit... libertum cruciariis* (he made... his freedman like the crucified slaves); Isid., *Orig.* 10.49 *cruciarius eo quod sit cruce dignus* (*cruciarius*, one who is worthy of the cross), Apul., *Met.* 10.7.7 *cruciarius ille* (that gallows-bird—used of a slave guilty of perjury) and Ammianus Marcellinus 29.2.9 *cruciarius ille* (used of Palladius, the perjurious accuser of Eusebius and Hypatius before Valens).

[41] Coleman, *Liber Spectaculorum*, 92. Cf. the account in Josephus, *Vita* 420-421 and the description of the slow death by crucifixion in Sen., *Ep.* 101.13. Cp. the narrative of a nineteenth-century crucifixion (28 Oct. 1863) on a Wednesday in Amoy, China, of a criminal who kidnapped young girls and sold them into prostitution. He was still alive on the following Saturday, when his legs were broken and he was strangled (J. Jones, "On the Punishment of Crucifixion in China," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* N.S. 3 [1865] 138-139).

> Just as Prometheus, chained on a Scythian crag, fed the tireless bird on his prolific breast, so Laureolus, hanging on no false cross, gave up his defenseless entrails to a Scottish bear.
>
> *Qualiter in Scythica religatus rupe Prometheus*
> *adsiduam nimio pectore pauit auem,*
> *nuda Caledonio sic uiscera praebuit urso*
> *non falsa pendens in cruce Laureolus.*[42]

Blandina was hung on a cross-like stake, for example, but was condemned to death by wild animals:

> . . . but Blandina was hung on a stake and offered as a prey to the wild beasts that were let in. She seemed to be hanging in the shape of a cross . . .
>
> ἡ δὲ Βλανδῖνα ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθεῖσα προύκειτο βορὰ τῶν εἰσβαλλομένων θηρίων, ἣ καὶ διὰ τοῦ βλέπεσθαι σταυροῦ σχήματι κρεμαμένη . . .[43]

Pionius stretched himself out on the stake/cross, let the soldier nail him (ἥπλωσεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ στρατιώτῃ πεῖραι τοὺς ἥλους), was hoisted (ἀνώρθωσαν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου), and suffered *crematio.*[44] Tacitus (in a reasonable version of the corrupted text) depicts Nero's punishment of Christians as arsonists by *damnatio ad bestias* and a combined form of crucifixion and *crematio.*

> *et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi ac*[45] *flammandi,* [*atque*] *ubi defecisset dies, in usu<m> nocturni luminis urerentur.*

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[42] Mart., *Sp.* 9(7).1-4. Trans. of Coleman, *Liber Spectaculorum*, 82.

[43] Eus., *H.E.* 5.1.41. Trans. of Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (2 vols.; LCL; ed. and trans. K. Lake; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University 1926/1932) 1:427.

[44] M. Pion. 21.3-9 (188 Bastiaensen). Polycarp, after stripping himself, requested that no nails be used before his *crematio* on a stake (ξύλον). No mention is made of suspension (M. Poly. 13.3 [20 Bastiaensen]). Cf. H.F. Hitzig, "Crematio," *PRE* XIV/2 (1901) 1700-1702 (arguing that its use was relatively rare—other than in the case of Christians) and T. Mayer-Maly, "Vivicomburium," PRE 2nd Ser. IX A 1 (1961) 497-498.

[45] M (Mediceus—Laurentianus 68 II [copied between 1038 and 1058; cf. BiTeu p. iv Heubner]) has *aut* here, which A.J. Woodman, *Tacitus: The Annals* (Indianapolis/Cambridge, MA: Hackett 2007) 388 replaces with *ac* (appealing to Linck and Weyman). Cp. T.D.

> And as they perished, mockeries were added, so that, covered in the hides of wild beasts, they expired from mutilation by dogs or, fixed to crosses and made flammable, on the dwindling of daylight they were burned for use as nocturnal illumination.[46]

In imitation of Christ's cross, the victims of the Neronian persecution were probably suspended.[47] The *cruciarii* in Cumae died publicly in a spectacle—perhaps combined with other imaginative forms of death, such as condemnation to wild beasts or burning with pitch or other combustibles. Nearby Puteoli contracted out its burials and crucifixions (with the attendant torture), and some perhaps took place in the amphitheatre of that town.

2. The *lex Puteolana*: Crucifixion in Puteoli

Crucifixion seems to have been closely regulated in some of the towns of Campania. The *lex Puteolana*, probably from the Julio-Claudian era, provides explicit rules for the scourging and subsequent crucifixion of male and female slaves when an owner so wishes. With regard to magistrates ordering public punishments, the *lex* stipulates:

> Whenever a magistrate exacts punishment at public expense, so shall he decree; and whenever it will have been ordered, the contractor must be ready to carry out the punishment, to set up stakes/crosses, and to provide for free (gratis) nails, pitch, wax, candles, and those things which are essential for such matters.

Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and History* (Tria Corda 5, Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck 2010) 334. C. Weyman ("Tacitus über die Fackeln des Nero," in *Festgabe für Martin von Schanz* [ed. A. Dyroff, Würzburg: Kabitzsch 1912] 167-172, esp. 172) ultimately chose *et pereuntibus—interirent aut crucibus affixi et flammandi ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur* as his reconstruction of Tacitus's text. K. Linck (*De antiquissimis veterum quae at Iesum Nazarenum spectant testimoniis* [RVV 14.1, Gießen: Töpelmann 1913] 62, 89-91, 98) conjectured *atque*.

[46] Tac., *Ann.* 15.44.4 (369,17-20 Heubner), modified. The text as transmitted is corrupt. The version I have adopted here is advocated by Woodman, *Tacitus*, 326 (his trans.), 388 (note on the textual problem). Cf. also J.G. Cook, *Roman Attitudes toward the Christians: From Claudius to Hadrian* (WUNT 261; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck 2010) 40, 69-70 for a short discussion of the textual problem in the ancient world, the fifteenth century, and the modern era.

[47] I thank F. Harley-McGowan for this point. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*, 337 believes the condemned were standing on the ground with their arms stretched out like crucified individuals.

> *quot(iens) supplic (ium) magistrat(us) public(e) sumet ita imperat(o); quotienscumq(ue) imperat(um) er(it) praestu esse su-/plicium sumer(e) crucẹs sṭạtuere clavos pecem ceram candel(as) quaeq(ue) ad eas res opus erunt red(emptor) / gratis praest(are) d(ebeto)...*[48]

The punishments were presumably either of slaves or free born *peregrini.*[49] Aubert notes the ambiguity in the regulations and argues that the pitch, wax, and candles could be for execution by burning or for the torture that preceded crucifixion.[50] Although the *lex*, in the preceding section on the crucifixion of slaves, distinguishes *crux* from *patibulum*, it seems unlikely that *crematio* is the intention here, since *stipes* would be a more appropriate term for the stake used in death by fire.[51] Tertullian apparently describes some rhetoric current in his day about Christians:

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[48] AE 1971, 88; *Libitina: Pompes funèbres et supplices in Campanie à l'époque d'Auguste* (ed. F. Hinard and J.C. Dumont; Paris: Hinard 2003) II.11-13 (p. 18-19); Cook, "Envisioning Crucifixion," 265-266 (my trans., modified by remarks from Professor Bodel). On the date, cf. G. Camodeca, "Per la riedizione della leges libinariae flegree," in Panciera, *Libitina*, 83-104, esp. 85-86. The superscript was *[De publi]co libitina[e]*, "on the public service of the undertaker," according to Hinard/Dumont (ibid., 3-4: a genitive of definition) and not *libitinario* which is a hitherto unknown use of the term *libitinarius*, since it does not appear in the *lex Puteolana* and otherwise in Latin is a noun which means "contractor" or "employee of the undertaker." It is not known to modify abstract neuter nouns (such as *publico* in the superscript). John Bodel informs me in a personal communication that this would leave an odd imbalance in the heading of the stone. Cf. Bodel, "Organization," 148-149 for alternative restorations based on column width and bracket holes including: [*De munere publi]co libitina[rio]* and *[De publi]co libitina[rio]* (on the latter of which Bodel remarks: "No other combination of columns and brackets coincides so well." The latter formulation would result in this meaning: "On the public undertaking concession" (or concession of undertaking); i.e., "On the concession/contract for performing undertaking services." I thank Professor Bodel for the translation. The inscription was found on the via Rosini, in the ancient forum of Puteoli (F. Demma, *Monumenti pubblici di Puteoli: Per un'archeologia dell'architettura* [Rome: Bretschneider 2007] 169) and Camodeca, "Per la riedizione," 85 (found in three pieces between Aug. 1955 and Jan. 1957).

[49] Claire Lovisi in Hinard/Dumont, *Libitina*, 94.

[50] Aubert, "Double Standard," 114.

[51] Hinard/Dumont, *Libitina*, II.8-10 (p. 18). See the comments of Lovisi in Hinard/Dumont, *Libitina*, 92 (*crux* is not used for a punishment other than crucifixion). The colloquium (of Hinard/Dumont) mentions the possible exception of Tac., *Ann.* 15.44.7 (ibid., 120). But Tac., *Ann.* 14.33.2 (328,1 Heubner) *caedes patibula ignes cruces* (killings, gibbets, burnings, and crosses) clearly distinguishes crucifixion (*crux*) from *crematio*, as does Sen., *De ira* 3.3.6 *cruces et circumdati defossis corporibus ignes* (crosses and fires encircling living bodies implanted in the ground, trans. Seneca, *Moral Essays* (vol. 1; LCL; ed. and trans. J.W. Basore; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University 1928) 261. Sen., *Ep.* 14.5 also distinguishes crucifixion from the tunic smeared and interwoven with combustibles

> So you may call us "faggot-fellows" and "half-axle-men," because we are tied to a half-axle-post, the faggots are piled round us, and we are burnt.
>
> *Licet nunc et "sarmentarios" et "semiaxios" appelletis, quia ad stipitem dimidii axis reuincti sarmentorum ambitu exurimur.*[52]

In the *Historia Augusta* (fictional or not), Severus Alexander had a man "smoked" who was selling imperial favors:

> ...he issued instructions to bind him to a stake in the Forum Transitorium. Then he ordered a fire of straw and wet logs to be made and had him suffocated by the smoke, and all the while a herald cried aloud, "The seller of smoke is punished by smoke."
>
> *...in foro Transitorio ad stipitem ill<um> adligari praecepit et fumo adposito, quem ex stipulis atque umidis lignis fieri iusserat, necavit praecone dicente: "fumo punitur, qui vendidit fumum."*[53]

Both Tertullian and the *scriptor* of the *Historia* indicate the appropriateness of *stipes* (stake) for *crematio*.

Cicero vividly depicts the tortures preceding crucifixion of a Roman citizen, Gavius of Consa, by Verres, governor of Sicily. Verres had accused Gavius of being a spy of the fugitive slave army during the third Servile war (73-71).[54]

> ...in a Roman province, in a town whose people have special privileges, a Roman citizen could be bound and flogged in the market-place by a man who owed his rods and axes to the favour of the Roman people? When the fire and hot metal plates and the like were brought to torture him, even if his agonized entreaties, his pitiful cries could not stay your hand, was your soul untouched even by the tears and the loud groans of the Roman citizens who then stood by? You dared to crucify any living man who claimed to be a Roman citizen?

(*tunicam alimentis ignium et inlitam et textam*). Cp. Apul., *Met.* 6.31.3 (*nec feras nec cruces nec ignes* [not wild beasts, crosses, nor burnings]) and the executions in Ruf., *Hist.* 5.1.41 (*Blandina religata ad stipitem atque in crucis modum distenta* Blandina bound to the stake and stretched out in the manner of the cross [GCS Eusebius Werke II, 419,6-7 Mommsen]) and Ruf., *Clem.* 9.11.4 (*ad stipitem conligatur urendus* bound to the stake to be burned [GCS Die Pseudoklementinen. Die Rekognitionen 263,22, Rehm/Strecker]).

[52] Tert., *Apol.* 50.3. Trans. of Tertullian, *Apology. De spectaculis* (LCL; ed. and trans. T.R. Glover; Cambridge, MA/London 1931) 223.

[53] *SHA Severus Alexander* 37.2. Trans. of Magie, *Historia Augusta*, 2:249. Cp. Cic., *Ver.* 2.45 where Verres tortures an ally of Rome using suffocating smoke made from a fire of green wood.

[54] Cic., *Ver.* 2.5.161.

> *... civis Romanus in provincia populi Romani, in oppido foederatorum, ab eo qui beneficio populi Romani fascis et securis haberet deligatus in foro virgis caederetur? Quid? cum ignes ardentesque laminae ceterique cruciatus admovebantur, si te illius acerba imploratio et vox miserabilis non inhibebat, ne civium quidem Romanorum qui tum aderant fletu et gemitu maximo commovebare? In crucem tu agere ausus es quemquam qui se civem Romanum esse diceret?*[55]

After scourging him, Verres tortured Gavius with hot metal plates and "the like" before having him crucified. With regard to executions ordered by the magistrate in his official capacity (*publice*) in Puteoli, it is clear that the instruments of torture (pitch, etc.) "and whatever else is necessary for such things" (e.g., scourging perhaps) precede or accompany the crucifixion, expressed by the term *cruces statuere*.[56] The nails are probably part of the set of tools used by the skillful *carnifex* (torturer/executioner).[57] The *lex Puteolana* provides helpful context for an incomplete *lex* from Cumae.

3. The lex Cumana: Regulation of Crucifixion in Cumae?

The very fragmentary marble tablet found in Cumae, the *lex Cumana*, sometimes called the *lex libitinaria Cumana*,[58] shares enough common vocabulary with the *lex Puteolana* that it is clear it refers to the undertaker/

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[55] Cic., *Ver.* 2.5.163 (trans. of Cicero, *The Verrine Orations* [vol. 2; LCL; ed. and trans. L.H.G. Greenwood; Cambridge, MA/London 1935] 647). Cp. Pl., *As.* 549-51 (a slave) *Qui aduorsum stimulos lamminas crucesque conpedesque / Neruos catenas carceres numellas pedicas boias / Inductoresque acerrumos gnarosque nostri tergi* (us against goads, hot irons and crosses and foot-shackles and thongs[?], chains, cells, neck-frames, ankle-fetters, collars, and painters [= floggers]—painters keen as can be and intimate with our backs!, trans. substantially modified of *Plautus* (vol. 1; LCL; ed. and trans. P. Nixon; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University 1916) 183 (text from *Plaute* [CUFr I, 116 Ernout]).

[56] Cf. the same verb used by Suetonius in a description of Galba's punishment of a tutor while he was governor of *Hispania Tarraconensis*; The tutor was a Roman citizen who poisoned his ward for the sake of the inheritance:... *mutari multoque praeter ceteras altiorem et dealbatam statui crucem iussit...* [Galba] ordered that a cross much higher than the rest and painted white be set up, and the man transferred to it. Suet., *Gal.* 9.2.; trans. of *Suetonius* (2 vols.; LCL; ed. and trans. J.C. Rolfe; Cambridge/London: Harvard University 1998) 2:195.

[57] Cook, "Envisioning Crucifixion," 27-28, Hinard/Dumont, *Libitina*, 119.

[58] Cf. AE 1971, 89 and L. Bove, "Due iscrizioni da Pozzuoli e Cuma," *RAAN* seduta 12 dicembre 1966, n.s. 41 (1967) 207-221 = *Labeo* 13 (1967) 22-48, esp. 22 (found south of the ancient city near one of the gates). Camodeca, "Per la riedizione," 91 dates the *tabula* (i.e., the *lex Cumana*) to the Augustan era. The date of discovery is apparently lost, although a probable notice of the inscription appeared in 1952. See Camodeca, "Per la riedizione," 91.

entrepreneur's responsibility for burial and execution.[59] It includes this cryptic phrase:

> He must pay eight sesterces;[60] For the machine/instrument the contractor... [must] furnish with nail, rope, and cane
>
> *[—] HS VIII n(ummum) d(are) d(ebeto); pro machina con [ductor—p]*[61] *raestand(um) clavo reste calamo*[62]

The instrument or apparatus sounds "Kafkaesque" if the two lines are to be taken together. The original editor, Lucio Bove, argued that *machina* "refers back to the performance of the executions in the *lex Puteolana*, but that it is impossible to determine how, when, and against whom they were intended."[63] In Apuleius's novel a wealthy man named Demochares sponsored a grand spectacle:

> Gladiators of a famous band, then all manner of hunters most fleet of foot, then convicted criminals without hope of reprieve who were to fatten the wild beasts with banquets of themselves; the construction of a machine supported by beams, with towers joined with panels, like a movable house, painted brightly, a suitable receptacle for the coming *venatio*.
>
> *Gladiatores isti famosae manus, uenatores illi probatae pernicitatis, alibi noxii perdita securitate suis epulis bestiarum saginas instruentes; confixilis machinae subliciae, turres tabularum nexibus ad instar circumforaneae domus, floridae picturae, decora futurae uenationis receptacula.*[64]

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[59] AE 1971, 89 = Panciera, *Libitina*, 52-54. First published by Bove, "Due iscrizioni," 22-48. For example: *manceps*, entrepreneur/ contractor (C.a, II,1 [52 Panciera]); *carnifex* C.a, II,3, 5 [52-53 Panciera]); *ustor*, one employed to burn dead corpses (C.b, I,13 [54 Panciera]). Each column of the inscription is incomplete, and it is an opisthograph. The inscription mentions the territory of Baia, which was controlled by the magistrates of Cumae. Both AE 1971, 88 and 89 are now in the Archaeological Museum of Naples.

[60] This applies to text in the previous line that is lost.

[61] The length of the lacuna at the beginning of column C.b, I,6-7 is unknown.

[62] C.b, I,6-7 (Panciera, *Libitina*, 53).

[63] Bove, "Due iscrizioni," 35.

[64] Apul., *Met.* 4.13.4-5 (H. van Thiel, *Der Eselsroman: II. Synoptische Ausgabe* [Zet. 54/2: Munich: Beck 1972] 88, 30-34), trans. substantially modified of Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* [LCL; ed. and trans. W. Adlington and S. Gaselee; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University 1977] 163-165. J.K. Krabbe, *Lusus iste: Apuleius' Metamorphoses* (Dallas: University Press of America 2003) 529 thinks the panels had "scenes painted on them." There are many textual problems. Cf. B.L. Hijmans, M. Zimmerman, D.K. van Mal-Maeder, *Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses book IV, 1-27. Text, Introduction, and Commentary*

In this text, the machine is clearly a movable house and is a horrifying contraption.[65]

The *sense* of *machina* in the *lex Cumana* probably was not "cross," but it is quite possible, given the manifold relationships between the *lex Cumana* and the *lex Puteolana*, that the *reference* is to an instrument of torture such as a cross. Usages in Latin authors provide the sense of "scaffolding for supporting a platform, a *pegma*,[66] etc.: for constructing buildings, etc." or an "apparatus for torturing."[67] The second usage seems far more probable for the *lex Cumana* given its manifold interrelationships with the *lex Puteolana.* The story of Regulus illustrates the second meaning. Cicero does not believe Regulus's fate was punishment, but an example of the "weapons of fortune" (*fortunae… tela*):

> To my mind, the great Marcus Regulus, whose eyelids the Carthaginians cut off, whom they bound to a machine and did to death by sleeplessness, suffered no punishment…
>
> *nec mihi ille M. Regulus quem Carthaginienses resectis palpebris inligatum in machina vigilando necaverunt, supplicio videtur affectus…*[68]

Valerius Maximus has this version of the tale:

(Groningen: Forsten 1977) 106 (consulted for the trans. above). Hijmans, *Apuleius*, 14.24 has *sublic<i>as.* Cp. Coleman, "Fatal Charades," 53 (and n. 80) who notes that the scene is not an invention of Apuleius's imagination, given the comparable scene in Strabo 6.273 (the execution of Selurus, the leader of a sedition in the Etna area, by a contraption, πῆγμα, made to resemble Aetna, which was set over cages of wild beasts). Coleman dates Selurus's execution it to the late thirties B.C.E.

[65] S. Castagnetti, "La *lex cumana libitinaria* nelle sue due redazioni," in Panciera, *Libitina*, 133-46, esp. 139 does not think the sense of *machina* as "mechanical contraption" is relevant for the *lex Cumana.*

[66] Cf. OLD s.v. 2 "a moving or temporary platform, scaffold, etc., used in theatrical performances, in building, and for other purposes."

[67] Cf. Bodel, "Organization," 156, 166 n. 42. *ad sustentandum i. q. tabulatum, pegma sim.: in extruendis aedificiis sim.*: ThessLL VIII, s.v. B.3, col. 13,11-22; *ad torquendos homines* ([apparatus] for torturing people) ThessLL VIII, s.v. B.4, col. 13,36-41 (e.g., Cic., *Pis.* 43) and Tert., *Nat.* 1.18.10. Cp. OLD, s.v. 4, 5.

[68] Cic., *Pis.* 43. Trans. of Cicero, *Orations* (vol. 14; LCL, ed. and trans. N.H. Watts; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University 1931) 193. Partially quoted in Oros., *Hist.* 4.10.1.

> The Carthaginians cut off the eyelids of Attilius Regulus and locked him into a contraption that had sharpened spikes sticking inward from its sides. They killed him by lack of sleep and by prolonged and continuous agony.
>
> *Karthaginienses Atilium Regulum palpebris resectis machinae, in qua undique praeacuti stimuli eminebant, inclusum uigilantia pariter et continuo tractu doloris necauerunt*...[69]

Tertullian refers to the legendary crucifixion of Regulus and calls the cross an "instrument" (*machina*):

> If no Regulus among you any longer has set up a cross, as the instrument of piercing his own body, nevertheless a contempt of fire has turned up, because one of you lately hired himself out to clothe himself with the burning tunic until he reached any specified place.
>
> *Si crucem, configendi corporis machinam, nullus adhuc ex uobis Regulus pepigit, attamen iam ignis contemptus euasit, ex quo se quidam proxime uestiendum incendiali tunica ad certum usquequaque locum auctorauit.*[70]

Ambrose, with regard to the "old faith" and "strong discipline" (*Sed fides cana est, sed ualida disciplina*) of the seven Maccabean boys (*pueri*, 2 Macc 7) who were tortured with their mother, wrote:

> Carefully test it: subject their puerile internal organs to whatever punishments you please, you will not find puerile hearts, nor will the instruments of torture be more powerful than their watchfulness in observation of the law.
>
> *Experire certe, subice quibus placet poenis puerilia uiscera, non inuenies corda puerilia, nec potentiores erunt tormentorum machinae quam legitimae obseruationis excubiae.*[71]

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[69] V. Max. 9.2 ext. 1. Trans. modified of Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings. One Thousand Tales from Ancient Rome* (trans. H.J. Walker; Indianapolis: Hackett 2004) 316.

[70] Tert., *Nat.* 1.18.10 (and cp. Mart. 5.1 for individuals who hire themselves out to wear the burning tunic; cf. ThesLL VIII, s.v. *machina* I, col. 11,71: *strictiore sensu i. q. apparatus ad opera perficienda constructus, instrumentum* (in the strict sense, an apparatus constructed for completing tasks, an instrument); a discussion of the *tunica molesta* is in Cook, *Roman Attitudes*, 42, 77-78. On Regulus, cf. M. Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross* (Philadelphia: Fortress 1977) 64-66. *Auctoro* is often used for gladiators (cf. OLD *s.v.* 1.b).

[71] Ambr., *Iac.* 2.11.45 (CSEL 32/2, 61,9-12 Schenkl). In a hymn on Stephen's martyrdom (Acts 7), Ennod., *Carm.* 1.14.22-23 (CSEL 6, 546 Hartel) mentions the stones the impious brought and the thousand instruments of death (*Dum saxa ferrent impii / Dum mille leti machinas*).

Whether the *machina* referred to a cross or some other kind of instrument of torture, it was likely part of the Cumean *carnifex*'s array of tools. Seneca provides an excellent description of the macabre instruments available to the gifted Roman torturer in a discussion of the "frenzied madness of anger" (*rabies eius effrenata*):

> ...the torture horse, the cord, the jail, the cross and fires encircling living bodies implanted in the ground, the drag-hook that seizes even corpses, and the different kinds of chains and the different kinds of punishment, the rending of limbs, the branding of foreheads, the dens of frightful beasts—in the midst of these her implements let anger be placed, while she hisses forth her dread and hideous sounds, a creature more loathsome even than all the instruments through which she vents her rage.
>
> *eculei et fidiculae et ergastula et cruces et circumdati defossis corporibus ignes et cadauera quoque trahens uncus, uaria uinculorum genera, uaria poenarum, lacerationes membrorum, inscriptiones frontis et bestiarum immanium caueae: inter haec instrumenta collocetur ira dirum quiddam atque horridum stridens, omnibus per quae furit taetrior.*[72]

Machina is an ominous word in the *lex*—ominous for the convicted criminal.

The reed or cane probably refers to the beating that preceded crucifixion, although the *lex Puteolana* does not use the word in its vocabulary for that part of the process of crucifixion.[73] Hilary of Poitiers describes the "right hand" (cf. Ps. 143:8) of those who crucified Jesus after beating him with a cane (Mark 15:19 par Matt 27:30):[74]

> And their right hand is a right hand of iniquity. It is a right hand of iniquity when it strikes with palms, wounds with rods, when it beats with a cane, when it joins together a crown of thorns, when it nails hands and feet with a nail, when it mixes gall with wine-vinegar, when it completes all the works of iniquity.

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[72] Sen., *Dial.* 5.3.6 (= *De ira* III). Trans. of Basore, Seneca, *Moral Essays*, 1:261.

[73] Bodel, "Organization," 156.

[74] W.L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society 1955) 105 notes the use of switches in punishment of slaves. Cf. Galen, *De animi morbis* (or *De propriorum animi*) 4 (Opera omnia V, 17,10 Kühn) where G.'s father advocated only the use of a reed-whip (νάρθηξ) to punish slaves. Westermann also mentions the use of sticks or switches in the punishment of Roman citizens (ῥάβδοις, σπάθαις, *uirgis*). Cf. OLD, s.v. *uirga* and J. Pölönen, "Plebeians and Repression of Crime in the Roman Empire: From Torture of Convicts to Torture of Suspects," *RIDA* 51 (2004) 217-257, esp. 238.

> *et dextera eorum dextera iniquitatis. iniqua dextera est, cum palmis caedit, cum uirgis laniat, cum calamo conlidit,*[75] *cum coronam spineam coaptat, cum clauo manus ac pedes figit, cum fel aceto admiscet, cum omnia iniquitatum opera consummat.*[76]

Livy and the *lex Puteolana* contain important uses of *restis* (rope/cord). Livy records this ancient punishment for treason: *infelici arbori reste suspendito; verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium* (let him [the lictor] suspend him with rope from a barren tree, let him scourge him either inside or outside the *pomerium*).[77] The *lex Puteolana* has:

> ... if he wants [the condemned slave] to bring the *patibulum* to the cross, the contractor will have to provide wooden posts, chains, and cords for the floggers and the floggers themselves...
>
> *...si in cruc(em) / patibul(...) agere uolet, redempt(or) asser(es) uincul(a) restes uerberatorib(us) et uerberator(es) praeber(e) d(ebeto)...*[78]

In the *lex* the cords were probably for binding the slaves.

Cicero describes slaves of a certain Leonidas of Triocala who were convicted of *coniuratio* (conspiracy) by Verres. The slaves were bound to a stake, probably to be scourged before crucifixion (*Homines sceleris coniurationisque damnati, ad supplicium traditi, ad palum alligati... soluti sunt* [people convicted for the crime of conspiracy, handed over for punishment, bound to the stake... were released]).[79] This becomes apparent later in the speech:

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75) See Blaise, *Dictionnaire* s.v.: *battre en brèche* (beat violently).

76) Hilar., *Psal.* 143.16 (CChr.SL 61B, 262,6-9 Doignon/Demeulenaere).

77) Liv. 1.26.6. The *arbor infelix* was death by scourging and not crucifixion. See D. Briquel, "Sur le mode d'exécution en cas de parricide et en cas de *perduellio*," *MEFRA* 92 (1980) 87-107, esp. 97-101.

78) *Lex Puteolana* II.8-9 (18 Hinard/Dumont). Cf. Cook, "Envisioning Crucifixion," 265-266. *Patibulatum*, "patibulated," i.e., tied to a *patibulum*, is the reading suggested by Bodel (Panciera, *Libitina*, 49 apparatus criticus).

79) Cic., *Ver.* 2.5.11. Leonidas's slaves were suspected of revolt (*Ver.* 2.5.10 *familia in suspicionem est vocata coniurationis*). J.L. Voisin, "Pendus, crucifiés, *oscilla* dans la Rome païenne," *Latomus* 38 (1979 422-450, esp. 441 believes *palus* means *crux* (i.e., cross) in this passage. The context seems to be against this interpretation. Cp. R.C.G. Levens, *Cicero: The Fifth Verrine Oration. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary* (Bristol: Bristol Classical 1980) 74 (on 2.5.10) *ad palum adligantur*: "'bound to the stake' for flogging, as a preliminary to crucifixion." On the revolt, see K.R. Bradley, *Slavery and Rebellion in the Roman World. 140 B.C.-70 B.C.* (Bloomington et al.: Indiana University 1989) 48. *Pace* T.D. Frazel, *The Rhetoric of Cicero's "In Verrem"* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2009) 133, who thinks Verres falsely accused the slaves.

> What followed? Floggings and fires, and those extreme punishments, torture and cross. From all these punishments they were freed. Who can doubt that he cowed and terrified the slaves, when they found our governor so easy-going that the executioner himself was the agent who purchased from him the lives of those slaves convicted of the crime of conspiracy?
>
> *Quid deinde sequitur? Verbera atque ignes et illa extrema ad supplicium damnatorum, metum ceterorum, cruciatus et crux. Hisce omnibus suppliciis sunt liberati. Quis dubitet quin servorum animos summa formidine oppresserit, cum viderent ea facilitate praetorem, ut ab eo servorum sceleris coniurationisque damnatorum vita vel ipso carnifice internuntio redimeretur?*[80]

John Bodel mentions an important usage of "cord and nail" (*restis et clavus*) in certain deprecatory inscriptions (curses) that describe individuals who should commit suicide by hanging themselves: "rope and nail are thus common to suicides by hanging and crucifixions, both of which engendered the same religious abhorrence of corpses suspended above the ground."[81] Sergio Castagnetti notes that hanging was not used as an imperial means of punishment. Bodel points out that crucified individuals were often bound by the neck during the early principate.[82] The inference is that the "rope and nail" of the *lex Cumana* could refer to crucifixion. Bodel's summary is judicious and draws together the material of this essay:

> We do not hear explicitly of crosses for crucifixion at Cumae [in the *lex Cumana*], but a graffito on the wall of a shop at Puteoli depicting a crucified woman, Ἀλκιμίλλα, 'at Cumae' (*Cumis*) and an advertisement painted on a tomb at Pompeii for a spectacle at Cumae featuring *cruciarii* suggest that crosses (and perhaps *patibula*) would have been included in the Cumaean contractor's equipment for punishments.[83]

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[80] Cic., *Ver.* 2.5.14. Trans. modified of Cicero, *The Verrine Orations* (vol. 2; LCL; ed. and trans. L.H.G. Greenwood; Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University 1953) 2:481, 485.

[81] Bodel, "Organization," 156, 166 (Cf. Voisin, "Pendus," passim), Castagnetti, "La *lex cumana libitinaria*," 139-140 with reference to CIL VI, 12649 (Rome): *cuius dolo filiam amisi restem et clavom* [sic] / *unde sibi collum alliget* (an angry father cursing a freed slave because he had lost his daughter through the freedman's guile); CIL VI, 20905 (Rome, I C.E.) = CLE 95 *clavom* [sic] *et restem / sparteam ut sibi collum alliget picem candentem / pectus malum com<b=M>urat suum.* For a translation of this rather sad inscription, cf. that of R. Lattimore in M.R. Lefkowitz and M.B. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome* (3rd ed.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University 2005) § 418 (an epitaph for a dead eight year old daughter with a curse appended for the husband's wife who had left him): [I leave her] a nail and a hempen rope to fasten about her neck, and burning pitch to sear her evil heart.

[82] Castagnetti, "La *lex cumana libitinaria*," 145-6 (with much bibliography, esp. E. Cantarella, *I supplizi capitali in Grecia e a Roma* [Milan: Rizzoli 1991] 392) and Bodel, "Organization", 156, 166 n. 43 with reference to Luc. 6.543-656 and Plin., *N.H.* 28.46.

[83] Bodel, "Organization," 156-157. The locative *Cumis* appears on the wall over the trident of a net fighter, but not in the immediate vicinity of the scene of crucifixion. Professor

The only problem with this argument is that the locative *Cumis* is over a trident on another part of the wall of the shop, and it is not at all clear that the scene of the crucified individual has anything whatsoever to do with Cumae.

4. The Graffito of Crucifixion in Puteoli

In November, 1959 a set of eight *tabernae* was excavated in Pozzuoli near the intersection of the Via Pergolesi and the Via Terracciano[84] by the "Soprintendenza alle antichità della Campania." The director, Amedeo Maiuri, published a notice of the discovery, but the Greek and Latin inscriptions on the wall of *taberna* 5 remained unpublished until Margherita Guarducci presented a short paper in the 1967 epigraphical conference in Cambridge.[85] The *taberna*'s mosaic floor is from the Neronian era, but the wall decoration belongs to a developed fourth style.[86] The major reconstruction is clearly visible in the new and larger arches of the *taberna*.[87] The new plastering was not finished so the graffiti belong to its time or earlier. Giuseppe Camodeca has dated the graffiti to the Trajanic-

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Camodeca writes me, "...a mio parere purtroppo non è affatto certo che il locativo *Cumis*, che si legge vicino ad un tridente sulla stessa parete ovest, ma non accanto alla crocifissa, si riferisca anche alla condannata alla croce." For a picture of the trident and the locative, cf. F. Zevi, *Puteoli*. [vol. 2]: *La carta archeologica* (2 vols; photographs by M. Jodice; Napoli: Banco di Napoli 1993) 1:273.

[84] See Zevi, *Puteoli*, 2: Foglio IX, § 42. The modern address is Via Pergolesi 146/e. The *tabernae* are near the beginning of the ancient via Campana that led to Capua. For the street address, cf. Martin Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen. Motive, Gestaltung und Bedeutung* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom. Palilia 11; Wiesbaden: Reichert 2001) 124 and Table 90 § 1366.

[85] M. Guarducci, "Iscrizioni greche e latine in una *taberna* a Pozzuoli," in *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy Cambridge 1967* (Oxford: Blackwell 1971) 219-223, esp. 219. A. Maiuri, "La Campania al tempo dell'approdo di san Paolo," *StRo* 9 (1961) 136-147, esp. 144. Part of the *tabernae* was uncovered in 1924 (A. Maiuri, "Pozzuoli," *NSA* [1927] 316-333, esp. 319-321). Professor Camodeca informs me that he (with Giulia Sacco) is preparing an edition of the graffiti in the *taberna*, which will include a complete account of their dating.

[86] M. Raimondi, "La decorazione pitttorica," *Bollettino di Archeologia* 22 (1993) 112-119 (first half of II C.E.), esp. 118 (beginning of II C.E.), Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen*, 124. On the wall painting, however, cf. the dating (early second century) given in Professor Camodeca's comments below.

[87] P. Sommella, *Forma e urbanistica di Pozzuoli romana* (Puteoli studi di storia antica 2; Napoli [s.n.] 1978) I:22-23 (and figures 22-27).

Hadrianic era.[88] The *taberna* was saved because it was covered in the Antonine era, perhaps by seismic activity.[89] It was a guesthouse, given the nature of the inscriptions which mention various cities.[90] The amphitheatre of Puteoli is about 450 meters from the *taberna*.[91]

On the west wall of *taberna* 5 are a large number of graffiti, including many images.[92] There is the trident of a *retiarius* (net fighter) along with a fragmentary graffito in Greek indicating the *retiarius*'s name, and next to the trident[93] is a water organ (ὕδραυλος), two of which are also depicted in the arena in the Zliten mosaic.[94] Depictions of Pan, women dancing nude with torches in their hands, and a mummy also adorn the wall.[95] In the midst of these figures is a crucified individual, to the left of the trident.[96] The cross is 40 cm high, the *patibulum* is 26 cm long, and the height of the condemned individual is 35 cm.[97] The placement of the ankles on either side of the upright stake of the cross is the same as that of the crucified individual (I C.E.) named Jehoḥanan ben Ḥagqol found in Jerusalem.[98] In addition it is evident that the individual sits on a peg (*sedile, cornu*).[99] The lower torso of the individual is drawn over the painting of a small dark red panther.

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[88] G. Camodeca, "Per una storia economica e sociale di *Puteoli* da Augusto ai Severi," *Civiltà dei Campi Flegrei: Atti del convegno internazionale* (ed. M. Gigante; Naples: Giannini 1992) 137-172, esp. 143 dates the graffiti to the Trajanic-Hadrianic era when the *taberna* underwent a substantial reconstruction (visible in the changed shape of the arches) and idem, "Comunità di peregrini a Puteoli nei primi due secoli dell'impero," in *Le vie della storia: Migrazioni di popoli, viaggi di individui, circolazioni di idee nel Mediterraneo antico: Atti II Incontro intern. Storia Antica Genova 6-8 ottobre 2004* (Serta antiqua et mediaevalia 9; Rome: Bretschneider 2006) 269-287, esp. 275. With regard to a demonstration of a Trajanic-Hadrianic dating of the graffiti, Professor Camodeca writes, in a private communication: "Tuttavia da quanto ho capito, le interessa la datazione dei graffiti per verificare l'ipotesi della Guarducci di una datazione neroniana, che io considero non accettabile, non solo perché le poche tracce di pittura sembrano di inizio II secolo (come mi ha ora confermato la collega Bragantini nota esperta in materia), ma anche perché fra i graffiti, la più parte ancora inediti, vi è un M. Ulpius. Tuttavia una completa dimostrazione della datazione traianeo-adrianea non è stata da me finora mai pubblicata… [cf. his forthcoming edition]."

[89] Camodeca, "Comunità," 275.

[90] Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen*, 124.

[91] Zevi, *Puteoli*, 2: Foglio IX, § 42 and on the amphitheatre, cf. Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 221-225.

[92] Cf. the drawing of the wall in Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen*, 125 (unfortunately without the image of the crucified individual).

[93] Cf. Guarducci, "Iscrizioni," 220, Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen*, 125, and the excellent photograph in Zevi, *Puteoli*, 1:273 (trident and water organ).

[94] Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, fig. 5a (one of the organs). See M. Markovits, *Die Orgel im Altertum* (Leiden: Brill 2003) 8, 15, 123, 424, 478, etc.

[95] Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen*, 124-125, Guarducci, "Iscrizioni," 220.

[96] Guarducci, "Iscrizioni," 221. I. Wilson published an image of the crucifixion in his *Jesus. The Evidence* (Cambridge, MA: Harper 1985) 125.

[97] U. Fasola, "Scoperte e studi archeologici dal 1939 ad oggi che concorrono ad illuminare i problemi della sindone di Torino," in *La sindone e la scienza: Bilanci e programmi: Atti*

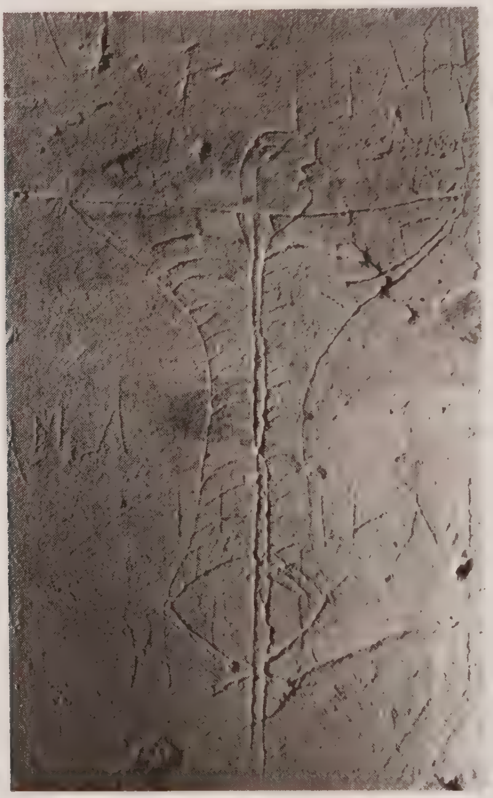

Figure 4. *Taberna* 5, West Wall: Graffito of a Crucified Individual[100]

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del II congresso internazionale di sindonologia 1978 (ed. P. Coero-Borga; Turin: Paoline 1978) 59-81, fig. 10 (328-329), esp. 76.

[98] J. Zias and E. Sekeles, "The Crucified Man from Giv'at ha-Mivtar: A Reappraisal," *IEJ* 35 (1985) 22-27. For a photograph of the nail and calcaneum bone, cf. Cook, "Envisioning Crucifixion," 271.

[99] I have found neither word used in a crucifixion narrative, but cf. Sen., *Ep.* 101.11 *Si sedeam cruce* (if I sit on a cross). Cp. Fasola, "Scoperte," 77.

[100] Image reproduced by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei. Photograph supplied by Professor Camodeca.

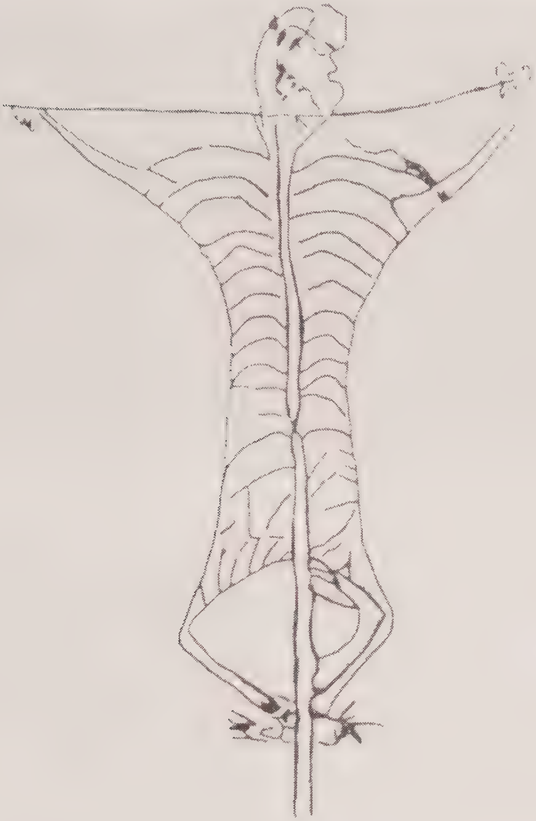

Figure 5. Drawing of the crucified individual[101]

Maiuri was uncertain whether the individual was the "divine martyr" or a criminal guilty of a grave act of rebellion or a slave guilty of violence against his master.[102] Guarducci, however, noticed a graffito that clearly reads Alkimila (Ἀλκίμιλα) directly above the left shoulder of the crucified person. She concluded that the condemned person was a woman, although it is rare to hear of crucified women in antiquity, and she thinks Alkimila (or rather Alkimilla) was a slave's name.[103]

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[101] Drawing supplied by Signor Antonio Lombatti. Used by permission.

[102] Maiuri, "La Campania," 144.

[103] Guarducci, "Iscrizioni," 222. Cf. Cook, "Envisioning Crucifixion," 265, 278 (crucifixion of women). The *lex Puteolana* (II.8) makes provision for the crucifixion of slave women at "private expense."

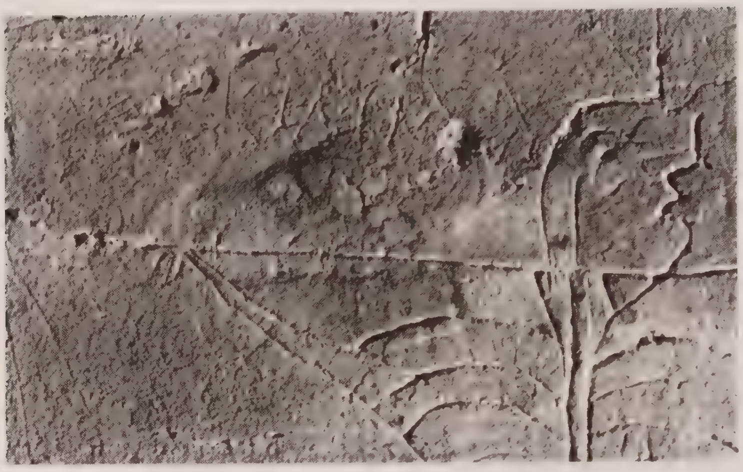

Figure 6. Alkimila graffito[104]

It is evident from the photograph that the individual who wrote "Alkimila" intended it to refer to the individual on the cross because of both the position and the direction (*andamento*) of the letters which run parallel to the left shoulder and end precisely at the head of the individual. This is true even though one cannot demonstrate that the same hand drew the crucified person and wrote "Alkimila."[105] Perhaps the original "graffiti artist" intended the image to refer to a man. But the individual who wrote a woman's name almost certainly intended the image to be understood to be a woman. The "Alkimila" graffito provides the only solid basis of interpretation of the image. Otherwise, one is left with little but speculation as the following remarks show. Umberto Fasola rejects the identification of the crucified individual as a woman, because he cannot see evidence of a tunic, but he fails to address the issue of Alkimila.[106] Raffaele Calvino accepts Guarducci's thesis that the graffito should be interpreted with reference to the amphitheatre and also accepts Fasola's position that the graffito has nothing to do with Christianity and does not have any derisory intention.[107]

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[104] Photograph supplied by Professor Camodeca.

[105] This per a communication with Professor Camodeca who notes, "l'iscrizione corre esattamente parallela al braccio sinistro della croce e termina subito prima della testa della persona."

[106] Fasola, "Scoperte," 76-77.

[107] R. Calvino, "Cristiani a Puteoli nell'anno 61. Riflessioni sull'importanza della notizia concisa degli «Atti» (28, 13b-14a) e risposta all'interrogativo sulle testimonianze

Gino Zaninotto, in a curious set of articles, has argued that the graffito depicts a Puteolan reenactment of the Laureolus mime.[108] The hypothesis is fascinating but impossible to verify.

Martin Langner thinks that the crucified individual was probably named, even though he notes that "Alkimila" is difficult to read.[109] The scene is perhaps an individual whom the graffiti artist wanted crucified (drawing a parallel to the graffito *in cruce figarus* [sic, get crucified] found in Pompey). He vacillates between the possibility of a factual crucifixion and a curse.[110] Langner rejects Guarducci's appeal to what was later published as CIL IV, 9983a because individuals in the arena who were condemned to beasts were tied to poles and not crucified.[111] He is apparently unaware of the combination of punishments that Martial's "Laureolus" endured (crucifixion and the bear) and the combination that Nero inflicted on the Christians (crucifixion and fire, if the text is restored correctly as above). Sabbatini Tumolesi suggests that Alkimila was crucified in Cumae in the amphitheatre and was probably a slave. She believes CIL IV, 9983a may allude to the crucifixion of Alkimila.[112] Camodeca's redating of the graffiti in the *taberna* vitiates this position, however tempting it is to yoke everything together.

It is not necessary to attempt a "definitive" interpretation of the graffito here. Perhaps the artist who inscribed the graffito did not intend it to be a woman. But the person who wrote "Alkimila" did want the onlookers to view the crucified individual as a woman. Latin and Greek inscriptions do not necessarily imply that it was a slave's name.[113] The lines on the body

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monumentali coeve," *RivAC* 56 (1980) 323-330, esp. 326-328, with reference to Fasola, "Scoperte," 76-77 (who also believes the graffito should be interpreted with reference to the nearby amphitheatre).

108) G. Zaninotto, "La crocifissione negli spettacoli latini. Parte I. La pantomima del 'Laureolus,'" *Collegamento pro Sindone* Luglio-Agosto (1987) 11-22; idem, "Parte II. Il graffito della taberna di Pozzuoli," ibid. Settembre-Ottobre (1987) 18-26, and idem, "Parte III. Graffito e mimo del Laureolo," ibid. Novembre-Dicembre (1987) 15-22. For research on the Laureolus mime, cf. Coleman, *Liber Spectaculorum*, 83-85.

109) Professor Camodeca assures me that "Alkimila" may be read with certainty.

110) Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen*, 125 with reference to CIL IV, 2082 (spelled as above). Cf. Cook, "Envisioning Crucifixion," 277.

111) Appealing to T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot 1899) 925-928.

112) Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Gladiatorium Paria*, 108.

113) Cf. CIL VI, 13024 = ICUR VIII, 22400 *Corellia Alcimilla* (Rome); CIL VI, 36590 *Volusia Alcimilla* (Rome); ICUR VII, 18404 *Alcimilla Leontia* (Rome); GLLipari 768

and left leg are unusual. They may portray curvature or possibly marks from scourging. Langner's collection of Roman graffiti contains a large number of scenes in which the artists drew lines to help indicate flat planes or curved planes.[114] In any case one cannot conclude that the lines indicate an animal's skin that would have been used in a *damnatio ad bestias*.[115] The graffito could reflect the practice of crucifixion in Puteoli, or perhaps it is merely some kind of curse or jest. The author of the Alkimila graffito probably intends the scene to portray a historical crucifixion, just as the wealth of graffiti of gladiators in Pompeii often portrayed known fighters. The graffito of the crucified woman is at the least a moving scene of death for the modern viewer and presumably for many ancient viewers who had some direct experience of the penalty.

5. Conclusions

What is one to make of all this? It is apparent that there were disagreements among the elite of Roman society about the usefulness of gladiatorial spectacles and executions in public space. In his *Tusculan Disputations*, Cicero writes that

> A gladiatorial spectacle appears to some to be cruel and inhuman, and I do not know if it may not be so as it is now practiced; yet when indeed criminals used to fight with steel, for our hearing only there were perhaps many [other forms of discipline], but certainly for our eyes there was no stronger discipline against pain and death.
>
> *Crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum non nullis uideri solet, et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit; cum vero sontes ferro depugnabant, auribus fortasse multae, oculis quidem nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina.*[116]

Iucuria Alcimilla (Lipara in Sicily). See also the funerary epigram for a Praetorian soldier named Philetus and Alkimilla, the unfortunate woman who was soon to be his bride (both were in the tomb): Ἡ δ᾽ Ἀλκίμιλλα μελλόνυμφος δυστυχής (*Anthologiae Graecae Appendix: Epigrammata sepulcralia* 577,3 [*Epigrammatum anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova* [vol. 3; ed. E. Cougny; Paris: Didot 1890] 185 = CIG 3827cc [Phrygia]). IvP II, 518 Κλαυδίαν . . . [Ἀλ]κίμιλλαν (chief priestess of Asia, I C.E. Pergamon) and 529 Κλαυδίας Ἀλκιμίλλης (priestess of Athena, I C.E., Pergamon), Epigr.Anat. 15:43,7 τῇ θρεπτῇ ἑαυτῆς Ἀλκιμίλλῃ (a slave, 150-200 C.E., Bithynia).

114) Langner, *Antike Graffitizeichnungen*, § 282 (parallel lines indicating the plane of an individual's hair), 1115 (curved parallel lines indicating the sides of animals), 1983 (parallel lines indicating a sail), 2000 (a set of curved lines indicating a sail).

115) As does Zaninotto, "Parte II," 19.

116) Cic., *Tusc.* 2.41.

Seneca in his text *On Clemency*,[117] defends the usefulness of severe punishments:

> Let us pass now to the injuries done to others, in the punishment of which these three aims, which the law has had in view, should be kept in view also by the prince: either to reform the man that is punished, or by punishing him to make the rest better, or by removing bad men to let the rest live in greater security.
>
> *transeamus ad alienas iniurias, in quibus vindicandis haec tria lex secuta est, quae princeps quoque sequi debet: aut ut eum, quem punit, emendet, aut ut poena eius ceteros meliores reddat, aut ut sublatis malis securiores ceteri vivant.*[118]

It is apparent, however, that Seneca did not approve of public murder in the midday entertainment he expected when he went to the amphitheatre (cf. the text quoted earlier). Marcus Aurelius was deeply troubled with regard to the taxes derived from gladiatorial spectacles. The senatorial decree of 177 held:

> But our imperial leaders, whose entire concern is to revive the public security from any disease by which it is overwhelmed and strangled and to restore it to complete health, turned their attention to the cause which gave strength to that disease whence the law permitted foul and morally offensive revenues to be derived. They asked what influence and protection made it possible to use, as it were, legitimate ways of doing things which are forbidden by all divine and human laws.
>
> *... verum nostri principes, quibus omne studium est quantoli | bet morbo salutem publicam mersam et enectam refouere et integrae valetudini reddere, in primis anima adverterunt,*

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[117] I thank Professor Frank Matera for pointing out to me many years ago that John Calvin's first book was a commentary on Seneca's *De clementia*. One wonders if it came to mind when Calvin was advocating the *crematio* of Michael Servetus in Geneva and the execution (by other methods) of adulterers there. Cf. R.M. Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva* (Cambridge: Harvard University 1995) 122-126, etc.

[118] Sen., *Cl.* 1.22.1. Trans. of Basore, Seneca, *Moral Essays*, 1:419. Cp. Wiedemann's comments (*Emperors and Gladiators*, 72-3, in particular his quotation of Callistratus's [III C.E.] notice that brigands are crucified in places where the others will see them and be deterred from their crimes). On the futility of deterrence as a penal aim, cf. Coleman, "Fatal Charades," 48-49 (in the amphitheatres, "the dominant reaction among the audience was pleasure rather than revulsion"), 57-59 (audience approval of horror). See Callistratus 6 *De cognitionibus*, in *Dig.* 49.19.28.pr. where *furca* (fork, gibbet) has taken the place of *crux*. On the *furca*, cf. K.M. Coleman, "'Informers' on Parade," in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (ed. B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon; Studies in the History of Art 56; Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art 1999) 231-245, esp. 235-247 (with depictions of the punishment in the Byzantine MS Cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 431 fol. 11^r, 15^r ("The Joshua Roll").

> *quae | causa illi morbo vires daret, unde foeda et inlicita vectigalia ius haberent, quis auctor et patronus esset usurpandis quasi | legitimis, quae omnibus legibus et divinis et humanis prohibentur.*[119]

With regard to taxes derived from gladiatorial spectacles, the laws of God and human beings disturbed Marcus Aurelius. Apparently the same laws did not trouble the Roman magistrates and emperors with regard to crucifixion. The crucifixions in the spectacle of Cumae, the legal regulations for public crucifixions in Puteoli and Cumae, and the touching graffito of a crucified woman in Puteoli are the closest a scholar can come to taking a photograph of this fearsome use of criminal law in Roman Campania. That image in turn makes the portrayal of Jesus Christ's crucifixion in the New Testament come into even clearer focus.

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[119] Trans. slightly modified of Oliver and Palmer, "Minutes," 340 (330 text).

BRILL

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Book Reviews

Darrell L. Bock, Robert L. Webb (eds.), *Key Events in the Life of the Historical Jesus: A Collaborative Exploration of Context and Coherence.* WUNT 247 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), xvii + 931 pp. Cloth. ISBN 978-3-16-150144-9. 189 €

Dieser gewichtige Sammelband hat seinen Ursprung in der neunjährigen Zusammenarbeit der *IBR Jesus Group* des nordamerikanischen *Institute of Biblical Research* (cf. www.ibr-bbr.org; "Its vision is to foster excellence in biblical studies, doing so within a faith commitment," 7). Die "Introduction to Key Events and Actions in the Life of the Historical Jesus" (1-8) durch die Herausgeber bietet einen knappen Überblick über die aktuelle Jesus-Forschung und beschreibt die Genese, Auftrag und das Vorgehen der Forschergruppe sowie der Aufsätze. Vier Merkmale sind kennzeichnend: "the group nature of the effort, the study's combining and balancing of analysis and synthesis, its attention to historiographic method and many details of Second Temple context, along with the study's claim to set a trajectory for considering who Jesus was" (7). Für jedes der zwölf ausgewählten Schlüsselereignisse (Kriterien: "a strong case could be made for a judgement of high probability that the core event was historical, and that it was likely significant for understanding Jesus," 4) diskutieren die Autoren im Detail die Historizität des Kerns des Ereignisses, den sozio-kulturellen Hintergrund, der hilft, das Ereignis zu verstehen sowie seine Bedeutung für das Verständnis des Lebens und Wirkens Jesu.

Im einführenden Aufsatz, "The Historical Enterprise and Historical Jesus Research" (9-93), gibt R.L. Webb Rechenschaft über Methode und Vorgehen (Definitionen von Geschichte, Historiographie und historischer Methode, Untersuchung des Zusammenhangs von historischer Erklärung, Weltanschauung und "dem Übernatürlichen", Überblick über die Instrumente und Methoden der Jesus-Forschung).

Anschließend geht es ähnlich detailliert, teilweise im Umfang kürzerer Monographien, um die so bestimmten Schlüsselereignisse und -handlungen: R.L. Webb, "Jesus' Baptism by John: Its Historicity and Significance" (95-150); C.A. Evans, "Exorcisms and the Kingdom: Inaugurating the Kingdom of God and Defeating the Kingdom of Satan" (151-179); S. McKnight, "Jesus and the Twelve" (181-214); C.L. Blomberg, "The Authenticity and Significance of Jesus' Table Fellowship with Sinners" (215-250); D.A. Hagner, "Jesus and the Synoptic Sabbath Controversies" (251–292); M.J. Wilkins, "Peter's Declaration concerning Jesus' Identity in Caesarea Philippi" (293-381); B. Kinman, "Jesus' Royal Entry into Jerusalem" (383-427); K.R. Snodgrass, "The Temple Incident" (429-480); I.H. Marshall, "The Last Supper" (481-588); D.L. Bock, "Blasphemy and the Jewish Examination of Jesus" (589-667); R.L. Webb, "The Roman

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Examination and Crucifixion of Jesus: Their Historicity and Implications" (669-673); G.R. Osborne, "Jesus' Empty Tomb and His Appearance in Jerusalem" (775-823, warum fehlen die Erscheinungen in Galiläa?).

Der abschließende Aufsatz, "Key Events in the Life of the Historical Jesus: A Summary" (825-853) von D.L. Bock fasst zusammen und präsentiert "a case for the coherence of the portrait that these key events suggest. We think we have shown a compelling case for a path that makes sense for a Jesus rooted historically in the complex cultural backdrop of the Second Temple period" (6). Ausführliche Stellen- und Namensregister beenden den Band.

Durchweg bieten die Autoren eine gründliche Aufarbeitung der älteren und gegenwärtigen internationalen Jesus-Forschung in ihrer ganzen Bandbreite. Schon deshalb ist der Band empfehlenswert. Diese Aufsätze eines britischen und zehn nordamerikanischer Forscher zeigen, dass sich—entgegen einem weitverbreiteten Trend, der gelegentlich Bekenntnischarakter annehmen kann—methodisch sauber und gut begründet viel mehr über den historischen Jesus sagen läßt, als in der Forschung angenommen und in vielen popularisierten Darstellungen unterschiedlicher Medien suggeriert wird. Auch wenn man mit den Autoren im Detail oder grundsätzlich nicht übereinstimmen mag und schon ihr Ansinnen verwirft, wird man sich mit ihren gründlichen Argumenten und kritischen Anfragen an den gängigen Konsens (im Detail und im Ganzen) gründlich auseinandersetzen müssen.

Ferner zeigt der Band, dass ausgewogene Gesamtdarstellungen des historischen Jesus kaum mehr von Einzelnen erbracht werden können und dass die Zukunft Kooperationen—wie der hier beschriebenen—gehört. Problematisch erscheint die Auswahl der "Schlüsselereignisse". Während die Zeichenhandlungen Jesu gut abgedeckt sind, fehlen neben den behandelten Exorzismen andere Wunder Jesu. Waren etwa die Speisungswunder Jesu oder die Auferweckungen nicht auch "Schlüsselereignisse" (vgl. nur die joh. *semeia*)? Ähnliches gilt für die Geburt, Versuchung und Verklärung Jesu, das Ringen in Gethsemane und die Himmelfahrt sowie für seine Auseinandersetzungen mit der religiösen Führung. Ob sie nicht die oben genannten Kriterien erfüllen, bleibt hier offen.

Sollte bei der erwähnten Ausrichtung der Forschungsgruppe ("faith commitment") am Ende dieser umfangreichen Behandlung neben der keineswegs nebensächlichen Feststellung der Kohärenz seines Wirkens und der Verankerung Jesu im Frühjudentum nicht auch die konkrete Frage nach der Bedeutung des historischen Jesus für die ntl. Theologie und die Kirche stehen? Spannend wäre ferner eine sowohl vom Umfang als auch von der Methode her ähnliche Untersuchung der Lehre Jesu. Eine Studienausgabe wäre willkommen.

Christoph Stenschke

Adelbert Denaux and Rita Corstjens in collaboration with Hellen Mardega, *The Vocabulary of Luke: An Alphabetical Presentation and a Survey of Characteristic and Noteworthy Words and Word Groups in Luke's Gospel* lxvi + 655pp. (Leuven: Peeters, 2009) ISBN 9042923485 (= *Biblical Tools and Studies* 10) € 84.

Behind a cover with an illustration of a page of Stephanus' 1550 edition showing a page from *Matthew* (!), we have over 700 pages giving an exhaustive analysis of the vocabulary of Luke with the aim of showing in a highly controlled and scientific way what may be labelled 'typical' of Luke(-Acts) and what is 'noteworthy'. (Although the title refers to Luke's Gospel, what is found within is of use for work on Luke-Acts, as the Preface makes clear. Biblical references throughout the vocabulary listings are to Luke *and* Acts—only the total numbers of occurrences and not the precise references appear for Matthew and Mark.) The question of an author's "characteristic" vocabulary has been a perennial issue but is one that the compilers of this volume hope to have organised, if not settled, for one Biblical author, in as objective a fashion as practicable.

The number of occurrences of a word and cognates in Luke (and/ or Acts) is compared with Matthew and/or Mark. If one argues for Markan priority then Luke's use of Mark points to Lukan redaction; if one accepts Q then here characteristics of Lukan vocabulary may emerge from a comparison of Lukan deviation from Matthew. But as well as mere quantity, the distribution of vocabulary in different contexts is also of paramount importance. As with the surveys by Sir John Hawkins Bart., characteristics are subdivided into whether they are 'certain', 'probable', and 'likely'. Depending on the resulting total numbers the characteristic (or merely noteworthy) words are classified. We thus find words or word-groups are labelled as L***, lA**, La** (but no LA**!), lA*, La*, LA*, all of which are carefully explained in a painstaking Introduction. And that is not all! We also have LA^n, lA^n, La^n, LAn, lAn, Lan, Ln and L^n (where 'n' stands for 'noteworthy'). What follows takes up the bulk of the book and is the entire vocabulary of Luke, the definite article, particles and all. Those who have pronounced on Lukan characteristics over the past 200 years are included. Here we are restricted to key scholars, from Credner in 1836 through to Goulder (1989). There are thirteen such scholars regularly consulted according to p. lxv, (a figure reached only if one takes Boismard-Lamouille as two and includes the judgement of Denaux' present book itself, even though that is not found in the listing on pp. lxxviiiff., despite the assertion on p. lxv). [Under ἔλεος it is not obvious why Credner is absent from the front line of authors but only in the word-group following.] Bibliographical reference is also made *ad loc.* to articles and studies on particular words and usages. All of this is exhaustive, careful and meticulous scholarship—indeed 'characteristic' *and* 'noteworthy' of Leuven's *Neutestamentler* themselves in recent decades.

Each Greek word appears alphabetically as a lemma with the meaning(s) in English attached and an indication of its frequency in Luke and Acts (and in Matthew and Mark). Results are instantly visible. Thus εὐαγγελίζω e.g. is clearly a definite Lukan word; see also ἐγγίζω or λαός. Then follow instances of the word in combination with other words. Here Louw and Nida's work has been utilised. Words are divided into

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differing uses and contexts. Thus ος appears some thirty four times under differing groupings. μη which would not be considered characteristic or noteworthy of Luke on its own appears in combination as εἰ δὲ μή and here it is L***, meaning a certain Lukan characteristic. Θεος, similarly, is not characteristic of Luke but in combination with δοξάζω the picture is different. πᾶς and ἅπας appear separately and each is treated independently as far as ratings are concerned. For instance the number of occurrences of πᾶς + article are fewer than those of ἅπας + article thus the former is rated lA*, the latter L***. (These two forms are cross-referenced in the others' entry but it would have been helpful to have been presented with πᾶς and ἅπας + article linked just as is done for ἅπαν/πᾶν + πλῆθος πᾶς/ἅπας/ὅλος + λαός.) Following this we have a record if certain authors have classified the usage as characteristic.

This work is valuable in text-critical studies that take into account whether or no a variant agrees with an author's characteristic style. We note with pleasure that the compilers include variant readings, although it must be pointed out that their selection of *v.ll.* is confined to variants asterisked in K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz*.

We commend Denaux and his co-workers for their prodigious energy and commitment in bringing this project to press. According to a footnote hidden on p. xxxvii, the compilers seem to have another project up their capacious sleeves—the preparation of a synoptic concordance to Luke. We thank them for their current publication and wish them all power to their collective elbows for the task ahead.

The cross-references given on pp. lxv, lxvi to the bibliographical listings are wrong.

J.K. Elliott

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Which Criteria for Family 13 (*f*[13]) Manuscripts?[1]

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Abstract

For decades, Greek New Testament textual criticism has accepted Family 13 as a first order witness. Beyond the scholarly approval still remains the question of which criteria are—or are not—specific to determine if a manuscript is—or is not—a Family 13 member. In this way, the present paper focuses on five criteria: (1) the transfer of the pericope of the adulteress to a position after Luke 21:38; (2) the transfer of the pericope of the angel and the sweat like drops of blood from Luke 22:43-44 to a position after Matt 26:39; (3) the omission of the sign of the times (Matt 16:2a-3); (4) the hagiographical criteria; and (5) the "added material." These textual features induced numerous scholars to add new members to Family 13. The paper sums up eleven manuscripts which were affiliated to the group but should not be considered as present members. In conclusion, even if the most important features of Family 13 manuscripts still remain the criteria as above described, we have to pay attention to the whole text.

Keywords

Textual Criticism; Family 13; Criteria; Manuscripts; Adulteress; Sweat of Blood; Sign of the Times; Hagiography

1. Introduction

Today, Family 13 manuscripts are first order witnesses of the Greek New Testament. Textual scholars generally accept, as Nestle-Aland 27[a] (p. 17*), that Family 13 includes: minuscule 13[2] (Paris, BnF *gr*. 50), min. 69 (Leicester, The Record Office for Leic., Leic. & Rutland, 6 D 32/1), min. 124 (Wien, Österr. nat. Bibl., *Theol. gr*. 188), min. 174 (Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. gr*. 2002), min. 230 (El Escorial, Bibl. del

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[2] Gregory-Aland numbering.

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Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, y. III. 5, *Gr.* 328), min. 346 (Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, S 23 sup.), min. 543 (Ann Arbor, Univ. Libr. 15), min. 788 (Ἀθήνα, Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος 74), min. 826 (Grottaferrata, Bibl. Statale del Monumento Naz., A. α. III, *Crypt. gr.* 346), min. 828 (Grottaferrata, Bibl. Statale del Monumento Naz., A. α. V, *Crypt. gr.* 219), min. 983 (Ἅγιον Ὄρος, Μονὴ Ἐσφιγμένου 29) and min. 1689 (Praha, Knihovna Věd České Rep. 1TG 3). For the purpose of this study we will add another widely accepted member, the Vatican lectionary, *l*547 (Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. gr.* 1217).[3]

Indeed, the above list is not strictly fixed, since the Nestle-Aland edition adds after the manuscripts: *et al.*(ii), *and some* others. The point is that some scholars formerly got—and still get—slightly different points of view regarding which typical features could be adopted for Family 13 manuscripts. Hence, the purpose of this paper is to give a current statement of Family 13 criteria. This statement, based on our own careful collations of the documents (on microfilms or in libraries) is, at first, a descriptive one and not a qualitative study of some or other criteria. Beginning with a short presentation of f^{13} manuscripts in an historical perspective, we will then study four well-known textual features: the transfer of the pericope of the adulteress from John 7:53-8:11 to a position after Luke 21:38, the transfer of the pericope of the angel and the sweat like drops of blood from Luke 22:43-44 to a position after Matt 26:39, the omission of the sign of the times (Matt 16:2b-3) and the hagiographical criteria. As Family 13 witnesses mostly include menologia and synaxaria, and as no consensual list is currently admitted, we will suggest for a common hagiographical base Elias Spelaeotes' name (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* 581). As an additional part to this survey, we will register some of the manuscripts which have been,—or currently are—considered as Family 13 members.

2. Family 13 Manuscripts in Historical Perspective

All Family 13 witnesses are minuscule manuscripts containing the four Gospels, except min. 69 containing a complete New Testament; the latest manuscript is a lectionary (*l*547). They were all written on parchment in Southern Italy from the end of the 10th century, except for min. 69 which was copied, partly on paper, in England, during the last quarter of the 15th century.

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[3] Unlike the Nestle-Aland edition, we will not include min. 1709 (Tiranë, Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e Arkivave, Kodiku i Beratit 19 [ANA 19], formerly Koder-Trapp 15) in Family 13. See below.

Early on, two witnesses of Family 13 were brought to light. At a strictly editorial level, min. 124 was the first to appear in a Greek manuscripts catalogue. In 1670, Pierre Lambeck de Hambourg, then Prefect of the Vienna Imperial Library, published his Greek Theological Manuscripts Catalogue, held in the Library.[4] Just one year later, in England, the Leicester Common Hall lent min. 69 to John Mill who was then preparing his critical edition of the Greek New Testament.[5] The first manuscript, min. 124, has scarcely any described textual feature: its description is quite brief, just pointing out numbers of ῥήματα and στίχοι and its general appearance. Min. 69 has quite a different history. It was never described in a library catalogue; collations of its text were made, but lost and never found again. Nevertheless, its textual features were well known, and for that reason, certainly encouraged Mill to include min. 69 in his 1707 edition. The third discovered member of the group, min. 13, combined the special characteristics of the first two manuscripts. Min. 13 was part of the Royal Library of France and was so described in the first printed catalogues where scholars noticed early its typical textual variants.[6]

Two others family members were later discovered during a collation campaign in the last quarter of the 18th century. Four Danish scholars (Jacob G.C. Adler, Christian G. Hensler, Oluf G. Tychsen and Daniel G. Moldenhawer), under the patronage of Andreas Birch, were sent by King Christian VII of Denmark, to examine manuscripts in Italy, Spain, Germany and other European countries. The results of their labours were published in their 1788 edition,[7] in which they included min. 174, then located in the Monastery of Basil the Great, and min. 230, already part of the Escorial Monastery Library. The first one is briefly described on a codicological basis while min. 230 gets a detailed description and summarizes some special textual features, including a sketchy collation of the Gospel of John.

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[4] *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Cæsarea Vindobonensi Liber Tertius, quo continetur Catalogus Manuscriptorum Codicum Theologicorum Græcorum secundum præsentem collocationis eorum seriem & novum ordinem numerorum, quibus ijdem nunc notati sunt.*

[5] Mill's edition was published in 1707: *Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum*, Oxonii e Theatro Sheldoniano.

[6] We may go back over the numbering of min. 13. In the 1751-1752 Wettstein edition of the Greek New Testament, the Paris manuscript (then Royal Library, 2244) was numbered thirteenth among the 100 listed Greek New Testament manuscripts. That numbers list was maintained by C. Tischendorf and, afterwards, by C.R. Gregory. Hence, we denote that manuscript as min. 13. The newly discovered manuscripts, with similar textual features, were gradually extended to this "thirteen" number system. "Thirteen" was never designated the total number of family witnesses or the date of the copy of any of them.

[7] *Quatuor Euangelia Graece cum uariantibus a textu lectionibus codd. MSS. Bibliothecae*

Another collation exercise, attributed to Johann Martin Augustin Scholz who travelled extensively throughout Europe and the Near East, brought to light min. 346 in his 1823 edition.[8] The notice of the manuscript is quite basic, without special references to the text. The same could be said of the following discovered member of Family 13: min. 543. In his second edition of *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (1874), the British scholar Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener mentioned min. 543 as Baroness Burdett Coutts' property, "being collated" as he said (p. 221). Scholars were urged to wait for the third edition of the book, "thoroughly revised, enlarged, and brought down to the present date" (1883), to get more textual characteristics on the manuscript, showing peculiar affinities with min. 13, 69, 124 and 346. In the same edition, Scrivener inserted, in an index of the 1429 Greek New Testament manuscripts, two witnesses, min. 826 and 828, housed in the Grottaferrata Monastery, close to Rome. Those two appear, the same year and without textual criteria, in the catalogue of Antonio Rocchi (*Codices Cryptenses*, pp. 4-6). They will be new members of Family 13 thanks to the work of Kirsopp Lake sixteen years later.[9] In 1894, Scrivener's fourth edition, revised and enlarged by Edward Miller, indicated three new manuscripts: min. 788, 983 and *l*547. The first two are briefly described and the last is just mentioned. As for the Gottaferrata manuscripts, they are incorporated inside a list. At the turn of the 20th century, during his journeys through Italy and Greece, and taking support from the works of Gregory and Hermann von Soden, Kirsopp Lake definitively emphasized min. 788 and 983 as new members of Family 13. Nearly sixty years later, the Ferrar lectionary, *l*547, was edited by Jacob Geerlings.[10]

Vaticanae, Barberinae, Laurentianae, Vindobonensis, Escurialensis, Hauniensis Regiae (Copenhague: J.F. Schultz, 1788).

[8] *Biblisch-Kritische Reise in Frankreich, der Schweitz, Italien, Palästina und im Archipel, in den Jahren 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, nebst einer Geschichte des Textes des N. T.* (Leipzig und Sorau: Friedrich Fleischer, 1823).

[9] "Some New Members of the '*Ferrar Group*' of MSS of the Gospels," *JTS* 1 (1900 [October 1899]) 117-120.

[10] *The Ferrar Lectionary (Cod. Vat. Gr. 1217, Greg. 547) = The Lectionary Text of Family 13*

From 1670 to 1959, and even nowadays, Family 13 criteria were a much debated matter. One of those criteria, certainly the most well-known textual feature of this group of manuscripts, remains the pericope of the adulteress (hereafter PA). We firstly begin by examining the place of the text of PA in each of the above manuscripts and then edit the text according to the whole group.

3. The Pericope of the Adulteress (PA)[11]

For decades, PA has generated a huge number of studies in which members of Family 13 are often reported. Mill was one of the first to point out the transfer of the pericope in min. 69 (*Prolegomena*, p. CLXVI), then followed by Bengel (1734), and Wettstein in his *Nouum Testamentum* (1751): "In hoc codice" he wrote, "Historia adulterae non reperitur suo loco Jo. VIII. (quod Millius affirmat Prol. 1506) sed ad finem Capitis Lucae XXI" (p. 53). The transfer of PA in min. 13 was first noted by Ludolph Kuster (1710) in his enlarged edition of Mill's work. Kuster indicates: "Pericope hæc de muliere adultera in Cod. Paris. 6. [min. 13] non legitur hoc loco, sed nescio quo casu adnexa est ad finem Cap. 21mi Luc. quod etiam de Cod. L [min. 69] monuit Clar. Millius in Appendice" (p. 220). From then on, min. 13 and 69 will be core members of a special group. While a description of min. 124 was first published in the 1670 Vienna catalogue, the first mention of the PA displacement in this manuscript dated to more than one century later: in 1785, Andreas Birch gathered some special readings shared by min. 69 and 124: "Efter Luk. XXI,38 indfsres Joh. VII,53-VIII,1-2. Dette Haandskrift og Codex Leicestriensis, ere de encste fom foette denne Fortelling paa dette usoedvanlige Sted."[12] Three years later, the Danish scholars mentioned above definitively emphasized the transfer of PA and, at the beginning of the 19th century, this transfer would become the most significant criterion of the extant members. It is the first textual feature to be researched in the newly discovered witnesses of the group.

The transfer of PA from John 7:53-8.11 after Luke 21:38 is present in min. 13, 69, 124, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828 and 983. The text of the

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According to Cod. Vat. Gr. 1217 (Gregory 547) (SD 18; Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959).

[11] See Table 1.

[12] *Kritisk Beskrivelse over groeske Haandskrifter af det Nye Testamente*, 156.

pericope remains in John for min. 174, 230 and 1689, which means that those three family members do not transfer PA.

Concerning the nine witnesses which displace the pericope, only min. 788 has no commentary at all, no sign, obelus or asterisk inside the text or in the margin, neither in John (f. 164r) nor in Luke (f. 142r). That kind of a *non-amended copy* seems to indicate that the manuscript was not subjected to any emendation at all, neither from a scribe, nor a later owner who could have noticed the peculiar transfer of the text.

Min. 13 (f. 136v) and 543 (unnumbered folio)[13] do not specify special mention in John for indicating the lack of the pericope: we read John 7:52 and then John 8:12. After Luke 21:38, min. 13 merely adds one cross in the central margin to indicate the beginning of PA (f. 115r) and min. 543 closes the Johannine pericope in the text of Luke with the ordinary hand written "τελ(ος)," followed by some indecipherable short comments (a half line in length) by another hand.

All other manuscripts displacing PA get marginal commentaries. Those commentaries are often quite difficult to identify: are they from the copyist's hand-writing or from a contemporary one? Are they from later hands: scribes, readers, correctors or owners of the manuscript?

Min. 69 is one which could suggest an easy and probable solution. At the end of John 7:52, a seven line left marginal annotation begins with "Λειπων Και επορευ[hardly readable]" (f. 81v);[14] after Luke 21:38 (f. 66v), the same later hand indicated "Ιωαν." in the left margin and square brackets surround the pericope. We positively confirm that the copyist of min. 69, Emmanuel of Constantinople, was not aware at all about the transfer of PA: in that way, his exemplar also was without commentary. If we refer to the first folio subscription of the codex: "ʽΕιμὶ ʽΙλερμου Χάρκου," we can establish that the commentaries inside John and Luke were written by William Chark, one of the owners of the Leicester codex.

Min. 124 (f. 122r) and 828 (f. 118r-v) uninterruptedly read Luke 21:38, then John 7:53-8:11 and Luke 22:1. Oddly enough, in the Gospel of John, min. 124 (f. 141r) keeps John 7:53 after John 7:52 and before John 8:12: [John 7:52]...οτι προφητης εκ της γαλιλαιας ουκ εγηγερται [7:53]και απηλθον εκαστος εις τον οικον αυτου [8:12]παλιν ουν αυτοις ο ισ ελαλησεν λεγων κτλ. Verse 53, here exactly the same as in Luke, is surrounded by a couple of double dots and the mention of "αρχ(η)" appears in the text before John 8:12. Concerning min. 828, the lack of PA is signified by a single bracket written between both John 7:52 and John 8:12 and in the central margin (f. 138v); this sign is explained in Latin, located in the lower margin by a later hand (17th-18th c.).

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[13] The microfilm reproduction we used (made by the IGNTP in the 1980's) shows unnumbered folios. It seems that min. 543 was since folioed. See below.

[14] It is interesting to note that a later reader of the pericope not only recorded the transfer but also quoted a more familiar text then in use for him: Καὶ ἐπορεύ[θη/θησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ].

The last three manuscripts which transfer the pericope all have some annotations both in John and Luke. In min. 346, a later hand indicates "Pericop. de adult. Jn VII,53-VIII,11" in the left margin, in front of the pericope in Luke (f. 114v); another indication, perhaps in Latin as the manuscript is hard to read, is found in the right margin at the end of John 7:52 (f. 125r). In min. 983, Greek abbreviated forms from a different hand are found at the end of PA, in front of Luke 22:1 (central margin of f. 143v), as well as in John (external right margin of f. 169r). Concerning min. 826, a marginal mark: ΙΩ(αννην), most probably written from another hand, is located in the right margin in front of the end of Luke 21:38 (f. 158r) since the pericope should be read in the Gospel of John. In that Gospel, in front of John 7:52 (external right margin of f. 187r), another and later hand has written a reference to the Gospel of Luke and the familiar text of the pericope: και ο ισ επορευθη. Much more exciting is a couple of signs, followed by a short blank space, inserted *in the main text*, after John 7:52 and before John 8:12. Considering the text, and as far as we can suggest, this may be an example of a copyist himself being aware of the transfer of PA from John to Luke. The scribe of min. 826 knew he had already copied before PA in the Gospel of Luke and he was faithful to his own exemplar, but he also knew that the pericope was usually read in John and not in Luke.

Min. 174, 230 and 1689 do not transfer PA. Concerning the text in Luke, min. 174 (f. 109v) and 1689 (f. 138r) do not give any mention at all, but in min. 230 (f. 161v) there are two annotations: the first one occurs in the upper linear space, between Luke 21:38 and Luke 22:1 and the second one in the external left margin. It is quite difficult to say if those two imply a PA reading at this place and if they were written by the copyist's hand. Regarding the Johannine text, the scribe of min. 174 (f. 131r) indicates: ολιγον εν [unreadable] ο[σιο]ς, in the central margin, in front of John 7:53. Concerning min. 230, each line of PA is obelized, on the left hand side of the column (f. 189r); for min. 1689, the pericope is surrounded (f. 159r) by a single red written obelus inside the text at the beginning of John 7:53 and the mention "τελ(ος)" at the end.

As a conclusion to the transfer of PA in f^{13} manuscripts, from John 7:53-8:11 after Luke 21:38, we can suggest that: (1) Min. 788 is the only family member not to indicate any reference at all, neither in Luke nor in John; in this manuscript, PA was never subjected to corrections, revisions or additions and that implies that the 788 exemplar was similar to min. 788 (2) Min. 13, 69, 346, 543, 828 and 983 were not subjected to contemporaneous revisions but later hands could indicate some libraries, readers or owners (3) Scribes of min. 124 and 826 let it appear that they knew the transfer of PA; the same applies to min. 174, 230 and 1689 which do not transfer it.

If the transfer of PA remains an important textual feature of Family 13 members, we should not only consider the transfer itself but its special readings too. That is the reason why we edit below the text of PA with variations from the Nestle-Aland text:

7:53 επορευθησαν] απηλθεν 13 69 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689, απηλθον 124 174 230
7:53 τον οικον] τα ιδια 69
8:1 ιησους δε επορευθη] και ο ιησους επορευθη 13 69 124 174 346 543 788 826 828 1689, και ιησους επορευθη 230, και ο ιησους απηλθεν 983
8:1 εις το ορος 983^{c}
8:2 παρεγενετο] ηλθεν 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 (ειλθεν) 983 1689
8:2 om. και πας ο λαος ηρχετο προς αυτον και καθισας εδιδασκεν αυτους 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689
8:3 αγουσιν δε] και προσηνεγκαν αυτω 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983, αγουσιν δε 1689
8:3 add. προς τον ιη post φαρισαιοι 1689
8:3 γυναικα επι μοιχεια 13 69 (μοιχειαν) 124 174 230 346 543 788 (μοιχια) 826 828 983 1689
8:3 στησαντες] στεσαντες 983
8:3 εν μεσω] εν τω μεσω 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689, εν μεσω 13
8:4 λεγουσιν] ειπον 13 69 124 174 230 346 (ειπ[non legitur]) 543 788 826 828 983 1689
8:4 add. πειραζοντες post αυτω 346
8:4 κατειληπται] ειληπται 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689

8:4 επ’αυτοφωρω] επ αυτω τω φορω 13 346 788 826 828 983 1689, επ αυτοφορω 69 174, επ αυτωφορω 124 230 543

8:5 ημιν] υμιν 346, ημων 1689, ημιν 13 69 124 174 230 543 788 826 828 983

8:5 μωυσης] μωσης 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689

8:5 λιθαζειν 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689

8:5 add. fin. uers. περι αυτης 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689

8:6 εχωσιν] εχωσι 788 983

8:6 κατηγορειν αυτου] κατηγοριαν κατ αυτου 13 (αυθου sic) 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689

8:6 κατω κυψας] κατοκυψας 828

8:6 om. τω δακτυλω 230

8:6 κατεγραφεν] εγραψεν 13 69 124 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689, εγραφεν 230, κατεγραφεν 174

8:6 add. fin uers. μη προσιουμενος (pro μη προσποιουμενος) 346

8:7 αυτον] αυτῶν 828 sic acc.

8:7 ανεκυψεν και] αναβλεψας 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689

8:7 αυτοις 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689

8:7 πρωτος] πρωτον 346

8:7 επ αυτην βαλετω λιθον] λιθον βαλετω επ αυτην 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 (βαλετο) 983, τον λιθον βαλετω επ αυτην 1689

8:8 κατακυψας] κατωκυψας 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 (κατοκυψας) 983 1689

8:8 εγραφεν 13 69 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689, εγραψεν^{ac} εγραφεν^{pc} 124

8:9 om. οι δε ακουσαντες 13 69 124 174 230 543 788 826 828 983 1689, οι δε ακουσαντες 346

8:9 εξηρχοντο] και εξηλθον 13 69 124 174 230 543 788 826 828 983, και εξηλθεν 1689, και υπο της συνειδησεως ελεγχομενοι εξηρχοντο 346

8:9 εις καθ’εις] εις καθ ισ 13 sic

8.9 αρξαμενο[non legitur] 543

8:9 add. εως των εσχατων post των πρεσβυτερων 13 (sed om. πρεσβυτερων in textu cum add. in margine) 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689

8:9 κατελειφθη] κατηλειφθη 788
8:9 μονος] ο ισ 13 124 174 230 543 788 826 828 983, ο ιησους 69, μονος ο ισ 346, ο ισ μονος 1689
8:9 εν μεσω] εμμεσω 346
8:9 ουσα 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689
8:10 ανακυψας] αναβλεψας 13 69 124 174 230 346 543 788 826 828 983 1689
8:10 add. ειδεν αυτην και ante ειπεν 13 (ιδεν) 69 124 (ιδεν) 174 230 543 (ιδεν) 788 (ιδεν) 826 (ιδεν) 828 (ιδεν) 983 1689, add. και μηδενα θεασαμενος πλην της γυναικος ante ειπεν 346
8:10 ειπε 983 1689
8:10 om. αυτη ante γυναι 13 69 124 174 230 543 788 826 828 983 1689, αυτη γυναι 346
8:10 add. οι κατηγοροι σου post που εισιν 13 69 174 543 788^{c} 826 828 983 1689, add. εκεινοι οι κατηγοροι σου post που εισιν 346, om. οι κατηγοροι σου post που εισιν 124 230
8:11 ειπεν δε ο ιησους] και ο ισ ειπεν αυτη 13 69 (ιησους) 346 543 826 828, ο δε ισ ειπεν αυτη 124 174 230 983 1689, ο ισ ειπεν αυτη 788
8:11 πορευου] πορευομενου 13 sic
8:11 και απο του νυν] om. 13 69 124 346 543 788 826 828 983, om. απο του νυν tantum 174 230, και απο του νυν 1689

We conclude with two points: (1) The transfer of PA from John 7:53-8:11 after Luke 21:38 remains one important textual feature of Family 13 manuscripts. (2) Nevertheless the pericope text itself must be taken into account: we have demonstrated above, on the basis of quite fresh new collations, that the mss. which do not displace the pericope could contain the peculiar readings of the family.

4. The Pericope of the Angel and the Sweat Like Drops of Blood (PASB)[15]

The transfer of this pericope (hereafter PASB), from Luke 22:43-44 to a position after Matt 26:39, was noticed early by Mill when describing the textual features of min. 69 (*Prolegomena*, CLXVI). He was afterwards followed by Wettstein, writing: "Historia vero de sudore sanguineo Christi ex Luc. XXII. 43. 44 transposita est post Matthaei XXVI. 39" (*Nouum Testamentum*, 53), and then by Birch (1785) marking that min. 13, 69 and 124 share the same reading: "Luk. XXII,43.44 Ωφθη δε αυτω αγγελος—καταβαινοντες επι την γην udelades i Vaticanus, ligesaa i Alexandrinus, Parisinus 2244 og Leicestriensis (A. 13. 69.) ligesaa i Lambecii 31" (*Kritisk Beskrivelse*, 72). Even though the transfers of PA and PASB were the first important criteria (Mill, Wettstein, Birch), it appears that the second one was somewhat less mentioned than the first.

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[15] See Table 2.

The transfer of PASB from Luke 22:43-44 to after Matt 26:39 is present in min. 69, 124, 543, 788 and 826. Min. 346, 828 and 983 place the text of the pericope in both places, whereas min. 174, 230 and 1689 read it only in Luke. Even though PASB is definitely missing in min. 13, it is hard to conclude firmly that there had been a displacement, because there is a lacuna from Matt 26:33 to 52.

Concerning the eight witnesses which displace the pericope, only min. 69 and 543 have no commentary at all, no sign, obelus or asterisk inside the text or in the margin, neither in Luke (f. 68r), nor in Matthew (f. 10r-v).[16] Those two *non-amended copies* indicate that the manuscripts were not subjected to any emendation at all, neither from a scribe, nor a later owner who could have noticed this noteworthy reading.

Min. 124 does not specify special mention in Luke (f. 123v) for indicating the lack of the pericope: we read Luke 22:42 and then Luke 22:45. In front of Matt 26:39 (f. 47r), in the external margin, min. 124 indicates "εκ κατ(α) λο(υκαν)"; inside the text a simple cross shows the end of the pericope, just before Matt 26:40. Those two clues, especially the cross which happens quite often, seem to have been written in the copyist's hand.

Min. 788 twice marks the transfer of PASB. In Luke's Gospel, after 22:42 which corresponds to the end of the line of writing, a later hand has written "ωφθη δε [non legitur]" (f. 144r). The same later hand has noticed in the central margin of Matthew (f. 52r) that Luke 22:43-44 does not usually belong to this Gospel: κ(ατα) φη[σι non legitur].

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[16] Min. 543 has unnumbered folios on our microfilm but Claire Clivaz, who carefully worked on a more recent one, indicated "f. 37v" for Matt 26:39 (*HTR* 98/4, 435 n. 112; and *L'ange et la sueur de sang, Lc 22,43-44: Ou comment on pourrait bien encore écrire l'histoire* [Leuven: Peeters, 2010] 493 n. 240). She also reported that the text of PASB in Matthew "est clairement relié à Luc (λο dans la marge avant ὤφθη δέ, même main, et μθ à la fin des versets transposés, même main)." We detected none of those mentions due to the bad copy of our microfilm. For the same reason, we did not notice the written form "λύπί" in the min. 69 margin of f. 68r (*id.*, 434 n. 110 and *id.*, 493 n. 237).

Min. 826 is the most surprising witness of the group which displaces PASB. In Matthew, in front of the beginning of Luke 22:43-44 (f. 53r), in the external left margin, a hand—which could be the copyist's hand or a later one—has written "λο(υκας)." Furthermore, at the end of Luke 22:42, min. 826 keeps, *in the main text*, the word "ωφθη" (f. 161r), right before Luke 22:45. Once more we can find here the same process as for the transfer of PA. Undoubtedly, the copyist of min. 826 was conscious of the two texts: the one he was writing, displacing the pericope, and the one he usually knew. For this purpose, he intentionally left *in the main text* some clear explanations for readers.

Three mss. have PASB both in Luke and Matthew. Min. 346 reads Luke 22:43-44 after Luke 22:42 and before 22:45 (f. 116v). It also inserts the pericope after Matt 26:39 (f. 43r) but, strangely enough, with a lightly different text. We notice:

απ ου(ρα)νου (Luke) but απο του ου(ρα)νου (Matt)
θρομβοι (Luke) but θρομβη (Matt)
καταβαινοντος (Luke) but καταβαινοντες (Matt).

Moreover, in Matthew, PASB is surrounded by "λουκ(ας)" and "μ(α) θ(θαιος)," both mentions written in red letters in the left and right hand sides of the margins.[17] As for min. 826, it clearly indicates that the scribe of min. 346 was aware of what he was copying. His exemplar was a Family 13 witness (with PASB only in Matthew) but he corrected his own copy according to the ordinary text.

In a similar way to min. 346, min. 828 reads Luke 22:43-44 after Luke 22:42 and before 22:45 (f. 120r). It also inserts it after Matt 26:39 (f. 44r): the mention "λο(υκας)" appears in the external right margin, written by the copyist's hand. The text of the two pericopes does not differ.

Unlike the two above, min. 983 gets annotations in Luke's Gospel (f. 145v). They are three marginal notes, all written by the same later hand. Amongst them, the external right margin has a distinct reference to Matthew. The point seems curious as we should expect the contrary: a reference to Luke in the text of Matthew since the current text reads PASB in Luke. The text of the two pericopes does not differ.

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[17] It is therefore not possible to write that for min. 346 there is "a reference to Luke in the main text of Mtt 26:39" (C. Clivaz, *HTR* 98/4, 434; and *L'ange et la sueur de sang*, 493). Red written references to Luke and Matthew are distinctly located in the margins.

Min. 174, 230 and 1689 do not transfer PASB. Regarding the text in Matthew, min. 230 is not emended at all (f. 60v) whereas min. 174 (ff. 32v-33r) and 1689 (f. 50v) have cross-references to Luke. At the bottom of folio 32v, min. 174 indicates "υπερ B[non legitur] λουκα[non legitur]," perhaps written by the copyist's hand or a later one. Min. 1689 also has a cross-reference to Luke in the external right margin with the words "εις κ(α)τ(α) λουκ(αν)," black ink written by an undoubted later hand. Regarding the text in Luke, min. 174, 230 and 1689 have all three marginal annotations. Min. 174 reads Luke 22:42-45 without interruption but we note a reference to Matthew in the external left margin (f. 111v). In min. 230, each line of PASB is obelized (f. 163v) in the same way we have seen it before for the PA text. One obelus is repeated in the lower margin and sends the reader back to Matthew's Gospel: ΣΤΡΕφητ(ι) ΚΑΤ(α) ΜΑΤΘ(αιον). A similar abbreviated formula is used in min. 1689 (f. 140r) in the upper left margin with words in red: και παλιν στρα(φηθι) εις το κ(α)τ(α) ματθ(αιον); inside the main text, PASB is surrounded by two obeli in the upper linear space, one at the beginning (f. 139v), one at the end (f. 140r), both written in red ink. Once more, those two annotations are from the copyist's hand. We suggest that those cross-references to Matthew in the text of Luke should be understand as a severe emendation of the Gospels text: there are strong possibilities that the scribes of min. 230 and 1689 removed PASB from Matthew as shown in their exemplar but left the memory of this ancient reading in the newly copied text of Luke.

The last family member, min. 13, unfortunately has a lacuna between Matt 26:33 to 52: there is so no possibility of knowing if there was—or was not—PASB there. In Luke (f. 117r), min. 13 keeps the words "ωφθη δε" *in the main text*, just after Luke 22:42 and before Luke 22:45. The words are followed by a sign, ordinarily used by scribes for the conjunction και, in the upper linear space. This sign is twice repeated in the middle margin.

We conclude with the following points: (1) The transfer of PASB from Luke 22:43-44 after Matt 26:39 remains an important textual feature of Family 13 manuscripts even if it was less often mentioned by biblical scholars. (2) Most of the mss., whether they write the pericope once or twice (min. 346, 828), or only keep it in Luke (min. 230, 1689), were clearly conscious of the transfer: they seem to have followed a double textual tradition where the text in use is superimposed on the ancient text of the Family 13 archetype.

5. The Pericope of the Sign of the Times: Matt 16:2b-3 (POST)[18]

The pericope of the sign of the times (hereafter POST)—mainly its omission—is even more rare among the first registered criteria of Family 13 manuscripts. Neither Mill nor Bengel, Wettstein or Birch wrote anything about POST. The restoration of the text of Family 13 archetype, elaborated by William Hugh Ferrar, and further published by Thomas Kingsmill Abbott in 1877,[19] edits only Matt 16:2a, omitting 16:2b-3. For min. 124, Ferrar's apparatus emphasizes that POST is mentioned in the Treschow edition (*Tentamen Descriptionis Codicum Veterum Aliquot Græcorum Novi Foederis Manuscriptorum* [Copenhague, 1773]): "V* *marg. Tresch.*"[20] as well as in the Alter publication (*Nouum Testamentum ad Codicem Vindobonensem Græce Expressum* [Wien, 1787]). In 1913, the apparatus of the Hermann von Soden edition (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 57) correctly highlights that Matt 16:2b-3 is omitted by "$I^{\iota bc \text{ exc } 226}$."[21]

Min. 13, 124, 174, 543, 788, 826 and 828 do not read POST whereas min. 230, 346, 983 and 1689 read it. Regarding min. 69, the ms. begins only at Matt 18:15.

The first seven manuscripts above all read Matt 16:2a, then Matt 16:4: $^{16:2}$ο δε αποκριθεις ειπεν αυτοις $^{16:4}$γενεα πονηρα κτλ., except min. 124 (f. 38v) which adds "η γενεα αυτη" after Matt 16:2a, right at the beginning of Matt 16:4: $^{16:2}$ο δε αποκριθεις ειπεν αυτοις $^{16:4}$η γενεα αυτη γενεα πονηρα κτλ. Moreover, in this manuscript, Matt 16:2a is surrounded by two crosses quite similar to what we have seen before, at the end of PASB, just before Matt 26:40. Those crosses, *in the main text*, are in the copyist's hand. The addition of the words "η γενεα αυτη" accredits the idea that the scribe tried to restore an understandable reading of his text. In that way, he also adds two crosses to emphasize to the reader the lack of Matt 16:2b-3. Again we

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18) See Table 3.

19) *A Collation of Four Important Manuscripts of the Gospels: with a view to prove their common origin and to restore the text of their archetype* (Dublin: Hodges, Foster and Figgis; London: MacMillan and Co).

20) "V" is for Vienna.

21) $I^{\iota b}$ corresponds to min. 69 [δ505], min. 124 [ε1211], min. 788 [ε1033] and min. 174 [ε109]; $I^{\iota c}$ corresponds to min. 13 [ε368], min. 230 [ε173], min. 543 [ε257], min. 826 [ε218], min. 828 [ε219] and min. 837 [ε415]. Min. 346 is ε226.

record the hard work of some Family 13 scribes, trying to follow their own exemplar but keeping in mind the usual text they were then using. Min. 13 (f. 21r), 174 (f. 18r), 788 (f. 31v) and 828 (f. 26r) do not have any annotations or emendations in the text but min. 543 and 826 get annotations by a later hand. In the middle margin of min. 543 (unnumbered folio) a sign refers to the external right margin where a text of POST is written: [16:2b][non legitur] λ(ε)γετ(ε) ευδια πυρραζει γ(α)ρ ο ου(ρα)νος [16:3][non legitur] πρωι σημερον χειμ(ων) πυρραζει γ(α)ρ στυγναζων ο ου(ρα)νος υποκρι(ται) το μεν προσω(πον) του ου(ρα)νου γινω(σκ)ετε διακρινειν τα δε σημεια [non legitur]. Regarding min. 826, a simple cross, written by a quite different *ductus* in a very pale ink, notes the lack of POST after Matt 16:2a and before 16:4 (f. 30v).

Min. 230, 346, 983 and 1689 do not omit POST. As we have seen before, for PA and PASB, min. 230 (f. 41r) obelizes each line of POST but does not transmit a special commentary inside the margin explaining the obeli. Min. 346 (f. 27r) and 1689 (f. 30r) uninterruptedly read Matt 16:2-4 in the same way as min. 983 (f. 29v), perhaps including doubtful concise annotations inside the text and in the external right margin. We also note the following readings for those four witnesses:

16:2b	λεγετε] λεγεται 346, λεγετε 230 983 1689
16:3	πρωι] πρωιας 230, πρωι 346 983 1689
16:3	add. υποκριται post ο ουρανος 230 346, sed ο ουρανος sine add. 983 1689
16:3	γινωσκετε] γινωσκεται 346, γινωσκετε 230 983 1689
16:3	δυνασθε] συνιετε 230, συνιεται 346, δυνασθε 983 1689

We conclude with the following points: (1) The omission of POST remains a textual feature for Family 13 members even if this omission is shared with other first order Greek NT mss. (2) The witnesses, which do not omit the pericope (min. 230, 346, 983, 1689), keep the current Byzantine text in use, not a peculiar one.

6. The Hagiographical Criteria[22]

Excepting min. 69 and 174, all Family 13 witnesses have liturgical texts after the four Gospels. Those liturgical texts are called lectionaries. A complete lectionary, such as *l*547, is made up of two parts: a synaxarion and a menologion. The text of a synaxarion begins with Easter and then proceeds through the weeks of the year; the menologion begins on September 1st, the beginning of the civil year, and provides texts for special memorial days.[23] Regarding the other f^{13} members, the liturgical texts are shorter and better designated as "brief synaxarion" and "brief menologion."

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[22] See Table 4.

In 1886 J.-P. Paulin Martin became one the first scholars to point out that some Family 13 menologia could suggest that those mss. were copied in Southern Italy, for the reason that they incorporated five names of saints whose worship was distinctive to Calabrian and Sicilian books. In spite of a scholarly quarrel about the most suitable naming to designate the quality of the texts—whether we have to talk about a "ménologe" (J.-P. Paulin Martin, 1886), or some "synaxaire italo-grec" (Hippolyte Delehaye, 1902), indeed a "petit synaxaire" (François Halkin, 1977)—the most important point was to emphasize those hagiographical features.

At first J.-P. Paulin Martin gave the five following names: Elias Spelaeotes (*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* 581) celebrated 11 September, Leo Bishop of Catania (*BHG* 981) 20 February, Conon (*BHG* 360 *et sqq.*) 3 June, Phantinus (*BHG* 1508-1509) 24 July and the Phantinus' translation celebrated 30 August. A few years later, Delehaye denied parts of the former list, especially Leo Bishop of Catania and Phantinus' translation, but he corrected it and added some new names: Maurus (*BHG* 2267) celebrated 1 May, the triad Vitus, Modestus and Crescentia (*BHG* 1876) celebrated 15 June, Kalogèros, 18 June and then, but with some doubt, Donatus, celebrated 7 August. In 1935, Giovanni Mercati gave another list where Elias, Conon, Kalogèros and Phantinus are still registered. Nearly forty years later, Lidia Perria kept the names of Elias, Maurus, the triad Vitus, Modestus and Crescentia, and Kalogèros but stated that some have to be deleted and some others added. Lastly, in 2000, Lidia Perria indicated different names of saints peculiar to Southern Italy.

Considering the mass of opposing viewpoints, we would like to suggest a slightly different list including Elias Spelaeotes, Leo Bishop of Catania, Maurus, Conon, the triad Vitus, Modestus and Crescentia, Kalogèros,

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[23] See K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans and Leiden: Brill, 1987) 160 *et sqq.*

Phantinus, Donatus and Phantinus iunior (*BHG* 2366z-2367). We will so closely look at all Family 13 members.

Min. 13 (f. 164r), 346 (f. 153v), 543 (f. 171v), 826 (f. 233r), 1689 (f. 191r) and *l*547 (f. 119v) note the name of Elias Spelaeotes at the date of 11 September.[24] Min. 124 and 788 (f. 203v) record the date but without the Calabrian saint, writing only: των τιμ(ιων) ξυλ(ων) και του αγιου αυτονομου; min. 230 directly reads the date of 9 September to the 14 (f. 11r) and min. 828 and 983 have unreadable lections.

Min. 13 (f. 165v), 346 (f. 158r), 788 (f. 209v), 828 (f. 173v), 983 (f. 197v), 1689 (f. 194r) and *l*547 (f. 138v) note the name of the Sicilian bishop. Concerning min. 124, one reads the date of 16 February, then straightaway the date of 23; Bishop Leo is not mentioned for min. 230 and min. 543 is unreadable at this location.

St Maurus is one of the most commonly-mentioned names in Family 13 members. Min. 13 (f. 166r), 124 (f. 185v), 346 (f. 159r), 543 (f. 179r), 788 (f. 211r), 828 (f. 174r), 983 (f. 197v), 1689 (f. 195r) and *l*547 (f. 141r) note him whereas min. 230 does not.

Five mss. note the name of St Conon: min. 13 (f. 166v), 543 (f. 180r), 788 (f. 211v), 828 (f. 174v) and *l*547 (f. 141v). Regarding min. 124 (f. 185v), the month of June begins only on the 4th and therefore leaves out the days before. Nothing special can be read about St Conon in min. 230, 346 (f. 159v) and 1689 (f. 195v). Once more, min. 983 is unreadable.

Min. 13 (f. 166v), 346 (160r), 543 (f. 180r), 828 (f. 175r), 983 (f. 198r) and *l*547 (f. 142r) note the presence of the triad Vitus, Modestus and Crescentia, celebrated on 15 June and min. 124, 230, 788 (f. 212r) and 1689 (f. 195v) omit it.

Seven witnesses note the name of St Kalogèros: min. 13 (f. 166v), 346 (f. 160r), 543 (f. 180v), 788 (f. 212r), 828 (f. 175r), 1689 (f. 195v) and *l*547 (f. 142r). Min. 124 has no commemoration at all from 14 June to 24 (f. 185v): as with the above triad, Kalogèros is not specified. Concerning min. 230, the only commemoration for the month of June is "ΓΕΝΕθλιοΝ Τ(ου) ΠΡΟΔ(ρομου)" (f. 13r); min. 983 is unreadable.

Phantinus is present in min. 13 (f. 167r), 346 (f. 160v), 543 (f. 181v), 788 (f. 213v), 828 (f. 175v), 983 (f. 198v), 1689 (f. 196r) and *l*547 (f. 144r). Regarding min. 124, one notes only the date of 20 July, immediately followed by 25 (f. 187r); on the following verso, which should be linked with the month of August, there is no mention of Donatus nor of Phantinus iunior. In the same way, neither Phantinus nor Donatus nor Phantinus iunior are mentioned in min. 230.

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[24] Min. 826 only has the beginning of the menologion (ff. 232v-233v), as a result of which all the other commemorations are lacking.

Donatus is found in eight mss.: 13 (f. 167v), 346 (f. 161r), 543 (f. 182r), 788 (f. 213v), 828 (f. 176r), 983 (f. 198v), 1689 (f. 196v) and *l*547 (f. 146r). Finally, Phantinus iunior is registered in min. 13 (f. 168r), 346 (f. 161v), 543 (f. 183r), 828 (f. 176r), 983 (f. 199r) and 1689 (f. 197r). Min. 788 (f. 214r) and *l*547 (ff. 146v-147r) do not register it.

We conclude with the following points: (1) The hagiographical criteria, as a defined corpus and whatever the polemical arguments, remain properly worthy features for distinguishing Family 13 members. However they cannot be summarized as the only criteria since they imply only a common origin. (2) Only min. 69 and 174 do not have liturgical texts; min. 230 has some but does not indicate any of the above hagiographical readings, and min. 826 is decidedly sketchy. (3) Most of the members, especially min. 13, 346, 543, 788, 828, 983, 1689 and *l*547, have, roughly speaking, the complete corpus. (4) The commemorations of Elias Spelaeotes, Maurus, Phantinus and Donatus could be suggested as common references for this corpus: nevertheless min. 788 does not indicate the first one as it seems to have been copied during the lifetime of this saint who died circa 960 (*BHG*, p. 178).

7. The "Added Material"[25]

More than the above criteria, some family members have brief texts whose peculiarities were brought to light by J. Rendel Harris and further developed by Kirsopp and Silva Lake.[26] According to the Lakes, these texts "appear to have formed a South Italian collection, but its history is obscure. The collection contained at least the following items:

i. Explanation of the Creeds and Councils
ii. The lives of the Apostles

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[25] See Table 5.

[26] J.R. Harris, *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar-Group* (1900), and K. Lake and S. Lake, *Family 13 (The Ferrar Group): The Text According to Mark With a Collation of Codex 28 of the Gospels* (SD 11; London: Christophers; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941).

iii. The Patriarchates
iv. The "clima" of Africa
v. The appearances of the Risen Christ
vi. The Symbols of the Evangelists
vii. The Angels
viii. The Nicene rule for Easter."

Only min. 69, 346, 543, 788, 983 and *l*547 have part of the above texts, which means that none of them has the whole corpus; furthermore, the texts are not systematically written in the same order.

The text on the Patriarchates (*De thronis Patriarcharum*) is the only one to be shared by the six mss. above.[27] The "clima of Africa" (*Ordo et nomina regionum Africae*) are registered in min. 346, 543 and 788,[28] *De gradibus ecclesiasticae hierarchiae* in min. 346, 788, 983 and *l*547.[29] Only two members include the "Symbols of the Evangelists" (*De figuris quattuor euangelistarum*): min. 346 and 983.[30] Two others have the texts on the Constitution of the Apostles: min. 788 and *l*547 (*e Constitutionibus Apostolicis: regula Nicaeae de ieiunio quadragesimali*),[31] and still—and only—min. 788 (*e Constitutionibus Apostolicis: De Pascha*).[32] We can also find two texts: the "appearances of the Risen Christ" (*De decem Domini apparitionibus post Resurrectionem*) in min. 346, 788 and 983,[33] *De nominibus duodecim Apostolorum* in min. 69, 346 and 788.[34] Finally, min. 983 and *l*547 are the only ones to contain some *Quaestiones et responsiones in Euangelia*.[35]

This "added material" was never a primary criterion for setting family members apart. Nevertheless, some scholars kept them in mind to emphasize the common features between the first discovered witnesses and some potential new family members. We will list some of them in the following section.

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27) Min. 69: f. 161r-v, min. 346: ff. 162v-163r, min. 543: f. 184r-v, min. 788: ff. 215v-216r, min. 983: f. 1r-v and *l*547: ff. 148r-149r.
28) Respectively f. 163r, f. 184v and f. 216r.
29) Respectively f. 163v, f. 216r-v, f. 1v and f. 149v.
30) Respectively f. 163v and f. 199v.
31) Respectively ff. 216v-217v and ff. 150r-151v.
32) Ff. 217v-218r.
33) Respectively ff. 163v-164r, f. 218r-v and f. 200r.
34) Respectively ff. 160v-161r, f. 164r-v and ff. 218v-219r.
35) Respectively ff. 200r-208v? and f. 151v.

8. The Currently Non-Registered Family 13 Members

The textual features, as described above, induced numerous scholars to add new Family 13 witnesses.

1) **Min. 713: Birmingham, Selly Oak College, *Gr.* 7** (Algerina Peckover 561)[36]

In 1886, J. Rendel Harris suggested min. 713 as a new group member.[37] He first pointed out that "our manuscript transfers the passage concerning the agony in the garden from St. Luke to St. Matthew, just as is done by the Ferrar group, at the same time betraying the origin of the passage by carrying over, not only Luke 22:43,44, but also a portion of verse 45."[38] Next Harris added that "the manuscript has, in Matthew 13:35, the well-known and highly important reading: 'That is might be fulfilled which was spoken by *Isaiah* the prophet, I will open my mouth in parables, etc.' This curious reading is found," Harris ascertained, "as far as I know, in no manuscripts except the Ferrar group, three other cursives, and the Sinaitic codex."[39] The author also made collations he published in the same year, mainly for the first fifteen chapters of Matthew, and for some of Mark's and Luke's variant units (Mark 12:7, 14:41, Luke 14:24, 22:47 etc.). He however confessed that "these instances are no sufficient proof of any internal connexion between Cod. 561 and the Ferrar archetype. There are not a few remarkable readings in which Cod. 561 agrees with single members of the Ferrar-group" (p. 85).

Last but not least, Harris acknowledged that min. 713 "deviates from the Ferrar-group in its total omission of the Pericope de adultera, which < the Ferrar-group members > insert at the end of Luke XXI." We have suggested above that the transfer of PA could not be the only criterion for Family 13 witnesses but it seems that in min. 713, PA is completely missing from all the Gospels.[40]

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[36] Scrivener numbering.

[37] "An Important Uncollated Manuscript of the New Testament," *Sunday School Times* 28 (November 6, 1886) 707, and "Cod. Ev. 561-Codex Algerinæ Peckover," *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, containing Papers and Notes for December* (1886) 79-89.

[38] A careful examination shows that min. 713 omits Luke 22:43-44 (f. 270v) and inserts PASB and Luke 22:45a between Matt 26:39 and Matt 26:40: [Matt 26:39]πλην ουχ ως εγω θελω αλλ ως συ [Luke 22:43]ωφθη δε αυτω αγγελος απ ου(ρα)νου ενισχυων αυτον [Luke 22:44]και γενομενος εν αγωνια εκτενεστερον προσηυχετο εγενετο δε ο ιδρως αυτου ωσει θρομβοι αιματος καταβαινοντες επι την γην [Luke 22:45]και αναστας απο της προσευχης [Matt 26:40]ερχεται προς τους μαθητας κτλ. (f. 99r-v).

[39] In min. 713, Matt 13:35 is on f. 51v: οπως πληρωθη το ρηθεν δια ησαιου του προφητου λεγοντος κτλ.

Eight years later, in 1894, in spite of Harris' doubts, min. 713 is still described as a Ferrar Group member in Scrivener's 4th edition, edited by Edward Miller (*A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students*). In 1897 the first Nestle edition (*Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament*, 43-45)—and some of the following: 1904, 1906, 1910, 1912, 1923—included min. 713 within the Ferrar Group. During the first decade of the 20th century, both von Soden (*Die Schriften* I,1 [1902] 177, see ε351) and Gregory (*Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* I [1909] 215) give similar physical descriptions of the manuscript. However, in his 1907 edition, von Soden definitely disagreed with Harris' and Scrivener's views, including min. 713 in "die Sippe Σ, gebildet durch die Codices 154 198 1132 207 1226 351 377 456" (pp. 1220-1233), far away from related Family 13 members.[41] Even if a few years later Harris firmly maintained the relationship between min. 713 and f^{13} ("The First Tatian Reading in the Greek New Testament," *The Expositor* 23 [1922] 120-129), the general position henceforth was to remove it from the group. More recently, Frederik Wisse confirmed von Soden's views, considering min. 713 for chapters 1, 10 and 20 of Luke's Gospel respectively as "Mix," "Kmix" and "Mix."[42]

As a short conclusion we assert that min. 713 does not belong to Family 13.

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[40] PA is missing in John as we read John 7:52 then John 8:12 (f. 310v) and none of the three marginal notes indicates another location for the pericope. Chapter 22 in Luke straightaway follows Luke 21:38 without addition at all (f. 267r). We may add that POST is not omitted in min. 713 (f. 60v).

[41] Von Soden numbering for "Die Codices 154 198 1132 207 1226 351 377 456" respectively correspond to GA 709, 780, 1012, 157, 245, 713, 291 and 235.

[42] "Mix" means "Profiles which do not conform to any of the groups or clusters and which diverge significantly from K^x"; "Kmix" corresponds to "Profiles which do not conform to any of the groups or clusters but which stand relatively close to K^x"; and "K^x" is "the dominant text from the ninth to the thirteenth century." See *The Profile Method for Classifying and Evaluating Manuscript Evidence = The Profile Method for the Classification and Evaluation of Manuscript Evidence as applied to the continuous Greek text of the Gospel of Luke* (SD 44; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 65.

2) **Min. 348: Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 56 sup.**

In 1886 J.-P. Paulin Martin was the first biblical scholar to claim that min. 348 was a new member of the Ferrar Group.[43] His detailed study of the ms. showed him that PASB is read "après saint Mathieu XXVII 39 (f. 64, *b*, 1); mais il les contient également à leur place, dans le troisième Évangile (f° 144, *a*, 1-2). C'est pourquoi, le manuscrit présente ces versets en trois endroits, une fois dans le synaxaire (f. 9, *b*, 1), une seconde fois en saint Matthieu (f. 64, *b*, 1) et une troisième fois en saint Luc (f. 144, *a*, 1-2)" (p. 44). Martin added that "dans saint Mathieu, l'insertion est tout à fait régulière, c'est-à-dire, absolument conforme à l'usage liturgique, en ce sens qu'on n'intercale pas seulement entre saint Mathieu XXVI,39 et saint Mathieu XXVI,40, les versets de saint Luc XXII,43-44, mais qu'on intercale encore le commencement du verset 45, Καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς, chose que ne font pas les autres cursifs de la même famille."[44] As we have noticed before, Martin is quite right here, even for those mss. which were not then discovered. Furthermore, he supported Harris' observation concerning min. 713 which added the same first part of Luke 22:45.[45]

Min. 348 does not displace PA. Martin ascertained that the ms. "contient bien Jean VII,53-VIII,11, mais à la place ordinaire (f. 164, *a*, 2)," with obeli and crosses in front of each line of the text. Despite the PA Johannine location and some other stumbling blocks between readings of min. 13, 69, 124, 346 and min. 348, the author concluded: "Voilà donc un nouveau cursif qu'il faut ajouter au groupe déjà imposant étudié par MM. W. Hugh Ferrar et T.K. Abbott. Le cursif 348 appartient à la même famille et vient du même pays" (p. 53).

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[43] "Quatre manuscrits importants du Nouveau Testament auxquels on peut en ajouter un cinquième," *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques*, sixième série, t. 3, n°313 (janvier), chapt. 7-10, 33-62.

[44] "Quatre manuscrits importants," 44-45 with one plate (p. 46). As we did not have direct access to min. 348, we consider here Martin's lithographic plate (f. 64). It begins with [Matt 26:38]]μου εως θανατου and ends with [Matt 26:47]και μετ αυτου οχλος πο[λυς, inserting Luke 22:43-45a between Matt 26:39 and Matt 26:40.

[45] We reproduce here the text of PASB, according to Martin's lithographic plate: [Matt 26:39]πλην ουχ ως εγω θελω αλλ ως συ [Luke 22:43]ωφθη δε αυτω αγγελος απ ουρανου ενισχυων αυτον [Luke 22:44]και γενομενος εν αγωνια εκτενεστερον προσηυχετο εγενετο δε ο ιδρος αυτου ωσει θρομβοι αιματος καταβαινοντες επι την γην [Luke 22:45]και αναστας απο της προσευχης [Matt 26:40]ερχεται προς τους μαθητας κτλ.

Martin's works will go down in history, alongside Greek New Testament textual criticism, as well as in paleographic studies. In 1887 and 1893 Harris mentioned min. 348 in some of his publications (*The Origin of the Leicester Codex of the New Testament, On the Origin of the Ferrar-Group*), followed by J.H. Bernard who recalled Martin's position ("Scrivener's 'Introduction to the Critism of the New Testament,'" *Hermathena* 20 [1896] 113). However, at the turn of the century, in his 3rd edition of *The Text of the New Testament* (1906), Lake claimed that "there are also certain other MSS. (*e.g.* 211, 709) which have some points of affinity with the group, though they are not primary members of it. The Abbé Martin thought that 348 belonged to the group, but this is not the case."[46] Lake's views affected further studies: in 1955 Heinrich Joseph Vogels inserted min. 348 in "die griechischen Lektionare" (*Handbuch der Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 2nd ed., p. 72), and fourteen years later Jean Irigoin still included it along Family 13 members (*L'Italie méridionale et la tradition des textes antiques* [1969] 48). In the same way, during the last twenty years of the 20th century, some authors perpetuated Martin's views: Guglielmo Cavallo (*La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria* [1982] 525), André Jacob (*I più antichi codici greci di Puglia* [2002] 27), and Santo Lucà (*Frammenti di codici greci in Calabria* [2000] 179; *L'apporto dell'Italia meridionale alla costituzione del fondo greco dell'Ambrosiana* [2004] 198).

In conclusion, and contrary to all expectations, min. 348 is no longer considered as a Family 13 member by biblical scholars, although it is still considered as a part of the group, chiefly by palaeographers. In any case, it should be carefully studied again and better.

3) **Min. 211: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, *Gr.* Z 539**

As for min. 348, J.-P. Paulin Martin was one of the first biblical scholars in 1886 to point out that min. 211, a Graeco-Arabic manuscript, could be a new member of the Ferrar Group, asking: "Ce manuscrit appartiendrait-il aussi à la catégorie des cursifs 13, 69, 124, 346, 348?" (*Quatre manuscrits importants*, 56). Martin never developed further researches, merely stating that "on trouve saint Luc XXII,43-44 et saint Jean VII,53-VIII,11 à leur place ordinaire." Martin's statements were quite right. According to our own collations, min. 211 does not transfer PA: we read the pericope in John (ff. 229v-230r) without external marginal comments and the text of

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[46] P. 20 n. 1.

Luke does not notice special record (f. 198r). PASB is located in Luke 22:43-44 (f. 201r) as normal and Matt 26:39 is without emendation (f. 67v). Lastly, min. 211 does not omit POST (f. 40r-v).[47]

However, Martin clearly picked out one common textual feature between min. 13, 69, 124, 346 and min. 211. He stated that, in min. 211, there are "presque tous les documents extra-canoniques que nous rencontrons dans le cursif 346 de Milan" (*Quatre manuscrits importants*, 54). "Dans le manuscrit de Venise," he added, "la description débute aussi en plaçant Jérusalem en tête des sièges patriarcaux Πρῶτος θρόνος καὶ πρώτη πατριαρχία Ἱεροσολύμων. Est-ce dépasser les limites des suppositions permises en fait de critique biblique que d'identifier cette pièce avec celle des cursifs 69, 346?"[48] He finally concluded that "le manuscrit de Venise contient plusieurs des pièces qu'on trouve dans les cursifs 13, 69, 124, 346. Ainsi il y a le fragment sur les animaux symboliques et les quatre évangélistes que renferment le cursif de Vienne et le cursif 346 de Milan. On voit donc que toutes ces pièces extra-canoniques accusent quelque parenté entre ces volumes."[49]

Unfortunately the "added material," as a textual common feature between the Ferrar Group witnesses and min. 211, was never carefully studied later. The ordinary locations of the pericopes, added to Lake's doubts as seen above, denied posterity to min. 211.[50] As far as we know, min. 211 was part of the Ferrar Group in the Eberhard Nestle 2nd edition (*Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*, translated from the German 2nd ed. [1901] 88), but quickly abandoned, except by rare authors such as Angelo Michele Piemontese (*Codici Greco-Latino-Arabi in Italia fra XI e XV Secolo* [2002] 460).

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[47] We will only notice that min. 211 reads Matt 16:3: στυγναζει γαρ πυρραζων ο ου(ρα)νος instead of πυρραζει γαρ στυγναζων ο ουρανος.

[48] As we have stated above, the extant mss. for *De thronis Patriarcharum* are min. 69, 346, 543, 788, 983 and *l*547.

[49] Concerning the "added material" of min. 211, Martin correctly referred to A.M. Zanetti and A. Bongiovanni's catalogue (*Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum per titulos digesta*..., Venetiis, Apud Simonem Occhi Bibliopolam, 1740, p. 291): "Descriptio Patriarchalium thronorum. Init. Πρῶτος θρόνος καὶ πρώτη πατριαρχία Ἱεροσολύμων. Aliqua ex Nicaenis Synodis & Constitutionibus Apostolicis de Festis, Jejuniis, Quadragesima & Paschate. Alia ad Evangelistas & Evangelia spectantia. Inscribuntur: διαλύσεις σύν Θεῷ ἐπωφελεῖς. Prima est comparatio quatuor animalium Ezechielis cum Evangelistis. Secunda decem Christi apparitiones. Tertia de duobus Canonibus. Quarta de Trinitate. Plures denique sunt expositiones in aliquot Evangeliorum textus per interrogationem & respontionem" sic. We may also mention, later on, the 1801 Birch edition (*Variae Lectiones ad Textum IV Evangeliorum*), p. LXV: codicological description; and p. 429: textual features. Contemporary researches confirm former descriptions of min. 211: see E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti. Volumen II: Thesaurus Antiquus. Codices 300-625* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Sato, 1985) 433-434.

[50] A few years before, in 1900, Lake was already doubtful about min. 211 as a new Family

As with the two manuscripts above, min. 211 should be better considered and, once again, the ordinary location of PA or PASB is not a proof for denying textual relationship.

4) **Min. 233: El Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo,** Y. **II. 8 (*Gr.* 263)**

This manuscript was never clearly linked to Family 13. The first—and unique—parallel between min. 233 and the Ferrar Group members was noticed by Harris in 1900 concerning the stichometry: "The MSS in which Gregory has noted the double numeration are as follows: . . . Evv 233 saec XIII (al XI) (now in the Escurial but formerly at Venice)" (*Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar-Group*, 74). The same statement, without references to Gregory, was previously reported by Scrivener in his 1894 edition: "233. Escurial Y. II. 8 . . . *Prol.*, *κεφ. t.*, *Eus. t.* (apart), *vers.*, *ῥήμ.*, *στίχ.*" (*A Plain Introduction*, 222-223). Many years later, in 1949, Francesco Russo also referred to Gregory for suggesting that min. 233 could belong to Family 13: "Ev. 233 (Madrid, Escur. Y, II, 8) in cui il Gregory trova le caratteristiche della famiglia 13. Harris, *Further Researches*, 74" ("I manoscritti del gruppo 'Ferrar,'" *BBGG* 3: 77). To be honest, we have no idea about the exact Gregory references quoted by Harris, then by Russo. A quick look at the Gregory description of min. 233 (*Prolegomena*, 513; *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* I [1909] 170), states only: "*ῥήμ.*, *στίχ.*," and his *Canon and Text of the New Testament* (1907) only referred to min. 13, 69, 124 and 346 (pp. 371-372).[51]

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13 member: "There is a somewhat less degree of probability for supposing that < the scribe of min. 211 > knew the Ferrar text, but only used it in the *pericope adulterae*, preferring to use another text which seems to have some curious readings perhaps connected with Tatian" ("Some New Members," 117-119).

[51] However, Gregory suggested another two mss.: "Since < 1877 > several more copies have been found to belong to the same group.—Number 14, of the twelfth century, and at Paris, contains the Gospels, and is peculiar <. . .>. Another Parisian manuscript, it is of the fourteenth century, was very ingeniously gotten up. The number is 16" (*Canon and Text*, 372). GA 14 = Paris, BnF, *gr.* 70 , and GA 16 = Paris, BnF, *gr.* 54.

According to earlier manuscripts catalogues, neither PA nor PASB are displaced in min. 233 (G. De Andrés, *Catálogo de los Códices griegos*, t. 2 [1965] 115-116).[52] Moreover, the catalogues never indicated a POST omission.[53] Even if a few scholars emphasized some comparison with min. 69 on a codicological basis (F. Bianchi, *Une recherche sur les manuscrits à cahiers mixtes, Scriptorium* 48/2: 283), it clearly appears that min. 233 is not a Family 13 member.

5) **Min. 829: Grottaferrata, Bibl. Statale del Monumento Naz., A. α. VI** (*Crypt. gr. 181*)

This ms. was introduced as a possible Family 13 member by C.R. Gregory, asking if it could be "consanguineus familiae 13?" (*Prolegomena*, 585-586). Concerning POST, PA and PASB, Gregory stated that "Mt 16, 2.3 Joh 5, 4.5 Ehebr[echerin] obelisirt und Lk 22,43.44 hat die Anmerkung 'Lk' " (*Textkritik* I, 225). A part of Gregory's description is confirmed by the codicological notice of min. 829 in Antonio Rocchi's manuscripts catalogue: "Habetur hic apud Joannem historia de muliere *adultera*; quam per singulos versus librarius designat asteriscis marginalibus" (*Codices Cryptenses*, 1883, 6-7).[54] According to Gregory, min. 829 both obelizes POST and PA in their usual location: Matt 16:2b-3 and John 7:53-8:11, a fairly popular practice among scribes, readers and/or owners of manuscripts (see min. 826 and 828). Something a little bit more obscure is the "Lk" note mentioned by Gregory: indeed, it is hard to believe that this note was written in front of Luke 22:43-44 if PASB was inserted into the Luke's text. It seems more reasonable to suggest that the annotation was copied in front of Luke 22:43-44, but after Matt 26:39, implying a displacement of the pericope from Luke to Matthew.[55]

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[52] Concerning John 7:53-8:11, see K. Aland, B. Aland and K. Wachtel, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* V. 1,2 (ANTF 36; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005) 214, where min. 233 is listed under the "Z" group, indicating a lacuna in the manuscript. Concerning Luke 22:43-44, see *id.*, *Text und Textwert* IV. 3,2 (ANTF 31; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003) 111, where min. 233 is read with PASB.

[53] Matt 16:2b-3 is not a selected textual unit within *Text und Textwert* IV. 2,2 (ANTF 29; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003).

[54] See also K. Aland, B. Aland and K. Wachtel, *Text und Textwert* V. 1,2 (ANTF 36) 212, where min. 829 is listed under the "4" group, indicating "VSS 7,53-8,11 CUM ASTERISCIS VEL OBELIS."

[55] K. Aland, B. Aland and K. Wachtel, *Text und Textwert* IV. 3,2 (ANTF 31) 111, indicate min. 829 as a "1" group, "ADD. VSS 43-44."

Wisse incorporated min. 829 in his "Group 1216" (*The Profile Method*, 109), a group which Hermann von Soden called first I $^{\beta}$ (*Die Schriften* I,2, 1147-1160, see ε220).[56] Wisse explained that "the present GR[oup] 1216 involves only a part of the MSS which von Soden classified as I $^{\beta}$": among them, min. 829 "belongs to GR[oup] 1216 in at least a part of Luke."

In conclusion, even though a better and complete collation of the manuscript is needed, the body of evidence is not strong enough to link min. 829 to Family 13.

6) **Min. 837: Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, I 94 suss.**

Membership of min. 837 with Family 13 witnesses most assuredly came from Hermann von Soden's works. The German scholar affiliated min. 837 (ε415), in his second "*I*—Typ, den ich *J* nenne," he said, especially with min. 230 and 828: "Die Gruppe 218 226 257 368, sowie deren Verwandte 173 219 415" (*Die Schriften* I,2, 1066-1067). He also indicated that "mit weit grösserer Sicherheit ist 415, von dem nur Teile von Mt und Mk uns erhalten sind, als ein Vetter von 226 [min. 346] und 368 [min. 13] zu erkennen, obgleich er in den kollationierten Kapp folgende zahlreiche Sonderlesarten bietet" (*Die Schriften* I,2, 1073). Neglecting von Soden's caution, many scholars accepted min. 837 as a fully-committed member of Family 13: Edward A. Hutton (*An Atlas of Textual Criticism* [Cambridge, 1911]), Rudolf Knopf (*Einführung in das Neue Testament* [Gießen, 1919]), and Ernst von Dobschütz (*Eberhard Nestle's Einführung in das Griechische Neue Testament*, 4th ed. [Göttingen, 1923]).

In 1941, Kirsopp and Silva Lake recalled von Soden' works, writing: "H. von Soden had been studying the Ferrar group and published his results in 1907. He showed that it can be split into three groups: The largest is represented by codd 13, 346, 543, 826 and 828. . . . To these he added 837 in Milan, and 230 in the Escurial." The authors concluded that "neither of these codices seem to be of first class importance, and only Mark i. 1-32 is extant in 837, but we regret that we have no collations of them" (*Family 13, The Ferrar Group, The Text According to Mark*, 5). In 1982, Wisse, still on the basis of von Soden's studies, included min. 837 as a f^{13} member (*The Profile Method*, 106). The same year, in an article devoted to *A Newly Discovered Family 13 Manuscript* (see below), Yvonne Burns gave a short description of min. 837, as she "collated it < herself > from the microfilm in Münster.... It does, however, contain ἀρχαί and τέλοι corresponding to the αβγ system where the relevant pericopae are extant, but these do not happen to include lections for additional weeks" (*Studia Patristica* 17,1: 281).[57]

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[56] Min. 829 = ε220.

As the ms. is very sketchy—it only contains Matt 1:17-5:30, 17:24-24:29, 27:60-28:20, Mark 1:1-32—it is not possible to check any displacement or omission of the pericopes: John 7:53-8:11/Luke 21:38, Luke 22:43-44/Matt 26:39, Matt 16:2b-3. In that way, and in spite of von Soden's agreement, min. 837 cannot currently be considered as a Family 13 member.

7) **Min. 873: Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. gr.* 2165**

In her article Yvonne Burns added also min. 873 to the sub-group a, consisting of min. 13, 346, 543, 826 and 828. "On the basis of my own collations," she added, "I place codex 837 in this sub-group, together with another Ferrar codex I have discovered myself, namely 873" (*A Newly Discovered Family 13 Manuscript*, 281).[58] To be accurate, Yvonne Burns was not the first scholar to link min. 873 to Family 13 members: nearly a century before, in 1893, Harris had already associated it with the Ferrar Group (*On the Origin of the Ferrar-Group*, 1-21). In her search for Family 13 manuscripts, Burns' criteria included: "1. The presence of ῥήματα at the ends of the Gospels, 2. The presence of the 'added material,' 3. A lection system of the α type, especially with the two or more extra weeks characteristic of the Ferrar Group, 4. The presence of the extra Sunday from the Gospel of Luke, 5. The Sicilian and Calabrian festivals in the Menologion, 6. The Pericope Adulterae after Luke xxi:38 (in the middle of the lection for Friday of the eleventh Lucan week in an α lectionary), 7. The Ferrar text itself" (*A Newly Discovered Family 13 Manuscript*, 284). Burns' arguments stated that "although < min. 873 > did not contain a list of lections, it was found to be rubricated for the α type system with the Ferrar Group lections for two extra weeks. The days on which the lections are to be read are clearly stated. In its variants from the Ferrar archetype against the Textus Receptus it agrees with members of sub-group (a), and so has been placed with them" (*A Newly Discovered Family 13 Manuscript*, 281-282).

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[57] According to the author, "the earliest Byzantine weekday gospel lection system is known as the αβγ system, and it is found in four basic types. The actual pericopae are the same in all four types, but those from Mark are found in a different part of the Easter cycle in each of three of the types, while they are absent in the remaining type. The most primitive is the proto-αβγ type, without weekday Marcan lections. Later, Marcan lections were chosen to fill the weeks without lections between the Matthean and the Lucan weekday periods, and the resultant lectionary, known as the α type, contains seven Johannine weeks, nine Matthean, eight Marcan and eleven Lucan.... Certain scribes added the Marcan weekdays after the Lucan by mistake, producing the β type lectionary, while at least one scribe wrote them down for Lent, creating the γ type" (279-280). Burns also referred on p. 288 to W.C. Braithwaite's studies, "The Lection System of the Codex Macedonianus," *JTS* 5 (1904) 265-274.

[58] The author's footnote indicating the ms. shelfmark was unfortunately wrong. Burns stated ms. 873 as "Apostolic Library, Vatican, Rome, Vat. Gr. 2187," instead of "Vat. Gr. 2165." See S. Lilla, *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 2162-2254 (Codices Columnenses)* (Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1985) 8-12.

Unfortunately, considering the f^{13} criteria which we have above developed, Burns' liturgical arguments about the lection system were never totally accepted. Moreover, min. 873 does not displace PA and PASB, only marking them with obeli.[59] Lastly, Wisse indicated min. 873 in his Kmix and K^x profile classification for Luke chapters 1 and 20, recalling von Soden's works (*The Profile Method*, p. 67). Regardless of those doubts, min. 873 should be fully collated and better considered.

8) ***l*574: Siracusa, Biblioteca Alagoniana ms. 3**

Lectionary 574 was the "newly discovered Family 13 manuscript" as mentioned by Yvonne Burns in her 1982 article. Travelling to Rome and to Sicily to classify the Gospel lectionaries in various libraries, she noted that this "not particularly impressive volume in the Alagoniana Library, attached to the Seminary in Syracusa in Sicily, contained the α type weekday lection system, but it also contained weekday lections for two extra weeks, a characteristic of the Ferrar sub-group (a)" (p. 284). Within *l*574 she found also two other peculiar f^{13} criteria: "the four colophons containing the ῥήματα written after the end of the Johannine period, . . . and the added material at the end of the codex." Concerning the text of the pericopes, Burns clearly pointed out the close relationship between *l*574 and min. 124; considering the menologion she emphasized membership between *l*574 and min. 788, and, lastly, she linked the weekday lection system with the sub-group a [min. 13, 346, 543, 826, 828]. She concluded first: "On the one hand, codex 124, *l*574 and codex 788 come from a common archetype which lies between them and x, the Ferrar archetype, since not one of these three codices could have descended from any other one of them." On that point, Burns was quite right and we have demonstrated it according to our fresh collations of min. 124 and 788. Finally, she added: "On the other hand, the weekday lection sytem of *l*574 acts as a bridge between sub-group (b) and sub-group (a)," arguing that "the Saturday-Sunday Ferrar lectionary *l*547, while belonging textually to sub-group (b), contains the Calabrian festival of Elias Spelaeotes characteristic of sub-group (a)." Even if our hagiographical collations agree with Burns' statement, we are a little bit doubtful about such argument. Nobody can firmly argue only on the basis of a unique festival. Unfortunately, Burns never published her full collations of *l*574.

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[59] See K. Aland, B. Aland and K. Wachtel, *Text und Textwert* V. 1,2 (ANTF 36) 212; *id.*, *Text und Textwert* IV. 3,2 (ANTF 31) 111. Concerning POST, Gregory indicated: "Mt 16,2.3 et adult signis damnantur" sic (*Prolegomena*, 590).

In 2002, in an accurate article devoted to *l*574, Santo Lucà went back over Burns' discoveries ("Un codice greco del 1124 in Siracusa," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 38: 69-94). As Lucà's priorities were mostly based on paleographical and historical levels, we still remain with Burns' textual features. Nevertheless, it would be very useful to make a new and careful whole collation of the Syracusan manuscript, including Jacob Geerlings' study about the Vatican lectionary, *l*547.

9) **no GA number: Saracena, Parrocchia di S. Maria del Gamio e delle Armi, framm. 42**

Two years before his survey about the Syracusan lectionary, Santo Lucà added a new member to Family 13: a unique folio from a Greek manuscript, housed in the parish of S. Maria del Gamio e delle Armi, in Saracena, a Calabrian village, near Castrovillari ("Frammenti di codici greci in Calabria," *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, 67: 176-188). On the verso, the author emphasized that the text "conserva un frammento del vangelo di *Lc*. 2. 5-14." As the document is hardly readable, Lucà suggested that, "sulla base del testo trascritto sul *verso*, si evince che il *recto* contenava grosso modo le pericopi di *Lc*. 1.76-2.4." After a detailed palaeographical study, the author concluded that the fragment "è latore di un Tetravangelo della famiglia 13."

In 2006, on a journey through Southern Italy, we had the opportunity to stay three days in Saracena, warmly welcomed by Padre Leone Boniface, priest of the parish church. Our direct consultation of the document confirmed that this short passage of the Gospel of Luke: 1:74-2:14 had no Family 13 textual features. This conclusion was soon strengthened by our discovery of a new folio from the same Gospel, housed in Castrovillari, five kilometers away from Saracena, in the Chiesa Monumentale di San Giuliano.[60] As far as we know, the Castrovillari fragment has never been described: it contains Luke 2:46-3:9 with an exact similar handwriting, which means that this unrecorded folio was part of the same manuscript as the Saracena fragment.[61] None of them can be accepted as new Family 13 members.

10) **Min. 1346: Jerusalem,** Πατριαρχικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Σάββα **606**

This minuscule was added as a new Family 13 member by Reuben Swanson in his four volumes edition of the *New Testament Greek Manuscripts, Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines Against Codex Vaticanus* (Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, 1995). The introductory matter—virtually identical in all four volumes—stated that "the symbol f^{13} represents minuscules 13, 69, 124, 788, and 1346 read for this work, although these may be cited individually when not in agreement" (p. ix). Then, the author added that "the identification of minuscule 1346 to be a member of this family is a new and important finding by the editor."

Unfortunately, min. 1346, albeit quite correctly recorded as housed in Jerusalem in Swanson's list of manuscripts, is not a new family witness. Textual evidence, based on our extensive collations of min. 346, have proved that all the singular readings of min. 1346 quoted by Swanson are, in all truth, singular readings of the Milan manuscript. Here below are a few examples from the Gospel of Mark:

6:45 ἕως αὐτὸν ἀπολύσῃ min. 346 (Swanson min. 1346)
9:36 ἐγκαλισάμενος min. 346 (Swanson min. 1346)
14:29 σκανδαλισθήσεται min. 346 (Swanson min. 1346)
15:36 *om.* σπόγγον min. 346 (Swanson min. 1346)

Consequently, in spite of a praiseworthy enterprise, one should be very careful about the peculiar readings of Swanson's editions: not only about min. 1346 but about min. 13 too, as many peculiar occurrences recorded under the "f^{13}" siglum are to be attributed to the unique Parisian manuscript, min. 13.

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[60] We express here our gratitude to Giuseppe Di Gaetani, sacristan of the San Julian church who gave us direct access to the fragment (January 17, 2006).

[61] An accurate counting of the words written on each column suggests us that one folio was missing between the extant fragments. We hope to publish later a more precise description of them.

In that way, and even when we have no extensive collations of min. 1346, it is hard to include it as a new Family 13 witness. Moreover, a quick glance at *Text und Textwert* shows that PA is not displaced (p. 211).[62]

11) **Min. 1709: Tiranë, Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e Arkivave, Kodiku i Beratit 19** (Fonds Kodikët e Shqipërisë (488), Dosjes 19)

As a Family 13 member, min. 1709 appeared first in Alexander Souter's *Nouum Testamentum Graece*, published in Oxford in 1910 (pp. x, xiv). The author stated that the mention "13 &c." is for "consensus codicum 13-69-124-230-346-543-788-826-828-983-1689-1709, qui omnes uel fere omnes ad archetypum unum redeunt, qui olim in Sicilia aut Calabria erat."[63] Three years later, in his first edition of *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, Souter always included min. 1709 in Family 13 (p. 32). In 1916 J.O.F. Murray recorded it also in his *Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (p. 47), as Burnett Hillmann Streeter did in 1924, in his first edition of *The Four Gospels* (pp. 80-81). One year later min. 1709 is mentioned by A.T. Robertson (*An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 95), and in 1929, by M.J. Lagrange ("Le groupe dit césaréen des manuscrits des Évangiles," *Revue Biblique* 38: 484).

In spite of the above scholars, some others—such as von Soden, Gregory and Lake—did not link min. 1709 with the Ferrar Group. In 1902 von Soden classified min. 1709 in his "ε-Codices," giving a short description of it: "ε1053 Berat, Εκκλησια της Κοιμησεως 7.—15,4x11,8, 21 l, 204f; vac. Mt 1 1-12 29, 12 58-14 32, [14 32-16 2 stark verstümmelt], 28 20-Mk 4 10, 14 60-Lk 1 1, 6-10" sic (*Die Schriften* I,1, 136). Moreover, the minuscule never appeared in his I^{ι} profile classification (*Die Schriften*, I,2, 1067-

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[62] Min. 1346 is not recorded for PASB in K. Aland, B. Aland and K. Wachtel, *Text und Textwert* IV. 3,2 (ANTF 31) 111.

[63] The author used, either "13 &c." or the Gregory numbering proper to each manuscript. He explained: "13 (&c.) et (13) &c. uide 1 &c." sic. So, for Family 1: "1 &c. = consensus codicum 1-118-131-209, qui archetypum omnium deperditum repraesentat: de cuius lectionibus ubi aliquantulum dubbi est, 1 (&c.) aut (1) &c. scribo." See J.K. Elliott, *A Survey of Manuscripts Used in Editions of the Greek New Testament* (Supplements to Novum Testamentum 57; Leiden: Brill, 1987). As Elliott stated, min. 230, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689 and 1709 "seem not to have been used in the apparatus, and are bracketed in this survey. < They > are not explicitly given in the apparatus because their readings are concealed under a family siglum" (p. xxxi).

1089), but inside his K^x text, where von Soden classified it as "nicht eingegliederte *K*-Codd.... nicht kollationiert worden ist die μ[οιχαλίς] aus Missverständnis oder Zeitmangel in 1051 1053..." (*ibid.*, p. 751).

In 1909, Gregory described min. 1709 as "Berat (Alexoudes 36) 14. (?) Jhdt, 16x11, Papier, 210 Bl, 1 Sp, 21 Z: *Evv* mut.," referring to the 1898 Anthimos Alexoudis publication.[64] Gregory has noted that the Alexoudis plate cross-reference was wrong: "Πίν. Β ἀρ. 23," instead of "Tafel *IB'* 23., der aus Versehen diese Handschrift ein Evangelium nennt." Gregory added also that "auch braucht Alexoudes an einer Stelle für ein Evangelium das westliche Wort Evangelistarion; er scheint überhaupt seine Wörter nicht sehr anzusehen. Sd ε 1053, wie es scheint."[65]

The number of these inaccuracies (paper or parchment, lectionary or four Gospels, number of folios) added to numerous questions (apart from Alexoudis, did anybody else directly consult the manuscript?) constrasts strongly with the Family 13 membership which we have recalled above. Later on, in 1968, min. 1709 was then described by Johannes Koder and Erich Trapp as an "Euangelion," asserting that the ms. contained "[die] Lesungen zu den beweglichen Festen" (ff. 1-140), before John's Gospel (ff. 143-194v).[66] Lastly, in the mid 1980's, Teophan Popa described the manuscript as "Emërtimi-ungjill në perikope."[67] No Family 13 membership was mentioned by those three scholars but, oddly enough, min. 1709 still remained a f^{13} witness until Nestle-Aland 27^a.

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[64] Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς συνοικίας Κάστρου, πόλεως Βερατίου τῆς Μητροπόλεως βελεγράδων εὑρισκομένων ἀρχαίων χειρογράφων, in Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῶν ἐτῶν 1896 καὶ 1897, ἐν Ἀθήναις, p. 366.

[65] It has to be noted that, in 1900, Alexoudis described again min. 1709 as "Τεῦχος Κ' ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ φύλλων μεμβράνης 210...," without any textual feature. See Κώδικες ἐπαρχίας Βελεγράδων, Κατάλογος μετὰ περιγραφῆς χειρογράφων κωδίκων ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὕλης, εὑρισκομένων ἐν Βερατίῳ καὶ ἰδίως ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς συνοικίας Κάστρου, οἷον τῆς Μητροπόλεως Βελεγράδων τῆς ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου τιμωμένης, τῆς Παναγίας Εὐαγγελιστρίας, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου, in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, Τεῦχος μηνὸς Νοεμβρίου, ἔτος Κ', Ἀριθ. 48: 526.

[66] *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 17 (1968) 207-208.

[67] Popa did not intend to publish his descriptions of Greek manuscripts from Albania. He wrote those first for the inner service of the Archives, describing each ms. on a sheet of paper. All of these sheets were finally published in the *Katalog i kodikëve kishtarë mesjetarë të Shqipërisë*, in *Kodikët e Shqipërisë* (Tiranë: Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e Arkivave, 2003) 87-198.

Our journeys through Albania gave us the opportunity to consult min. 1709. Firstly, this ms. should not be considered as a lectionary (ff. 1-140), followed by a Gospel containing John only (ff. 141-194). The extant texts are: Matt 18:3-28:20 (ff. 1r-32v), Mark 4:10-14:60 (ff. 33r-64v), Luke 1:2-24:53 (ff. 65r-141r), and John 1:1-21:25 (144r-195v). All these texts are continuous texts and not pericopes written in a liturgical order. Even if min. 1709 begins with Matt 18:3—"zum Montag der 9. Woche nach Pfingsten" as described by Koder-Trapp—the following verses are written in Gospel order until the end of Matthew.

Secondly, min. 1709 does not displace PA (ff. 162v-163v) after Luke 21:38. We edit below the text of PA with variations from the Nestle-Aland text:

7:53	επορευθησαν] απηλθεν 1709
7:53	τον οικον 1709
8:1	ιησους δε επορευθη] και ο ι(ησου)ς δε επορευθη 1709
8:1	εις το ορος 1709
8:2	ορθρου δε παλιν βαθεος 1709
8:2	παρεγενετο] ηλθεν 1709
8:2	και πας ο λαος ηρχετο προς αυτον και καθησας εδιδασκεν αυτους 1709
8:3	αγουσι δε 1709
8:3	sine add. post φαρισαιοι 1709
8:3	γυναικα επι μοιχεια 1709
8:3	στησαντες 1709
8:3	εν μεσω] εν τω μεσω 1709
8:4	λεγουσιν] ειπον 1709
8:4	sine add. post αυτω 1709
8:4	αυτη η γυνη κατειληπται επ` αυτοφωρω μοιχευομενη] ταυτην ευρομεν επ’ αυτοφορω μοιχευομενην 1709
8:5	ημιν] ημων 1709
8:5	μωυσης 1709
8:5	λιθαζειν 1709
8:5	add. fin. uers. περι αυτης 1709
8:6	εχωσιν] εχωσι 1709
8:6	κατηγορειν αυτου] κατηγοριαν κατ αυτου 1709
8:6	κατω κυψας 1709
8:6	τω δακτυλω 1709
8:6	κατεγραφεν] εγραφεν 1709

8:6 add. fin uers. μη προσποιουμενος 1709
8:7 ερωτωντες] επερωτωντες 1709
8:7 αυτον 1709
8:7 ανεκυψεν και] ανακυψας 1709
8:7 αυτοις] προς αυτους 1709
8:7 πρωτος 1709
8:7 επ αυτην βαλετω λιθον] λιθον βαλετω επ αυτην 1709
8:8 κατακυψας] κατωκυψας 1709
8:8 εγραφεν 1709
8:9 οι δε ακουσαντες 1709
8:9 εξηρχοντο εις καθ’ εις] και υπο της συνειδησεως ελεγχομενοι εξηρχοντο εις καθ’ εις 1709
8:9 add. εως των εσχατων post των πρεσβυτερων 1709
8:9 κατελειφθη 1709
8:9 μονος] ο ι(ησου)ς μονος 1709
8:9 εν μεσω] εμμεσω 1709
8:9 ουσα 1709
8:10 ανακυψας] αναβλεψας 1709
8:10 add. ειδεν αυτην και ante ειπεν 1709
8:10 ειπεν 1709
8:10 om. αυτη ante γυναι 1709
8:10 add. οι κατηγοροι σου post που εισιν 1709
8:11 ειπεν δε ο ιησους] ειπεν δε αυτη ο ι(ησου)ς 1709
8:11 πορευου 1709
8:11 και απο του νυν 1709

We conclude with three points: (1) Min. 1709 is a four Gospels ms. representing a single codicological unit. (2) PA is not displaced after Luke 21:38 and the two places are not marked with asterisks or obeli; the text of the pericope mostly refers to the Byzantine text type. (3) PASB is not displaced after Matt 26:39: min. 1709 adds only "και αναστας απο της προσευχης" (f. 25r).

9. Conclusion

The above list of the eleven currently non-registered Family 13 manuscripts is not an exhaustive one and more witnesses were—and still are—proposed for membership. Min. 1071 was added in 1923 by Ernst von Dobschütz, and just recently some minuscules housed in the Albanian National Archives of Tirana have been suggested as new Family 13 members: min. 1141 (ANA 4) and min. 2900 (ANA 85).[68] Our direct examination of min. 1141 and min. 2900 showed us that, for each of those mss., the pericope of the adulteress is missing in John but added at the end of the book. These examples illustrate perfectly the main dilemma of *f*¹³'s peculiar features: Is the transfer of the pericope of the adulteress the main criterion for discerning a new Family 13 member? Our answer is negative. Even if this pericope is an important criterion, this is not the only one. In addition, the mention of the ῥήματα and στίχοι, the lection system, the palaeographical characteristics showing that most of these manuscripts were written in Southern Italy, are not sufficent to establish a firm relationship.

Our survey confirms here that the main features of Family 13 remain the transfer of the pericope of the angel and the sweat like drops of blood after Matthew 26:39, the omission of the sign of the times in Matthew 16:2b-3, the hagiographical criteria and the transfer of the pericope of the adulteress after Luke 21:38. But these criteria cannot be summarized as a whole for all the currently accepted group members: min. 13, 69, 124, 174, 230, 346, 543, 788, 826, 828, 983, 1689 and *l*547. None of those manuscripts include all of them. Moreover, for many of those manuscripts, some pericopes were subjected to emendations. The main difficulty for New Testament textual criticism is to discriminate between the origin of those corrections, looking for who has corrected the manuscript. Our survey suggests that—especially for Luke 22:42-44, but also for the pericope of the adulteress—the scribes of the Family 13 manuscripts were aware of their peculiar text. Some of them were absolutely faithful to their exemplar, some others sidestepped the issue with crosses or obeli inside the main text, or copying the same pericope twice. Therefore, as so often the tree hides the forest, the only and unique criterion for Family 13 members remains today the entire text, not only including the above mentioned criteria but the singular readings too.

For more than a century, the constant addition of new witnesses to Family 13 proves how much the debate is still alive. It perpetuates both acuteness and relevance of the contemporaneous and future New Testament textual criticism research. It demonstrates also the unintentional quest of a lost uncial according to Ferrar's pious hope. Our current interest in digital campaigns (*Center for the Studies of the New Testament Manu-*

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[68] See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Family_13 (accessed September 24, 2011).

scripts, Dallas Seminary, http://www.csntm.org), electronic editions (*Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing*, University of Birmingham, http://itsee.bham.ac.uk), and critical editions joining together Greek, Latin, and ancient versions of the Gospels (*Marc Multilingue*, http://www.safran.be/marcmultilingue) are not only fruitful sources of information, but also the best positive signs for the continuity of New Testament research.

Table 1. **The Pericope of the Adulteress (PA)**

	Transfer from John 7:53-8:11 after Luke 21:38	**John 7:53-8:11 Location**	**Luke 21:38 Location**	**Emendation of the Text of the Pericope**	**Commentary inside the Text or in the Margin**
GA 13	YES	Nothing	Just one cross at the beginning of Luke 21:38	NO	NO
GA 69	YES	Marginal commentary	Pericope into brackets	NO	Owner commentaries (William Chark)
GA 124	YES	John 7:53 written between John 7:52 and John 8:12	Nothing	NO	NO
GA 174	NO	Marginal commentary	Nothing	NO	Copyist commentary in central margin
GA 230	NO	Each line obelized	Annotation between Luke 21:38 and Luke 22:1 and in the upper left margin	Undetermined	Undetermined
GA 346	YES	Marginal commentary	Marginal commentary	NO	17th-18th hand commentaries (Latin)
GA 543	YES	Nothing	Commentary after Luke 21:38	NO	Undetermined
GA 788	YES	Nothing	Nothing	NO	NO
GA 826	YES	Right marginal annotation plus textual annotation after John 7:52	Marginal annotation after Luke 21:38	NO	Later hand annotations

Table 1 (*cont.*)

	Transfer from John 7:53-8:11 after Luke 21:38	**John 7:53-8:11 Location**	**Luke 21:38 Location**	**Emendation of the Text of the Pericope**	**Commentary inside the Text or in the Margin**
GA 828	YES	One bracket after John 7:52 and textual commentaries in lower margin	Nothing	NO	17th-18th hand commentaries (Latin)
GA 983	YES	Right margin annotation	Annotation in central margin in front of Luke 22:1	Undetermined	Undetermined
GA 1689	NO	Red written obelus within the text after John 7:52	Nothing	NO	NO

Table 2. **The Pericope of the Angel and the Sweat Like Drops of Blood (PASB)**

	Transfer from Luke 22:43-44 to Matt 26:39	**Luke 22:43-44 Location**	**Matt 26:39 Location**	**Emendation of the Text of the Pericope**	**Commentary inside the Text or in the Margin**
GA 13	Pericope missing in Luke	Textual and marginal obeli with ωφθη δε after Luke 22:42	Manuscript lacuna	NO	Undetermined
GA 69	YES	Nothing	Nothing	NO	NO
GA 124	YES	Nothing	Marginal cross-reference to Luke in front of Matt 26:39	NO	Hand copyist cross-reference
GA 174	NO	Marginal cross-reference to Matt after Luke 22:44	Lower margin cross-reference to Luke	NO	Marginal cross-reference to Matt (later hand) and lower margin cross-reference (could be the copyist's hand)
GA 230	NO	Each line obelized and cross-reference to Matt in lower margin	Nothing	NO	Later hand obeli
GA 346	BOTH PLACES	Nothing	Red ink written λουκ(ας) after Matt 26:39 and μ(α) θ(θαιον) in front of Matt 26:40	Text of the pericope little bit different from Luke to Matt	NO
GA 543	YES	Nothing	Nothing	NO	NO

Table 2 (*cont.*)

	Transfer from Luke 22:43-44 to Matt 26:39	Luke 22:43-44 Location	Matt 26:39 Location	Emendation of the Text of the Pericope	Commentary inside the Text or in the Margin
GA 788	YES	ωφθη δε [non legitur] added to the end of Luke 22:42	κ(ατα) φη(σι) [non legitur] added to the end of Matt 26:39	NO	Textual references due to the same later hand
GA 826	YES	ωφθη added to the end of Luke 22:42	Λο(υκας) in front of Luke 22:43 and μ(α)θ(θαιος) twice at the beginning of Matt 26:40	NO	ωφθη in Luke: copyist's writing; cross-references in Matt: doubtful hand
GA 828	BOTH PLACES	Nothing	λο(υκας) in the right margin	Text of the pericope is the same in Luke and Matt	λο(υκας) in the margin: copyist's writing
GA 983	BOTH PLACES	Three marginal notes	Nothing	Text of the pericope is the same in Luke and Matt	Same later hand for the three notes in Luke
GA 1689	NO	Pericope surrounded by red obeli within the text and explanation of the obeli written in red (upper margin)	Black cross-reference to Luke in the right margin	NO	Red obeli by the copyist's hand but later hand for reference to Luke in Matt

Table 3. **The Pericope of the Sign of the Times: Matt 16:2b-3 (POST)**

	Omission of the Pericope		Emendation of the Text of the Pericope	Commentary inside the Text or in the Margin
GA 13	YES	Presence of Matt 16:2a	NO	NO
GA 69	Manuscript lacuna	Manuscript lacuna	Manuscript lacuna	Manuscript lacuna
GA 124	YES	Presence of Matt 16:2a	YES with the addition by the copyist's hand: η γενεα αυτη between Matt 16:2a and Matt 16:4	NO
GA 174	YES	Presence of Matt 16:2a	NO	NO
GA 230	NO	/	Each line obelized	Later hand obeli
GA 346	NO	/	NO	NO
GA 543	YES	Presence of Matt 16:2a	NO	Text of the pericope written in the right margin (later hand)
GA 788	YES	Presence of Matt 16:2a	NO	NO
GA 826	YES	Presence of Matt 16:2a	NO	Cross-reference (later hand) between Matt 16:2a and Matt 16:4
GA 828	YES	Presence of Matt 16:2a	NO	NO
GA 983	NO	/	NO	Doubtful concise annotations inside the text and in the right margin
GA 1689	NO	/	NO	NO

Table 4. **The Hagiographical Criteria**

	Elias Spelaeotes (BHG 581)	Leo episcopus Cataniae (BHG 981)	Maurus (BHG 2267)	Conon (BHG 360, 360a, 360b)	Vitus, Modestus and Crescentia (BHG 1876)	Kalogèros	Phantinus (BHG 1508-1509)	Donatus	Phantinus iunior (BHG 2366z-2367)
GA 13	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
GA 69	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
GA 124	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
GA 174	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
GA 230	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
GA 346	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
GA 543	YES	unreadable	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
GA 788	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO
GA 826	YES	lacuna	lacuna	lacuna	lacuna	lacuna	lacuna	lacuna	lacuna
GA 828	doubtful	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
GA 983	unreadable	YES	YES	unreadable	YES	unreadable	YES	YES	YES
GA 1689	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
GA *l*547	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO

Table 5. **The "Added Material"**

	De thronis Patriarcharum	**Ordo et nomina regionum Africae**	**De gradibus ecclesiasticae hierarchiae**	**De figuris quattuor euangelistarum**	**E Constitutionibus Apostolicis: regula Nicaeae de ieiunio quadragesimali**	**E Constitutionibus Apostolicis: De Pascha**	**De decem Domini apparitionibus post Resurrectionem**	**De nominibus duodecim Apostolorum**	**Quaestiones et responsiones in Euangelia**
GA 13	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
GA 69	YES	None	None	None	None	None	None	YES	None
GA 124	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
GA 174	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
GA 230	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
GA 346	YES	YES	YES	YES	None	None	YES	YES	None
GA 543	YES	YES	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
GA 788	YES	YES	YES	None	YES	YES	YES	YES	None
GA 826	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
GA 828	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
GA 983	YES	None	YES	YES	None	None	YES	None	YES
GA 1689	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None	None
GA *l*547	YES	None	YES	None	YES	None	None	None	YES

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Rewriting Abraham and Joseph

Stephen's Speech (Acts 7:2-16) and Jewish Exegetical Traditions

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Abstract
In the conclusion of his recent article "Acts and the Fragmentary Jewish Authors" (*NovT* 53 [2011] 22-51), C.R. Holladay suggested the need for further work in comparative hermeneutics in relation to the Acts of the Apostles. In response to Holladay's call, this article explicates the use of Genesis in Acts 7:2-16 in light of the use of Genesis in select Jewish texts, from the LXX to those from the rabbinic period, focusing particularly, though not exclusively, on the impact of certain exegetical traditions found in *Jubilees*, Philo's *De Abrahamo, and* Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities.*

Keywords
Acts of the Apostles, Hellenistic Judaism, Jewish hermeneutics, Josephus, Philo, Jewish exegetical techniques

Introduction

In the study of the Acts of the Apostles, the impact of Jewish exegetical techniques and interpretive traditions on "Luke's"[1] use of the LXX is often under-appreciated. Recently, however, C.R. Holladay has brought once more to the fore the issue of the relation of the Acts to its Hellenistic Jewish milieu.[2] In response to Holladay's concluding call to revive the use of comparative hermeneutics, especially in the study of Acts, this article focuses on the use of Genesis in Acts 7:2-16 in light of the use of Genesis in certain Jewish texts from the LXX to those from the rabbinic period,

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[1] For the sake of simplicity, I refer to the author of Acts with the traditional, "Luke."

[2] C.R. Holladay, "Acts and the Fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish Authors," *NovT* 53 (2011) 22-51.

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concentrating specifically on the hermeneutical similarities and differences between Acts 7:2-16 and the LXX, *Jubilees*, Philo's *Legum allegoriae, De Abrahamo* and *De Iosepho, Liber antiquitatum biblicarum,* Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, and *Genesis Rabbah* and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*. Noting the indebtedness of the Stephen speech to ancient rhetoric, this article will explore the relationship between the use of rhetoric in Stephen's *refutatio* and his use of Genesis therein (7:2-16)—especially, as it compares with other versions of these sections of the Genesis narrative. Two questions immediately arise: (1) How have other ancient texts understood the Abraham and Joseph cycles, particularly those events which feature in Acts 7:2-16?, and (2) How does the Lukan Stephen use Genesis, and associated interpretive tradition, in the opening section of his *refutatio*?

In order to answer these questions, this article explores the use of Genesis in other Jewish texts as it relates to the episodes covered in Acts 7:2-16. We will proceed in more or less chronological order, attempting to isolate those places where these texts diverge from the MT or LXX. Similarities, differences, and other connections will be noted along the way with a view toward isolating common traditions. Because of the exegetical tradition associated with these texts, the discussion will often gravitate toward the given text's distinctive features regarding the call of Abraham (Gen 11:26-12:4). At this point, we will turn our attention to the use of Genesis in Acts 7:2-16. There we will pay particular attention to which interpretive traditions and what exegetical techniques are used to assist the author's persuasive purposes. Finally, some observations are made regarding what sort of view of scripture is portrayed by Luke's use of Genesis in Stephen's speech, and possible lines of further inquiry are proposed. Yet before we begin our investigation into the ancient Jewish literature, it seems beneficial to offer an overview of Genesis in Acts 7:2-16.

In Acts 7:2-16, Luke weaves a tapestry of citations from the LXX and additions to the texts, along with added verbal material to the speech itself. The result is that it would be difficult for the audience to detect audibly when Genesis stops and the Lukan Stephen begins. The septuagintal text of Genesis is only cited verbatim on three occasions in the opening lines of the Stephen speech (Acts 7:3 / Gen 12:1; Acts 7:5 / Gen 48:4, cf. 17:8; and Acts 7:6 / Gen 15:13, cf. Exod 2:22; 3:12); the remainder is put into interpretive paraphrase through the use of omission and addition, which sometimes implements standing traditions evidently in the air at the time of composition.[3]

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[3] For a thorough treatment on the use of the LXX in Acts, see W.K.L Clarke, "The Use of the Septuagint in Acts," in *Prolegomena II* (eds. F.J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake; vol. 2 of

Throughout the entirety of Acts 7:2-16, God—and his saving action—is clearly the focus of the narrative.[4] As for the Abraham cycle, Luke includes the call of Abraham by God (Acts 7:2-4), his promise of the land to Abraham and his descendants (7:5), whom he will redeem from the exile into which they will fall (7:6-7); the giving of circumcision and the birth and circumcision of Isaac (7:8). Everything else, including the episodes with Sarai and Pharaoh (and the parallel with Abimelech), the taking of Hagar and the birth of Ishmael, the conflict between Hagar and Sarai—everything that could in any way present Abraham in a negative light, has been omitted. The narrative is thus considerably streamlined.

In the construction of the Joseph cycle, Luke includes the selling of Joseph to Egypt from his brothers, "the patriarchs" (Acts 7:9); Joseph's deliverance through his trials in Egypt and his elevation to the position of ruler over Egypt (7:10); and the reconciliation of Joseph with his brothers through the famine (7:11-16). Just as the Abraham cycle is streamlined, so also the Joseph cycle, which presents Joseph as the paragon of righteousness and the object of God's deliverance (e.g., "but God was with him" in 7:9).

Having offered a brief overview of the use and reworking of Genesis in Acts 7:2-16, we now turn to the treatment of the Abraham and Joseph cycles in ancient Jewish literature.

Abraham and Joseph Traditions in Jewish Literature

Abraham and Joseph make appearances throughout the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period and beyond. In what follows, I offer a detailed discussion of the most relevant aspects of the portrayals of Abraham and Joseph in the LXX; *Jubilees*; Philo; *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities; Genesis Rabbah*; and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*.[5] Thus, I am not attempting to offer a complete *Traditionsgeschichte* of these two figures; instead, I am presenting a survey of the versions of the traditions associated with the episodes portrayed in Acts 7:2-16, with an eye to the

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The Beginnings of Christianity, eds. Foakes-Jackson and Lake; New York: Macmillian, 1920-1933) 64-105.

[4] As M.C. Parsons points out, support for this assertion is found in the use of inflection for θεός in Acts 7:2-53, where it is inflected in all the cases, except the vocative (nominative: 7:2, 6, 7, 9, 17, 25, 32 [twice]; genitive: 7:43, 46, 56; dative: 7:20; and accusative: 7:40); M.C. Parsons, *Acts* (Paideia; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2008) 91.

[5] All translations, unless otherwise indicated, are my own. To these texts, we might add the fragments of Artapanus and Ps.-Eupolemus, which will also supplement the discussion where relevant.

exegetical techniques used to accomplish the portrayals and the recurring traditions that are uncovered along the way. While we will survey all of these texts, we will pay particular attention to *Jubilees* and the works of Philo and Josephus since they share particularly important unique features in their use of Genesis and the use of Genesis evinced in Acts 7:2-16.

The Septuagint

We begin our trek with the LXX, which, when compared to the other versions of the Abraham and Joseph cycles, differs very little from the MT. First, while the chronology differs considerably with regard to the genealogies in the MT and LXX in Genesis *in general*, they are the same with regard to Terah and Abraham with one notable exception. In Gen 11:32 MT, the record of Terah's years, we are told that Terah lived 205 years and that he died in Haran (ויהיו ימי תרח חמש שנים ומאתים שנה וימת תרח בחרן). However, in the LXX, we are told that the years of Terah *in Haran* were 205 and that he died there in Haran (καὶ ἐγένοντο αἱ ἡμέραι Θαρα ἐν Χαρραν διακόσια πέντε ἔτη, καὶ ἀπέθανεν Θαρα ἐν Χαρραν). The reading from the LXX suggests that Terah must still be alive when Abraham sends Nahor to find a wife for Isaac. While explanations offered for such emendations[6] must always remain tentative, it is possible that the translator(s) of this part of the LXX may have been constrained by a literal interpretation of Gen 24:38: "Go to my *father's* house."[7] What may at first seem an insignificant alteration, whatever the motivation, becomes more significant when we note that Acts 7:2-16, which utilizes the LXX, specifies that Terah is in fact dead *before* God charges Abraham to emigrate from Haran to Canaan (7:4, see below).

The LXX has two other emendations to the MT worthy of mention. In Gen 46:27 MT, we are told that Joseph had *two* sons, who were born in Egypt and that the number of the house of Jacob who came into Egypt was

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[6] It is, of course, possible that ἐν Χαρραν is accidentally included in the first clause in a sort of retrojected dittography from Θαρα ἐν Χαρραν later in Gen 11:32 LXX. However, that (1) there is no MSS for an omission of the initial ἐν Χαρραν, and (2) that such a retrojected dittography seems a generally less likely scenario, argues for the authenticity of the reading that Terah lived 205 years *in Haran*. Of course, the explanation of the rise of the reading is in some sense irrelevant for understanding its relation to Acts 7. The text as it stood at the time of the composition of Acts 7:2-16 is most important for the task at hand.

[7] G. Larsson, "The Chronology of the Pentateuch: A Comparison of the MT and LXX," *JBL* 102 (1983) 406.

seventy. However, the LXX increases both of these numbers so that Joseph had *nine* sons born to him in Egypt and the size of Jacob's house that travelled to Egypt was *seventy-five*,[8] as seen below:

ובני יוסף אשר ילד לו במצרים נפש שנים כל הנפש לבית יעקב הבאה מצרימה שבעים	υἱοὶ δὲ Ιωσηφ οἱ γενόμενοι αὐτῷ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ψυχαὶ ἐννέα. πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ οἴκου Ιακωβ αἱ εἰσελθοῦσαι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε.

Again, the significance of these emendations is underscored by its relation to Acts 7:14, which follows the LXX in having Jacob's family who came into Egypt be seventy-five in number.

While the LXX makes small, but significant, emendations to the MT, for the most part, it follows the text rather carefully in the Abraham and Joseph cycles. As we move onto the rest of our Jewish texts, however, we shall see that the restraint found in the LXX was often in short supply.

Jubilees

Composed in the middle of the second century B.C.E., between 170-150,[9] *Jubilees* represents the paragon of rewritten scripture, using Genesis and Exodus as base texts to create a new composition, however rife with scriptural language, through common Jewish exegetical techniques of addition, omission, rearrangement, etc.[10] Yet, at key events, *Jubilees* follows the text of Genesis rather closely (e.g. Gen 12:1-3 in *Jub.* 12.22-24).[11]

Jubilees offers a thoroughly expanded edition of the Abraham cycle (*Jub.* 11.14-23.7), which includes most of the events of the base text. It does, however, move rather quickly over distasteful episodes that might present Abraham in a negative light. For example, it only briefly mentions the encounter between Sarai and Pharaoh (*Jub.* 13.13-15).[12] There are also significant departures from the base text that relate to the study at hand.

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8) On the difference between the MT and LXX on this score as a difference in numbering systems, see H. Cadbury and K. Lake, *The Acts of the Apostles* (vol. 4 of *The Beginnings of Christianity*; eds. F.J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake; New York: Macmillan, 1920) 73 n. 14.

9) S.W. Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008) 62.

10) Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 62.

11) See also *Jub.* 1.7-8 on Deut 31:20-21a; *Jub.* 23:15 on Ps 90:10.

12) The parallel with Abimelech and Sarai is omitted entirely (cf. Gen 20:1-18).

In the recounting of Abram's emigration from Ur, the composer places the famous lines from God, beginning "Come forth from your land…"[13] (*Jub.* 12.22-24), in response to Abraham's own repentance from his native religion, and discovery of monotheism, as he lies under the stars one night, trying to discern the coming rain fall (*Jub.* 12.16-21). Additionally, Terah does not die in *Jubilees*, but merely ceases to show up in the narrative. Not only is the death of Abram's father, Terah, excluded from *Jubilees*, but the composer adds a scene where Terah blesses Abram as he sets out from Haran to Canaan. The blessing itself, which invokes the "God eternal" and uses the Divine Name, portrays Terah as having followed his son in abandoning Chaldean religion to follow the one true God (*Jub.* 12.29). Thus, *Jubilees* disagrees squarely with the text of Gen 11:32, which states quite clearly that "the days of Terah were 205 years; and Terah died in Haran." As we will see below, it also disagrees with Acts 7:4, which has Terah die *before* Abraham's emigration from Haran.

The rewriting of the Joseph cycle (*Jub.* 34, 39-46) is treated with similar completeness as with Abraham, but focuses particularly on Joseph's relations with his brothers, Potiphar's wife, and the Egyptians.[14] Additionally, as with Abraham, *Jubilees* seems to censor details in Joseph's life that might present him negatively. For example, in its rewriting of Joseph's betrayal at the hands of his brothers, *Jubilees* has no reference whatsoever to Joseph's dreams, which had so incensed his brothers (cf. *Jub.* 34.10-14). Instead of risking a portrayal of Joseph as arrogant, desiring his brothers to pay him homage (Gen 37:10), the composer excises all mention of the dream with the result that the audience is left only with Joseph's wrongful betrayal into the hands of the Egyptians. The purpose of these omissions, along with others in the narrative, is to portray Israel's ancestors as models of virtue, whose ethics are to be emulated.[15] Moreover, Joseph is presented as the epitome of wisdom and knowledge (*Jub.* 40.5), which rises to the surface throughout ancient Jewish characterizations of Joseph, as we shall see below.

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[13] All translations from *Jubilees* are from O.S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; ABRL; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985).

[14] M.R. Niehoff, *The Figure of Joseph in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature* (AGJU 16; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 41-46.

[15] See Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 73-75.

Philo

Let us now turn to Philo of Alexandria. In his *Legum allegoriae*, we find only one relevant reference to Abraham, the remainder[16] deals with episodes not found from Acts 7. In *Leg.* 2.58 he mentions the call of Abraham in passing, suggesting that Abraham was "naked," that is, morally neutral (*Leg.* 2.53), when he was called by God in Gen 12:1. Likewise, neither does *Legum allegoriae* mention the relevant episodes of Joseph.[17] Fortunately, Philo dedicated works to both our characters.

In his *bioi*,[18] *De Abrahamo* and *De Iosepho*, Philo alternates between offering a "literal" understanding, followed by the "allegorical" sense of the passage under consideration. Scripture is rarely quoted and is instead retold, so that a new version of the old story is produced. Because the author of Acts is not concerned with an allegorical meaning of the Jewish scriptures, despite its popularity in the first century (at least in Alexandria), we will only entertain three specific examples of Philo's elucidations, both from the Abraham cycle. In *Abr.* 60-61 Philo describes Abraham in a manner similar to what we just saw in *Jubilees*, namely, Abraham is the exemplar of piety, virtue, and understanding. Philo does not say explicitly, but the flow of thought leads one to the understanding that the oracle (λογίῳ) Abraham received which directed him to leave his country was given by God in response to his excellence. In *Abr.* 62, Philo seems to assume that Abraham was called by God to leave his family and country *not* when he was in Haran (so Gen 12.1, 4), but while he was still in Chaldea. What is implied by Philo in *Abr.* 62 is also suggested in 67, which claims that Abraham left Chaldea for Haran under a "free and unfettered impulse" (ἐλευθέραις καὶ ἀφέτοις ὁρμαῖς).[19] Aside from Acts 7:2, which we will discuss below, the tradition that Abraham was called by God in Mesopotamia *before* coming to Haran also is found in Ps.-Eupolemus, Frg. 1 (Eusebius, *P.E.* 9.17.3–4), as well as in Josephus, *Ant.* 1.154, which will be discussed below.

Philo's *De migratione Abrahami* provides a detail regarding the death of Terah that stands out in Jewish exegesis of the call of Abraham. In *Migr.* 177, against Gen 11:32 LXX, Philo holds it as well established that Terah

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16) *Leg.* 3.9, 24, 27, 83, 85, 177, 197, 203, 217-218, 228, 244.

17) *Leg.* 3.26, 90, 179-180, 237-238, 242.

18) Philo himself labels his treatise on Joseph as βίος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ (a political biography). Cf. Niehoff, *Joseph in Post-Biblical Jewish Lit*, 54.

19) Similarly Parsons, *Acts*, 91, who notes *Abr.* 67 as possibly suggesting that Abraham was called by God prior to arriving in Haran.

died *before* Abraham left for Canaan. As we will see below, the question of the propriety of Abraham in (seemingly) leaving his father alone in his old age to go on his travels becomes a problem for some ancient interpreters.

Philo's *De Iosepho*, which is the earliest complete interpretation of the entirety of the Joseph cycle, shows keen interest in presenting an idealized image of Joseph, an ideal Hebrew in Egypt.[20] As might be expected, Joseph is presented in a favorable light throughout, improving upon the Genesis narrative through shifting some of the focus away from Joseph's conflict with his brothers (*Ios.* 5) and explaining the fact that Joseph shared the dream with his brothers out of naiveté, not malice (*Ios.* 6). Joseph even greets them with a salutation, which is met with scowls from his brothers (*Ios.* 14). Additionally, as in *Jubilees* 40.5, on several occasions, Joseph is described as a possessor of great wisdom (σοφία; *Ios.* 106; 169; 269), a characteristic which the LXX does not attribute to him. Interestingly, as well shall see below, Acts 7:10 offers the same attribution.

Liber antiquitatum biblicarum

We now turn to the anonymous work of *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*. Most likely written at some point in the mid-first century,[21] probably originally in Hebrew,[22] Pseudo-Philo offers a rewriting of the Jewish scriptures that stands out amongst examples of rewritten scripture for its ability to seamlessly integrate legend with the text of scripture.[23] *L.A.B.* 8.1-14 is part of the first major section of the book (Chapters 1-8), which serves at least three main goals: (1) to locate Abraham and his descendants in the landscape of humanity; (2) to contrast righteous Abraham with sinful humanity; and (3) to prepare the way for the Exodus.[24] Chapter 8 focuses primarily on the lattermost, forming a bridge between the story of Babel and Abraham (on the one hand) and the birth of Moses and the Exodus (on the other hand).[25] We are most interested in *L.A.B.* 8.1-3 and 8.9-10, which covers both the Abraham[26] and the Joseph cycles by offering a mixture of quotations from Genesis and additions to the base text. Interestingly, *L.A.B.* and Acts omit many of the same episodes, including the encounter with Pharaoh (and later with Abimelech) and (the details of) the Hagar and Ishmael ordeal. While *L.A.B.* is more comprehensive than Acts regarding the Joseph cycle, both focus more on Joseph's merciful treatment of his brothers than on the particular details of the interim between his being sold into Egypt and his reunion with his brothers. Structurally, then, *L.A.B.* 8 and Acts 7:2-16 are similar, offering concentrated versions of the stories of Abraham and Joseph that appropriate Genesis in similar ways to focus attention on the action of God.[27]

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[20] Niehoff, *Joseph in Post-Biblical Jewish Lit*, 82-83.

[21] For a thorough discussion of the factors in dating *L.A.B.*, see H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber antiquitatum biblicarum, with Latin Text and English Translation* (2 vols.; AGJU 31; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 1:199-1:210. Jacobson opts for a date between 70 c.e. and the middle of the second century; see D.J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; ABRL; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985) 299, for a date prior to 70 C.E. A decision on the date for *L.A.B.* does not dramatically impact our current project.

[22] See Jacobson, *Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 1:215-1:224, for a discussion of the Hebrew and Greek stages of *L.A.B.*

[23] So also Jacobson, *Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 1:224-225.

[24] Here I follow F.J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 29.

Josephus

Our next text for consideration is *Jewish Antiquities*. Despite his claims not to have added anything to, or omitted anything from, the narratives of his scriptural sources (1.17; 10.218),[28] Josephus seems to have been unable to help himself.[29] While Josephus follows the order of the major events of the Abraham cycle quite carefully, he has expanded the text of Genesis by adding copious amounts of creative details that are interwoven seamlessly into his paraphrase of the base text.

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[25] Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 50.

[26] Additionally, *L.A.B.* 6.1-18 includes a "fiery furnace" story with Abraham as the central character. However, because there is nothing analogous to it in Acts 7:2-16, nor is it found in the treatment of the Abraham cycle, we simply note its presence here.

[27] I am not the first to notice these similarities. After making these observations, I came across the work of E. Reinmuth, which makes these same points with regard to *L.A.B.* 1-8 and Acts 7:2-16. See his "Beobachtungen zur Rezeption der Genesis bei Pseudo-Philo (LAB 1-8) und Lukas (Apg 7.2-17)," *NTS* 43 (1997) 552-569, which stems from his earlier *Habilitationsschrift, Pseudo-Philo und Lukas: Studien zum Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum und seiner Bedeutung für die Interpretation des lukanischen Doppelwerks* (WUNT 74; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994). Reinmuth (1997: 569) writes, "Für Pseudo-Philo und Lukas zeugen die in der Genesis manifesten Erzählinhalte, als deren bestimmendes Zentrum deutlich die Abrahamgeschichte begriffen wird, von den Anfängen des Erwählungshandelns Gottes." In *L.A.B.*, this focus on God's electing action can be seen in the apparent emendation to the Hebrew text of Genesis. In 8.1-3, Abraham is called to Canaan by God "from there" (presumably Haran) to journey to the land of Canaan (8.1), which God later promises to Abraham's descendants (8.3) an "eternal seed," in contrast to the Hebrew of Gen 17:7, which has the collocation of "eternal" with "covenant" (לברית עולם).

[28] For similar statements in antiquity, which serve to engender trust in the accuracy of what follows, see Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Thuc.* 5 and 8) and Lucian (*Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit* 47). For a discussion of no less than nine different approaches to

In terms of the circumstances of Abraham's emigration from Ur to Canaan, we are told that Terah, along with his whole family, left Ur for Haran in Mesopotamia grieved as he was by the death of his son, Aran (*Ant.* 1.152). Here, Josephus departs from all extant sources,[30] including the text of Genesis itself (11:31), which does not give a reason why Terah left Ur. Additionally, Josephus has Abraham and Sarah (along with Lot, whom he adopted), leaving Chaldea at the behest of God when Abraham was seventy-five (*Ant.* 1.154); Genesis (12:4) has him leaving from Haran at age seventy-five. At this point, Josephus again shares a tradition with Philo (see above), placing the call of Abraham in Ur, rather than Haran.[31]

Additionally, he presents Abraham as extraordinarily intelligent, gifted in rhetoric and philosophy, being the first person to declare boldly that God was the "one craftsman of the entire universe" (δημιουργὸν[32] τῶν ὅλων ἕνα) by observing celestial phenomena.[33] Indeed, it was his newfound monotheism[34] that brought him persecution from the Chaldeans and subsequently led to his emigration and settlement in Canaan through the will and help of God (1.154-157). Later on, he even introduces the

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understanding this line from Josephus, see Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 37-46.

[29] Though outside of the purview of this article, the two most notable omissions from the Genesis narrative are (1) the incest of Reuben (Gen 35:22a) and (2) the sexual impropriety of Judah with his daughter-in-law, Tamar (Gen 38). It is not difficult to imagine that these episodes proved too offensive to manage given Josephus' apologetic desire to portray the people of Israel in a favorable light, even if he does not usually go to such extreme measures.

[30] Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1-4* (vol. 3 of *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*; ed. S. Mason; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 55 n. 476.

[31] This tradition is also found in Ps.-Eupolemus, Frg. 1 (Eusebius, *P.E.* 9.17.3-4).

[32] Josephus' use of δημιουργός for God may shed light on his understanding of God's function, viz., that his understanding of God's function was influenced by Middle Platonism; see Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1-4*, 56 n. 500.

[33] Note the similarity of Josephus with *Jubilees* (see above), which also had Abraham convert to the one true God *prior* to divine intervention and emigration.

[34] On Abraham as the discoverer of monotheism through rational inquiry, see the *Apocalypse of Abraham* 7; *Jub.* 12.17 (mentioned above); *Gen. Rab.* 39.1.

Egyptians to mathematics and astronomy (1.167).[35] By having Abraham teach the Egyptians that for which they would later become so famous, Josephus gives Abraham even more honor.[36] While he includes the episodes of Pharaoh and Sarai, Hagar/Ishmael, and Abimelech and Sarai, he augments the text at key moments to present Abraham in a more amicable light.

Josephus' attention to the Joseph cycle (*Ant.* 2.9-167, 189-193, 198-200) is particularly interesting since he seems to take a greater interest in him (1) because of his prominence in Genesis itself and (2) because he is Josephus' namesake.[37] Indeed, his interest in Joseph can readily be observed in a comparison of the MT, LXX, and Josephan versions of Joseph's dreams and subsequent enslavement (Gen 37:1-35; Josephus, *Ant.* 2.9-38): MT: 659 words, LXX: 755 words, *Antiquities*: 1283 words. As with Abraham, Josephus is careful to present Joseph favorably to his (mostly) pagan audience.[38]

Anxious to present Joseph in a favorable light, Josephus also makes a small, but significant change to the account of the report of Joseph's dream to Jacob. We read in Gen 37:10 that Jacob rebuked Joseph for his dream, which implied that his parents and brothers would bow down before him. However, in Josephus (*Ant.* 2.15), Jacob feels differently about the matter. Having analyzed the dream, Jacob rejoiced because he believed that it presaged the future happiness of his son, even if that meant they would all pay homage to him. Here and throughout his retelling of the Joseph cycle, Josephus is careful to spin the details to benefit his namesake. Additionally, as *Jubilees* and Philo before him, Josephus later describes Joseph as a possessor of great wisdom (*Ant.* 2.87).

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[35] For a detailed discussion of the Hellenization of Abraham in *Jewish Antiquities*, see L.H. Feldman, "Hellenizations in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*: The Portrait of Abraham," in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* (eds. idem and G. Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987) 133-153.

[36] Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1-4*, 63 n. 537.

[37] Feldman, *Judean Antiquities 1-4*, 130 n. 48; Niehoff, *Joseph in Post-Biblical Jewish Lit*, 84; and D. Daube, "Typology in Josephus," *JJS* 31 (1980) 18-36. Feldman (63 n. 537) goes on to list the following analogical similarities between the two personalities: (1) both are depicted as child prodigies (*Ant.* 2.9; *Life* 8); (2) both show extraordinary skill at interpreting dreams (*Ant.* 2.63-90); (3) both are deported to a foreign land by brothers/fellow Jews; (4) both are deeply involved with politics.

[38] On Josephus' mixed audience, see Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*, 46-50.

Rabbinic Sources

We now turn our attention to the later rabbinic sources, beginning with *Genesis Rabbah*. While *Genesis Rabbah* is a rabbinic midrashic commentary on Genesis dating to ca. 450 C.E.,[39] it is still important to offer a discussion of its treatment of the relevant portions of the Abraham and Joseph cycles. Doing so serves to open the opportunity to bring to the surface any common exegetical techniques, or trends in the traditions, even if they are disguised by the lemma+comment style of the midrash. We have seen that there was discussion in earlier Jewish literature about chronological issues related to Terah and the time of his death (see above on the LXX and Jubilees). The rabbis are no exception; they postulate that Terah was only called "dead" before the remaining sixty-five years transpired so that Abraham could feel free to leave for Canaan without bringing shame to the Divine Name for having abandoned his father while he was at an old age (*Gen. Rab.* 39.7). Indeed, Abraham received reassurance of this plan from the Holy One himself! Exploiting the repetition[40] of לך לך in Gen 12:1, God tells Abraham, "I exempt thee from the duty of honouring thy parents, though I exempt no one else from this duty. Moreover, I will record his death before thy departure" (39.7).[41]

In *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*,[42] Joseph is presented as a paradigmatic righteous man who remained in control of his wicked inclinations no matter what the temptation.[43] In particular *Tg. Ps.-J* focuses on Joseph's predicament with Potiphar's wife, whom he resists at every turn. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* offers the following expansion in Gen 39:10: Joseph refused to sleep with Potiphar's wife "lest he become guilty with her on the great day of judgment in the world to come" (למיהוי מתחייב עימה ביום דינא רבא לעלמא דאתי). While this is not an emphasis Acts shares, it is significant nonetheless because Acts eliminates the scene altogether. Here we have represented two different approaches to scandalous tradition. One option (seen in the Targumim) is to embrace the event, but spin it in such a way as to make the protagonist shine as an exemplar. Another option, seen in Acts, is to gloss over it altogether.

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[39] G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (trans. and ed. M. Bockmuehl; 2nd ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996) 279.

[40] This exegetical technique is listed in the Thirty-Two *Middot* attributed to R. Eliezer. See Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 24.

[41] Translation from H. Freedman and M. Simon, *Genesis I* (vol. 1 of *Midrash Rabbah*; trans. H. Freedman; 10 vols.; London: Soncino, 1977).

[42] On the issues involved with dating *Tg. Ps.-J*, see R. Hayward, *Targums and the Transmission of Scripture into Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 126-154.

[43] M.N. Niehoff, "The Figure of Joseph in the Targums," *JJS* 39 (1988) 250.

Having traversed a wide body of Jewish literature, noting especially how it treats those events in the Abraham and Joseph cycles that show up in Acts 7:2-16, we now are able to turn to the opening lines of the Stephen speech in Acts 7 in order to evaluate the use of Genesis therein, particularly with regard to the incorporation of the traditions that we have shown were in the air during the time of composition.

Abraham and Joseph Traditions in Acts 7:2-16

The Method of Stephen's Speech

That Stephen's speech in Acts 7:2-53 is heavily indebted to the rhetorical conventions of the first century of the Common Era is widely accepted, even if different outlines abound.[44] Most accurately categorized as a judicial speech,[45] Stephen's oration follows the rhetorical strategy of *refutatio* in response to the charge that Stephen (and other Christians by proxy) wants to change the customs handed down by Moses (Acts 7:14).[46] Yet, if there is an invective against Stephen's opponents there is a corresponding encomium of certain individuals in the history of Israel, who are worthy of both praise and imitation; the result is an encomium/invective σύγκρισις that runs the length of the speech.[47] Thus, while the speech is directed toward Stephen's opponents in the narrative of Acts, it is also meant to impact Luke's audience,[48] legitimating their existence in the Diaspora by placing them on the side of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses who themselves journeyed outside of the land God had promised.[49]

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[44] Of those who attempt to fit the speech into an ancient rhetorical outline, see J. Dupont, "La structure oratoire du discours d'Étienne (Actes 7)," *Bib* 66 (1985) 153-167, who proposed the following rhetorical outline: v. 2a, *exordium*; vv. 2b-34, *narratio*; v. 35 *propositio*; vv. 36-50, *argumentatio*; vv. 51-53, *peroratio*. However, Dupont has been challenged by many, most recently, R.I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009) 179. For a host of other options, see M.L. Soards, *The Speeches in Acts: Their Content, Context, and Concerns* (Louisville: Westminister John Knox, 1994) 58-59, esp. n. 138. Others, however, have preferred to outline the speech based on content. For example, see C.H. Talbert, *Reading Acts: A Literary and Theological Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (rev. ed.; Macon, Ga.: Smyth&Helwys, 2005) 62, who divides the speech into only two sections: (1) a selective history of Israel (7:2-50) and (2) a comparison of past behavior with present conduct (7:51-53). We may use Parsons, *Acts*, 90, to divide Talbert's outline into five parts: (1) the story of Abraham (7:2-8); (2) the story of Joseph and the patriarchs (7:9-16); (3) the story of Moses in three parts of forty years each (7:17-29, 30-34, 35-43); (4) the story of the tent and the temple (7:44-50); and finally (5) the invective against Stephen's listeners (7:51-53).

[45] Soards, *The Speeches in Acts*, 58. *Pace* T.C. Penner, *In Praise of Christian Origins: Stephen and the Hellenists in Lukan Apologetic Historiography* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004) 223-261, who understands the speech in terms apologetic, epideictic rhetoric.

[46] Parsons, *Acts*, 90.

The Traditional Content of Stephen's Speech

However, if the method of the speech is driven by ancient rhetoric, the content of the speech is made up of the Jewish scriptures, beginning with Genesis. In what follows, we will examine how Luke used Genesis, mixed with tradition, on the lips of Stephen to accomplish his rhetorical goals.[50] We will be particularly interested to note the points of contact between the use of Genesis in Acts 7:2-16 and in the Jewish literature surveyed above, especially Philo and Josephus. While we will not go so far as to posit literary dependence, the similarities nevertheless indicate the impact of the exegetical traditions of Hellenistic Judaism on the use of Genesis in the

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[47] So also, Parsons, *Acts*, 89.

[48] Pervo, *Acts*, 178, points out that this is the case for all the speeches in Acts, which strikes me as sober judgment. On the role of the audience in ancient speeches, see Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.2.5; 3.14.7-8; Cicero, *De or.*, 2.44.186; 2.55.216-89; 3.7.4-5; Ps-Cicero, *Rhet. Her.*, 1.4.7-5.8; Theon, *Exercises*, 79.28-80.2. For the most recent discussion on the role of the audience (including its participation) in ancient Hellenistic literature, see K.R. Maxwell, *Hearing Between the Lines: The Audience as Fellow-Worker in Luke-Acts and its Literary Milieu* (LNTS 425; London: T&T Clark, 2010) 27-117.

[49] So also G.E. Sterling, "'Opening the Scriptures': The Legitimation of the Jewish Diaspora and the Early Christian Mission," in *Jesus and the Heritage of Israel: Luke's Narrative Claim upon Israel's Legacy* (ed. D.P. Moessner; Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity International, 1999) 199-225.

[50] For the purposes of this article, I do not deal with issues of source criticism with regard to the speech and instead treat the speech in its final form. Even if Luke did make use of some early Christian source or outline, he has molded it and shaped it to suit his own purposes. So also, Pervo, *Acts*, 179. Cf. J. Kilgallen, *The Stephen Speech: A Literary and Redactional Study of Acts 7,2–53* (Analetca Biblica; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1976) 121; E.J. Richard, "The Polemical Character of the Joseph Episode in Acts 7," *JBL* 98 (1979) 255-267; idem, *Acts 6:1-8:4: The Author's Method of Composition* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1978) 252-284.

Stephen speech, perhaps in the form of the existence of a common body of exegetical traditions in Hellenistic Jewish groups.[51]

There are no less than three important exegetical peculiarities in Luke's use of Genesis in Act 7:2-16 when compared to the LXX. However, a way forward is found in locating Luke within a stream of Hellenistic interpreters of Genesis. These exegetical traditions, and their implementation in Acts 7:2-16, will now be taken in turn.

Called from Chaldea

In Acts 7:2-3, we read: Ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης ὤφθη τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραὰμ ὄντι ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ πρὶν ἢ κατοικῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Χαρρὰν καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ [ἐκ] τῆς συγγενείας σου, καὶ δεῦρο εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἄν σοι δείξω. Luke has Abraham receive the call from God in Chaldea (Mesopotamia) *before* moving to Haran. Yet, the LXX (and *Jub.* 12.22-24), matching the Hebrew, is clear that Abraham was called by God in Haran, not Chaldea (Gen 11:26-12:4). How then can Luke have Stephen say to his opponents that Abraham was called in Chaldea? Pervo has suggested that Gen 15:7 could provide grounds for such an exegetical move.[52] In Gen 15:7, God declares that he brought Abraham "from Ur of the Chaldeans." This is, of course, possible, but given that there is evidence for such an interpretation of Gen 12:1 in the literature we surveyed above, there seems no need to appeal to Gen 15:7.[53] Both Philo (*Abr.* 62, 67) and Josephus (*Ant.* 1.154) have Abraham being called from Chaldea, not Haran (see above).[54] Here, in Acts 7:2, why not understand Luke as using the same tradition?[55] That this is the case finds support in the fact that the Lukan Stephen seems to go out of his way to make sure his audience hears that Abraham was *not* called in Haran, which is contrasted with his stay in Mesopotamia (ὄντι ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ πρὶν ἢ κατοικῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν

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[51] So also Sterling, "'Opening the Scriptures'," 211.

[52] Pervo, *Acts*, 180 n. 63.

[53] Indeed, Gen 15:7 may have given rise to the stream of tradition in which Acts 7:2 resides. There is, of course, no way to know either way without compelling evidence to adjudicate.

[54] See also Ps.-Eupolemus, Frg. 1 (Eusebius, *P.E.* 9.17.3–4).

[55] This is not to suggest that Luke was using Philo or Josephus at this point (though he may well have been), but only to suggest that these texts seem to be working from the same point of view regarding the call of Abraham.

Χαρράν).[56] Further support for this connection comes from the additional points of contact between Acts and Josephus and Philo (see below). Rhetorically, it is likely that he wants to persuade his audience that the call to worship God in a new land was at the most foundational level of Abraham's first migration.[57]

The Timing of the Death of Terah

As the Lukan Stephen continues in his retelling of the call of Abraham, he makes sure his audience knows that it was not until *after* the death of his father, Terah, that Abraham left from Haran: τότε ἐξελθὼν ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαίων κατῴκησεν ἐν Χαρράν. κἀκεῖθεν μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μετῴκισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς νῦν κατοικεῖτε (7:4). The difficulty is that, as others have pointed out,[58] a careful reading of Gen 11:26-12:4 has Abraham being born when his father, Terah, was seventy (11:26). It may be inferred that Abraham left Haran when Terah was 145 years old, since we are told that Abraham left when he himself was seventy-five (Gen 12:4). Thus, Terah must have remained alive for another sixty years since Gen 11:32 has him dying in Haran at the age of 205. However, if Luke disagrees with Genesis, both the MT and the LXX, he agrees with Philo *Migr.* 177 (see above) and the Samaritan Pentateuch.[59] Another option, as Parsons has pointed out, is that Luke may be offering a paraphrase (παράφρασις) of the scriptural text by reading sequentially from Gen 11:32, which records the death of Terah, to 12:1, which describes the call of Abraham.[60] In light of the fact that there are other sources that make the same interpretive move (Philo *Migr.* 177 and the Samaritan Pentateuch), it seems more likely that, if Luke is paraphrasing, he is doing so through the lens of a standing tradition that Terah died *before* Abram left Haran. Further support for the conclusion that Luke is making an intentional change to the scriptural text, which he is likely choosing to read through a particular tradition, is found in the fact that the later rabbis were sometimes concerned that it would bring shame upon the Divine Name for Abraham to have left his father, Terah, at such an old age (cf. *Gen. Rab.* 39.7).[61] If this concern is active in the first century, placing the death of Terah before the call from Haran might allow the reputation of Abraham (and God?) to avoid suffering damage. We have already seen this is a concern for Luke in Acts 7:2-16 by the events which he chooses to exclude from the speech altogether.

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[56] So also J.L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998) 265.

[57] Kilgallen, *The Stephen Speech*, 91.

[58] E.g., Parsons, *Acts*, 91; J. Zmijewski, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (RNT; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1994) 314.

[59] So also, H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987) 52.

[60] Parsons, *Acts*, 91.

Joseph the Wise Sage

In his treatment of the Joseph cycle, the Lukan Stephen says that God gave Joseph “grace and wisdom before Pharaoh, King of Egypt (ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν καὶ σοφίαν ἐναντίον Φαραὼ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, 7:10). Here Luke augments Gen 39:21 LXX, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν ἐναντίον τοῦ ἀρχιδεσμοφύλακος, so that it refers not to chief jailer, but to Pharaoh. He also makes a curious addition: σοφίαν. The inclusion of σοφίαν in Acts 7:10 allows the Lukan Stephen to use an encomiastic σύγκρισις between Joseph and Jesus.[62] But can more be said of the use of σοφία?

As far as I am aware, σοφία (or its cognates) is attributed to Joseph only here and in Philo *Ios.* (106; 169; 269), Josephus *Antiquities* (2.63, 65, 80, 87), *Jubilees* (40.5) and Artapanus (Frg. 2.1 [Eusebius, *P.E.* 9.23.1]). There is notable continuity between the attribution of wisdom to Joseph in Acts 7:10 and in *Jubilees*, both of which credit Joseph with wisdom in the same contexts: “And the Lord gave Joseph favor and mercy in the sight of the Pharaoh. And the Pharaoh said to his servants, ‘We will not find a man as wise and knowledgeable as this man because the spirit of the Lord is with him’ ” (*Jub.* 40.5). However, with the exception of *Jubilees*, this common tradition is broad enough to have been attributed to Joseph simply from its popularity as a chief virtue in the Hellenistic world. Might *Jubilees* test the rule here? Probably not.

From these three points of traditional overlap between Acts and Hellenistic Jewish literature, we can see a more complex relationship between “Jewish” exegetical techniques and “Greco-Roman” rhetoric than has usually been acknowledged.[63] Namely, while there can be no doubt that Stephen’s speech (7:2-53) employs ancient rhetoric, it does not do so in a vacuum. Rather than Homer, the LXX is cited, and rather than recalling the history of the great heroes of Greece as examples for imitation, Stephen uses standing Hellenistic *Jewish* tradition about *Jewish* heroes, viz., Abraham and Joseph, to begin his *refutatio* of his Jewish opponents. To sum up, Luke uses Greco-Roman method in Stephen's speech, while utilizing Jewish traditional content and the Jewish scriptures. Having examined the Abraham and Joseph traditions in both Jewish literature and Acts 7:2-16, now all that remains is to make a few observations about the implications of this study for our understanding of Luke's view of scripture.

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[61] Tracking the date of certain rabbis and rabbinic traditions is notoriously problematic and will not be attempted here. Yet, the concern for taking care of one’s father is certainly in the air during the composition of Acts. Cf. Luke 9:60.

[62] Parsons, *Acts*, 94.

[63] But see D. Daube, “Alexandrian Methods of Interpretation and the Rabbis,” in *Essays in Greco-Roman and Related Talmudic Literature* (ed. H.A. Fischel; New York: Ktav, 1953)

Implications and Conclusions

In Stephen's speech, the line between scripture and standing tradition is blurry indeed. In fact, the view of scripture demonstrated from Acts 7:2-16 would suggest that the words of scripture alone are not what are important, only the words *as understood through tradition* count. However, it is not immediately clear from Acts 7:2-16 how conflicting traditions related to one another. Was Abraham called by God while he was still in Chaldea (Josephus; Philo; Ps.-Eupolemus; and Acts) or was Abraham called by God only after migrating to Haran (LXX)? Did Abraham's father, Terah die *before* his son's emigration (Philo, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Acts) or long after (LXX; *Jubilees*?)? We know the answers that Acts gives to these questions, but it is not readily apparent how mutually exclusive the options were, either for Luke or the Hellenistic Jewish authors surveyed above. This topic deserves future attention, as does the use of scripture throughout the rest of Stephen's speech, which may clarify and focus the question of competing interpretations and traditions. Lastly, this study emphasizes the need for elucidating the nature of ancient rhetorical methodology to Jewish exegetical techniques. Given the scope of the article, I was unable to pursue this line of inquiry. If the blend of rhetorical methodology with the use of Jewish tradition and exegetical patterns found in Acts 7:2-16 is any indication, they are likely in dialogue more than is typically recognized.

We have attempted to isolate the most relevant groups of divergent traditions regarding Abraham and Joseph through a survey of ancient Jewish literature from the LXX to *Genesis Rabbah*. While some texts were more ambitious than others, certain "hotspots" in Genesis developed into an

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165-182; idem, "Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric," *HUCA* 22 (1949) 239-264.

interpretive framework, especially with regard to the call of Abraham. Placing Acts 7:2-16 within that matrix yielded at least two places within the call of Abraham where Luke makes use of (at least) standing traditions that also appear in Philo and Josephus regarding the death of Terah and Abraham's geographical location at the time of God's initial call. Therefore, I must echo Holladay's sentiments and suggest further inquiry into Acts using comparative hermeneutics; in our case, more research is particularly needed to clarify the nature of the relationship between these traditions and the use of the LXX in the Acts of the Apostles. Are these traditions merely in the air at the time of composition, or is there literary dependence? While a sure answer currently eludes this question, at present we may safely conclude that, for Luke (as for Josephus, Philo, and the rest of the texts we surveyed, with the exception of *Genesis Rabbah*), scripture was not fixed, but variable, finding its full expression when viewed through the interpretive traditions of Hellenistic Judaism.

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Eschatological Ignorance and the *Hafṭarah*

On Acts 13:27

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Abstract
This essay argues that Paul's condemnation of Israel's leaders for their ignorance of the meaning of the liturgical reading from the Prophets on the Sabbath (Acts 13:27) should be understood in light of contemporary explanations of the function of the reading from the Torah on the Sabbath.

Keywords
Acts; Paul; ignorance; Prophets

Recent scholarship has highlighted continuities within the Dead Sea Scrolls between approaches to the Torah (i.e., the Pentateuch), conceived of as a repository of law, and approaches to the prophetic literature, understood as a source of historical forecasts. Readers of the scrolls have long recognized, for example, that for the Qumran community, the Torah reveals its legal significance dynamically, across time, so that new law emerges in each period (קץ). However, observes Devorah Dimant, "in point of fact it has not been made clear until now that this dynamic element holds not only for understanding of the Torah, but also for understanding of the prophecies, a fact that makes it possible to interpret them more than once."[1] Similarly, Shani Tzoref points out that the term "hidden things" (נסתרות)

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[1] Devorah Dimant, "Time-Dependent Exegesis in the Qumranic Pesharim," *Meghillot* 7 (2009) 27. On the parallel "temporal" treatments of the Torah's law and the Prophets' history at Qumran see also *idem*, "Temps, Torah et Prophétie à Qoumrân," in *Le temps et les temps dans les littératures juives et chrétiennes au tournant de notre ère* (ed. Christian Grappe and Jean-Claude Ingelaere; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 147-167, especially 150-157 (on prophecy) and 158-165 (on Torah).

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at Qumran and in related literature indicates both eschatological events and esoteric laws.[2]

These connections between the Torah and the Prophets occur within the framework of an apocalyptic worldview, one that was not espoused by all contemporary Jews. One group that did share this apocalyptic perspective was the community of early Christians.[3] In this brief essay, I identify a similar conflation of legal and prophetic exegesis in the early Christian community by interpreting Acts 13:27, which concerns the reading from the Prophets in the synagogue, against the background of early Jewish views on the synagogue's Torah lectionary.

Most of Acts 13 is devoted to the "word of exhortation" delivered by Paul in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia "after the reading of the law and the prophets" (13:15).[4] Paul begins with a rapid review of Israelite history from the Exodus to John the Baptist (13:16-25). He then introduces the essential facts of Jesus' career—his crucifixion and resurrection—with the following words (13:27):

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[2] Shani (Berrin) Tzoref, "The 'Hidden' and the 'Revealed': Progressive Revelation of Law and Esoterica," *Meghillot* 7 (2009) 162-164 (eschatological events) 166-167 (esoteric laws). See also Menahem Kister, "Wisdom Literature and its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to *Mysteries*," in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John J. Collins et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 18, observing that "two fields, namely the legal interpretation of the Torah and the interpretation of eschatological events according to the Prophets, were the foci of the activity of the Teacher of Righteousness. These were also the foci of the sect's missionary activity as represented by 4QMMT," of which section B concerns law, and section C, eschatology. It must be noted, however, that the dichotomy law/eschatology cannot be imposed without qualification on the dichotomy Pentateuch/Prophets, and this for two reasons. First, as Alex P. Jassen (*Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* [Leiden: Brill, 2007] 48-52) notes, the sect takes the prophets themselves to be the earliest inspired interpreters of Mosaic law. Second, and more importantly, while the prophetic literature foretells the events of the eschaton, these events are understood to follow determinedly upon the works of the ancient past, the קדמוניות, which the Pentateuch describes. On this link see Shani Tzoref, "*Pesher* and Periodization," *DSD* 18 (2011) 129-154.

[3] Dimant ("Time-Dependent Exegesis," 36 n. 61) recognizes the pertinence, in connection with her observations about the Torah and the Prophets, of the overlapping beliefs of the sect and of the authors of the New Testament, but flags it as "a matter for a different article." On continuities in exegetical theology from Qumran to early Christianity see David Aune, "Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism and Early Christianity," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation* (ed. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993) 133-137, 143-148.

[4] For quotations from the New Testament, unless otherwise indicated, I use the Nestle-Aland Greek text (27th ed.) and the RSV.

> Those who lived in Jerusalem and their rulers, because they were ignorant (ἀγνοήσαντες) about him and about the utterances of the prophets that are read every Sabbath, fulfilled [these] by condemning [him].[5]

Ignorance, and especially Jewish ignorance, is a recurring motif in Luke-Acts.[6] The most famous instance is Luke 23:34, where Jesus asks his Father to forgive his executioners because "they know not what they do." In this plea, ignorance serves an exculpatory function. It may play a similar role elsewhere. Most pertinently, in Acts 3:17-19, a passage that closely resembles Acts 13:27, Peter, addressing a Jewish crowd at Solomon's Portico, states:

> I know that you acted in ignorance (κατὰ ἄγνοιαν), as did also your rulers. But what God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, he thus fulfilled. Repent, therefore, and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out.

Peter's reference to his audience's ignorance in 3:17 may be intended to undergird the possibility of repentance, to which Peter exhorts it in 3:19: because they sinned unknowingly, they may win forgiveness.[7] Eldon Jay

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[5] The verse presents numerous problems at the levels of syntax and reference, of which the most important for our purposes is the valence of the nominative participle ἀγνοήσαντες. With many commentators, e.g., Richard I. Pervo, *Acts: A Commentary on the Book of Acts* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2009) 328; C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (ICC; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994) 1.640, I take the participle as governing two objects, not only "him" (τοῦτον, which might alternatively be construed as "it," meaning the "message of this salvation" mentioned in the previous verse) but also "the utterances" (τὰς φωνάς). While this construal is defensible on grammatical grounds alone, the argument of this essay lends it further support. The "Western" text type, on which see most recently Georg Gäbel, "The Text of P^{127} (P.Oxy. 4968) and its Relationship with the Text of Codex Bezae," *NovT* 53 (2011) 107-152, especially 147 and n. 48, likewise has Paul claim that the Jerusalemites and their rulers did not understand the scriptures that they read. On the pairing of reading and understanding in this verse and elsewhere see David Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London: Athlone, 1956) 434-435.

[6] In addition to the passages discussed in the text, the motif occurs in Luke 24:2; Acts 8:30; 17:23, 30. See Eldon Jay Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966) 41-64; Larry W. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 2003) 185. On the theological role of ignorance in the New Testament generally see Rudolf Bultmann's remarks in *TDNT* 1.116-19 (s.v. ἄγνοια, ἀγνωσία).

[7] Alternatively, and not incompatibly, Peter may wish to contrast the actors' perspective with God's: they, blind to Jesus' true nature, acted from base motives, but God was in fact

Epp claims that the reference to the Jerusalemites' ignorance in Acts 13:27 is also exculpatory.[8] However, it is difficult to see why Paul would mention the weekly reading from the Prophets if he did not mean thereby to imply that the ignorance of those who condemned Jesus was not altogether excusable.[9]

I contend that the distinctively (quasi-) inculpatory character of Paul's remark in comparison with other instances of the ignorance motif in Luke-Acts becomes fully intelligible when it is put in relationship to contemporary Jewish views on the rationale behind the recitation from the Torah in the synagogue on the Sabbath. Philo and Josephus both insist that the Torah reading is meant to educate the Jewish public in the law, so that they will have no excuse for violating it. The first passage below comes from Philo, and the second, from Josephus.

> [The lawgiver] considered that they should not only be capable of both action and inaction in other matters but also should have expert knowledge of their ancestral laws and customs. What then did he do? He required them to assemble in the same place on these seventh days, and sitting together in a respectful and orderly manner hear the laws read so that none should be ignorant (ἀγνοῆσαι) of them. And indeed they do always assemble and sit together, most of them in silence except when it is the practice to add something to signify approval of what is read. But some priest who is present or one of the elders reads the holy laws to them and expounds them point by point till about the late afternoon, when they depart having gained both expert knowledge of the holy laws and considerable advance in piety.... And so they do not resort to persons learned in the law with questions as to what they should do or not do, nor yet by keeping independent transgress in ignorance (ὑπ' ἀγνοίας) of the law, but any one of

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working through them to fulfill the prophets' predictions. Cf. Gen 50:15-21. After the death of Jacob, Joseph's brothers fear that he will wreak vengeance upon them. He, however, assures them that while they intended bad toward him, God reckoned it for good, to bring about the success and enlargement of Jacob's family. Joseph means both to highlight the brothers' ignorance of God's plan and to exculpate them.

8) Epp, *Theological Tendency*, 46-48.

9) For this consensus view see, e.g., Barrett, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1.640: "For not understanding the prophets there was no excuse, since these were *read every Sabbath* in the Synagogue." The *inclusio* structure that I identify below lends further support to this view. Epp's counter-intuitive approach to Acts 13:27 is largely a consequence of his desire to construct a unitary explanation for the distinctive changes introduced by Codex Bezae in passages touching on the ignorance motif. For Epp, Bezae systematically resists the exculpatory thrust of the references to ignorance in Luke-Acts. Hence, if Bezae modifies Acts 13:27, the reference to Jewish ignorance in this passage must aim at exculpation. While I find Epp's reasoning unpersuasive, it must be acknowledged that the primary aim of Paul's speech in Acts 13 is conversion, not condemnation.

> them whom you attack with inquiries about their ancestral institutions can answer you readily and easily.[10]
>
> For ignorance (τῆς ἀγνοίας) [our legislator] left no pretext. He appointed the Law to be the most excellent and necessary form of instruction, ordaining, not that it should be heard once for all or twice or on several occasions, but that every week men should desert their other occupations and assemble to listen to the Law and to obtain a thorough and accurate knowledge of it, a practice which all other legislators seem to have neglected. Indeed, most men, so far from living in accordance with their own laws, hardly know what they are.... Even those of them who hold the highest and most important offices admit their ignorance (τὴν ἄγνοιαν); for they employ professional legal experts as assessors and leave them in charge of the administration of affairs. But, should anyone of our nation be questioned about the laws, he would repeat them all more readily than his own name.... A transgressor is a rarity; evasion of punishment by excuses (ἡ...παραίτησις) an impossibility.[11]

That the same understanding of the function served by the Sabbath Torah reading was known to early Christians is established by its occurrence in a Jewish-Christian prayer preserved in the Apostolic Constitutions.

> You gave [our fathers] the Law of the ten words spoken by your voice and written by your hand. You commanded them to keep the Sabbath, not in order to given them a pretext for laziness but as an opportunity for piety, for the knowledge of your power, for the prevention of evil, by confining them as it were within a sacred precinct for the sake of instruction, and for rejoicing in the number seven. For this reason there are one

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[10] Philo, *Hypothetica*, 7.11-12 (LCL ed., 430-433). On Philo's reference to congregational responses that serve "to signify approval of what is read," see Ezra Fleischer, "On the Beginnings of Obligatory Jewish Prayer," *Tarbiz* 59 (1990) 423-424 (Hebrew), identifying an apt parallel in *t. Suk.* 4:6; S. Krauss, "The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers, VI" *JQR* 6 (1894) 234, for Jerome's remark about Jewish audiences that would respond to rabbinic homilies on the law with applause and gesticulation; *Qoh.Rab.* 9 (*ad* Eccl 9:14) and *Midrash Mishle* 10, which speak of the congregation responding to the homily with the formula, "may his great name be blessed."

[11] Josephus, *Ag.Ap.*, 2.175-178 (LCL ed., 362-365). On these passages, and similar ones elsewhere in Philo's and Josephus' work, see Menahem Kister, "The Prayers of the Seventh Book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and Their Implications for the Formulation of the Synagogue Prayers," *Tarbiz* 77 (2008) 215-216 (Hebrew); Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (2nd ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) 146-158; David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 241-251; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Early History of Public Reading of the Torah," in *Jews, Christians, and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue: Cultural Interaction During the Greco-Roman Period* (ed. Steven Fine; New York: Routledge, 1999) 46-47.

> seven (week), seven sevens (weeks), the seventh month, the seventh year, and according to its cycle the fiftieth year for remission.
>
> (This is) so as to prevent humankind from having any excuse (πρόασιν) to pretend ignorance (ἄγνοιαν σκήψασθαι).[12]

The notion that the reading of the Torah on the Sabbath left law-breakers with no excuse was thus clearly well-established in Hellenistic Jewish circles, non-Christian and Christian alike.

Acts 13:27 should, I suggest, be understood as extending this perspective from the Torah reading to the reading from the Prophets, or what rabbinic Judaism would call the *hafṭarah*. The origins of the *hafṭarah* are obscure. Our earliest unambiguous evidence for the practice comes, in fact, from Luke-Acts, but in this work it is already a matter of course.[13] Whatever the foundational impetus for the *hafṭarah* rite, Acts 13:27 appears to construe its function through the prism of the Torah reading. As the Torah is read in public so that no Jew can claim ignorance of the law, so synagogue-goers must hear the Prophets so that none can pretend to be unaware of the historical moment's soteriological import.[14]

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12) Pieter W. van der Horst and Judith H. Newman, eds., *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008) 74. On this passage, which makes explicit the apologetic dimension ("not in order to give them a pretext for laziness") of the instruction motif, see the commentary of Van der Horst and Newman (*ibid.*, 75-82); Kister, "Prayers," 212-213.

13) On the evidence from Luke-Acts see Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 153-155; Michael Fishbane, *Haftarot: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2002) xxiii-xxvi; Schiffman, "Early History," 47-48. Naomi Cohen (*Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and Writings: Evidence for a* Haftarah-*Cycle in Second Temple Judaism* [Leiden: Brill, 2007]) finds evidence in Philo for a 1st c. C.E. *hafṭarah* cycle centered around the Ninth of Ab. See also the discussion of the *hafṭarah* blessings in nn. 14 and 16.

14) The messianic focus of the blessings after the *hafṭarah*, which occur in rabbinic sources that likely preserve material from the Second Temple period, may support an eschatological interpretation of the reading from the Prophets. On the complex history of these blessings see Shmuel Safrai, "Gathering in the Synagogue on Festivals, Sabbaths, and Weekdays," in *Hikrei Eretz: Studies in the History of the Land of Israel: Dedicated to Prof. Yehuda Feliks* (ed. Y. Friedman et al.; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1997) 238-239 (Hebrew) and the discussion below in n. 16. Safrai contends that, because the blessings recited after the *hafṭarah* are associated in rabbinic literature with other liturgical contexts connected to the Temple, contexts in which there is no reading from the Prophets, we must suppose that the blessings were at first recited immediately after the reading from the Torah, and only at a later stage was the reading from the Prophets inserted between the two. Even if this reconstruction is correct, I am inclined to think that the reading from the Prophets and

A similar perspective on the message of the Prophets—not, however, in connection with a liturgical reading, to which there is no direct reference in the Dead Sea Scrolls—occurs in *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab II, 6-10). The relevant lines parse Hab 1:5, which speaks of a thing to come "that you will not believe when it is told" (לא תאמינו כי יספר).

> המה עריצי הברית אשר לוא יאמינוא בשומעם את כול הבאות על הדור האחרון מפי הכוהן
> אשר נתן אל בלבו בינה לפשור את כול דברי עבדיו הנביאים אשר בידם ספר אל את כול
> הבאות על עמו ועדתו
>
> These are the enemies of the covenant who will not believe when they hear everything that is to come upon the latter generation that will be spoken by the Priest in whose heart God has put the ability to explain all the words of his servants the prophets, through whom God has foretold everything that is to come upon his people and his community.[15]

Paul's speech in Acts 13 ends with a quotation of precisely the same biblical passage. He urges that "it be known" (γνωστόν) to his audience that forgiveness of sins is proclaimed through Jesus (13:38), and that one ought therefore be a believer (ὁ πιστεύων) (13:39), and not, by refusing to believe, realize what Habakkuk ("the prophets") uttered concerning the scoffer who does not believe (οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε) the deed of his day, though it is declared to him (13:40-41).[16] If the historical review from the Exodus to

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the blessings both belong to the same process of transforming the synagogue service from a purely instructional context into a prayer service, one directed first and foremost toward the eschaton.

[15] Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Part 2: Exegetical Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 80-81. These lines are preserved almost perfectly. For simplicity's sake I do not distinguish between the extant text and the few reconstructed letters.

[16] Although, as noted above, there is no direct evidence from Qumran for the practice of Sabbath recitation of a Prophets text, it is striking that echoes of motifs and terminology from the blessings over the *haftarah* occur in sectarian scrolls, and especially references to the faithfulness of the prophets (נביאי האמת והצדק) and of God's faithfulness in actualizing the prophets' predictions (האל הנאמן). See David Flusser, "The 'Book of Mysteries' and the High Holy Days Liturgy," in *idem, Judaism of the Second Temple Period, Volume 1: Qumran and Apocalypticism* (trans. Azzan Yadin; Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 2007) 121 nn. 14-15, 138-139. Interestingly, the rhetoric of faithfulness also figures centrally in the Habakkuk passages to which the *Pesher* attaches its condemnations of its opponents' failure to read the Prophets properly (1QpHab II, 6-10 on Hab 1:5, quoted above, and 1QpHab VIII, 1-3 on Hab 2:4), and in Paul's homily on Hab 1:5, although in these latter contexts, the reference is to Israel's steadfast faith.

John the Baptist (13:16-25) is set apart as an introduction to Paul's remarks about Jesus (13:26-41), then we may discern an *inclusio* bracketing the speech. Paul begins by referring to the Jerusalemites and their rulers, who, through their lack of knowledge (ἀγνοήσαντες) about the prophetic texts read to them, fulfilled these texts by condemning Jesus. He concludes similarly by exhorting his audience to know Jesus, and so save themselves from fulfilling the prophetic condemnation of those who do not believe what is declared to them.

Where Acts 13 moves beyond the *Pesher* is in connecting the critique of (non-sectarian) Jewish deafness about the prophets to the recitation of the *hafṭarah*. Indeed, it is possible that Acts 13:27 implicitly reads Hab 1:5 כי יספר ("when it is told") as a reference to this liturgical practice: the deed is told, most fundamentally, in the weekly reading from the Prophets. In any case, the additional step taken in Acts 13 has its roots, I have suggested, in the widespread Hellenistic Jewish understanding of the instructional function of the Torah reading, and in the tendency, exemplified by the developments at Qumran summarized in the beginning of this essay, to view the prophets' forecasts in terms borrowed from reflection on Torah law.

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I Permit No Woman to Teach Except for Thecla

The Curious Case of the Pastoral Epistles and the *Acts of Paul* Reconsidered[1]

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Abstract

Analysis of the relationship between the *Acts of Paul* (APl) and the Pastoral Epistles (PE) that is attentive to the differences between the individual PE provides decisive evidence against the theory that the PE responded to oral traditions later written down in the APl. This study further suggests that the author of the APl did probably not regard 1 Tim as an authoritative Pauline missive and argues that the author of the APl sought to advance 2 Tim's image of Paul over and against the portrayal of the apostle found in 1 Tim.

Keywords

Acts of Paul, Pastoral Epistles, Paul, Thecla, Timothy

In a passage that has often been marshaled in defense of a circumscribed role for women in the church, (Pseudo-)Paul writes: "I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men" (διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω οὐδὲ αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός, 1 Tim 2:12). The *Acts of Paul* (APl), in contrast, prominently features a woman, Thecla, who spreads the gospel as an apostle in her own right. According to APl 4:16, it was Paul himself who

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[1] I would like to thank Hans-Josef Klauck, Richard I. Pervo and especially Margaret M. Mitchell for helpful feedback on earlier versions of this paper. All shortcomings and errors remain, of course, my own. Versions of this paper were presented at a meeting of the University of Chicago's Early Christian Studies Workshop and at the 2011 SBL Midwest Regional Meeting. Special thanks also go to my colleagues Jonathan E. Soyars, Robyn Whitaker and Andrew M. Langford who read and commented on drafts of this paper.

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commanded Thecla to "go and teach the word of God" (ὕπαγε καὶ δίδασκε τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ).[2]

This is one of many ways in which the depiction of Paul in the PE is substantively different from the Paul of the APl. Their views on church hierarchy, marriage, procreation and a number of other issues are similarly diverging. These stark differences between the PE and the APl make their shared elements all the more striking; many of the same localities and personal names appear in both, as does the same "false teaching" that the resurrection has already occurred.

The question before us, then, is how we are to reconcile the obvious disparities in ideology between the APl and the PE with the observation that they have a significant number of particulars in common. Whereas most earlier scholarship has approached this question by considering the relationship between the APl and the PE *as a corpus*, this paper seeks to advance the discussion through analysis of the relationship between the APl and the *individual* PE: 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy and Titus.[3] In doing so, this study draws on the work of a growing number of scholars who have emphasized the need to appreciate each letter's peculiar features.[4]

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[2] Citations from the *Acts of Paul* follow the numeration of Willy Rordorf in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* vol. I (Paris: Gallimard, 1997); the Greek text is quoted according to R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1891-1903) 1:23-44; 104-117; 235-272 and C. Schmidt with W. Schubart, ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΥ, *Acta Pauli: Nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek* (Glückstadt/Hamburg: Augustin, 1936); the Coptic text follows C. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli: Aus der Heidelberger koptischen Papyrushandschrift* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1904). Translations of the *Acts of Paul* are my own unless otherwise noted, quotations from the New Testament are adapted from the RSV on the basis of NA^{27}.

[3] Important earlier studies of the relation between the APl and the PE include Dennis R. MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon* (Philadelphia: Westminister, 1983); R. Bauckham, "The Acts of Paul as a Sequel to Acts," in *The Book of Acts in Its Ancient Literary Setting*, (ed. B.W. Winter and A.D. Clarke; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993) 116-130; W. Rordorff, "In welchem Verhältnis stehen die apokryphen Paulusakten zur kanonischen Apostelgeschichte und zu den Pastoralbriefen?," in *Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 60. Geburtstag* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1993 [1988]) 449-465. Some scholars have noted that the individual PE relate in different ways to the APl, but the extent to which this is the case has not been fully recognized, nor have the implications of this insight been discussed in any detail, cf. G. Wohlenberg, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (Leipzig: Böhme, 1906) 22; Annette Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung des Paulus: intertextuelle Studien zur Intention und Rezeption der Pastoralbriefe* (Göttingen/Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004) 216 n. 64; Bauckham, "Acts of Paul," 124.

In what follows, this paper will demonstrate that the APl agrees with 2 Tim in many respects. 2 Tim contains virtually all of the personal and place names which the PE and the APl share. Additionally, very few, if any, of the precepts found in 2 Tim stand in tension with the APl. In stark contrast, many of the notions promulgated by 1 Tim and Tit conflict with Paul's activities and teachings in the APl, and these two epistles contain hardly any details which overlap with the APl. The ensuing analysis will strengthen the argument that the author of the APl used the PE as a source. Furthermore, this article will suggest that the author of the APl did not in all likelihood regard 1 Tim as an authoritative Pauline missive and that the author of the APl interacted with the PE extensively in order to commend and perpetuate the portrait of Paul presented in 2 Tim over and against the image of Paul in 1 Tim.

1. Reading the Pastor with the Presbyter

This first section will discuss each of the PE from the perspective of the implied author of the APl. The only extant evidence for the identity of the "real" author comes from Tertullian, who writes around 200 CE that the work was composed by a presbyter in Asia Minor (*Bapt.* 17.5). The accuracy of this statement, however, has been called into question and Tertullian does not, in any case, provide us with very many details about the author.[5] Regardless of our hesitancy to accept Tertullian's testimony about the author's identity, we will use the epithet "the Presbyter" (on analogy with

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[4] Michael Prior, *Paul the Letter-Writer and the Second letter to Timothy* (JSNTSup 23; JSOT Press, 1989); Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "2 Tim Compared With 1 Tim and Titus," *RB* 98 (1991) 403-418; Luke Timothy Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy* (AB 35A; New York: Doubleday, 2001) 64 et passim; William A. Richards, *Difference and Distance in Post-Pauline Christianity: An Epistolary Analysis of the Pastorals* (Studies in Biblical Literature 44; New York: P. Lang, 2002); R. Fuchs, *Unerwartete Unterschiede: Müssen wir unsere Ansichten über "die" Pastoralbriefe revidieren?* (Bibelwissenschaftliche Monographien 12; Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 2003); J. Herzer, "Abschied vom Konsens? Die Pseudepigraphie der Pastoralbriefe als Herausforderung an die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," *ThLZ* 129 (2004) 1267-1282; Michel Gourges, *Les deux lettres à Timothée, La lettre à Tite* (Commentaire biblique: Nouveau Testament 14; Paris: Cerf, 2009).

[5] On Tertullian's testimony, see esp. A. Hilhorst, "Tertullian on the Acts of Paul," in *The Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla* (ed. J.N. Bremmer; Kampen: Pharos, 1996) 150-163.

"the Pastor," the label often given in scholarship to the author of the PE) in order to avoid the tedious repetition of the circumlocution "the author of the Acts of Paul."[6]

The Presbyter and First Timothy

The first chapter of 1 Tim does not contain much that would have necessarily grasped the attention of the author of the APl. As soon as we turn to chapter 2, however, this changes:

> First of all, then, I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men, for kings and all who are in high positions (ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων), that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life (ἵνα ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν), godly and respectful in every way (1 Tim 2:1-2).

In the APl, the position vis-à-vis secular authorities is quite different from what we find here. Paul (and Thecla) are arrested and create public uproar in almost every city they visit (cf. APl 3:17-22; 4:1-39; 6:5; 9:11-26). It would therefore seem improbable that the Presbyter shared the ideal of "a quiet and peaceable life." Indeed, in the APl, the "quiet and peaceable life" is lived by unbelievers (cf. APl 3:13 [Thamyris], 4:1[Alexander]) *before* the apostle comes along to radically alter the lives of everyone involved. The "quiet and peaceable life" is the opposite of the life that the apostle leads.

In the second chapter (1 Tim 2:8-10), a distinction between men and women is introduced. Whereas the Pastor wants men to pray "lifting holy hands" (ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας), women should "adorn themselves modestly, sensibly in seemly apparel (ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς), not with braided hair or gold or pearls or costly attire as befits women who, by good deeds, profess godliness (ἀλλ' ὃ πρέπει γυναιξὶν ἐπαγγελλομέναις θεοσέβειαν, δι' ἔργων ἀγαθῶν)." In the APl, however, Thecla, a woman, is portrayed as praying with her hands stretched out (APl 4:9: ἑστώσης αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκτετακυίας τὰς χεῖρας καὶ προσευχομένης), and instead of following 1 Tim's command to adorn herself "in seemly apparel," she is said to have "sewed her mantle into a cloak after the fashion of men" (APl 4:15: ῥάψασα τὸν χιτῶνα εἰς ἐπεδύτην σχήματι ἀνδρικῷ). Moreover, in APl 3:25, Thecla says, "I will cut my hair short." These details suggest that the Presbyter would have had some reservations, to say the least, about the teachings put forth in these verses of 1 Tim.

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[6] This is in no way intended to foreclose the discussion about the author's identity or to exclude the possibility that the work was actually produced by one or more women as has been argued by Stevan L. Davies, *The Revolt of the Widows: The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts* (Carbondale/London: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980) 95-109; Virginia Burrus, *Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the Stories of Apocryphal Acts* (Studies in Women and Religion 23; Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 1987) 102. For a critical evaluation of this proposal, see J.-D. Kaestli, "Fiction littéraire et réalité sociale: Que peut-on savoir de la place des femmes dans le milieu de production des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres?" *Apocrypha* 1 (1990) 279-302.

The immediately following section, 1 Tim 2:11-15, would have been even more strongly protested by the author of the *Acts*:

> Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent (Γυνὴ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μανθανέτω ἐν πάσῃ ὑποταγῇ διδάσκειν δὲ γυναικὶ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ). For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor (ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν). Yet woman will be saved through bearing children (σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας), if she continues in faith and love and holiness, with modesty.

This pericope stands in direct opposition to APl 4:16, where Paul commands Thecla to "go and teach the word of God!" as we noted in the introduction. Although Thecla begins as a girl who learns in silence (APl 3:7), she eventually becomes an independent female apostle in her own right—precisely the kind of woman that the Pastor seems to have found intolerable.[7] It is also notable that the author of 1 Tim depicts "the woman" rather negatively, portraying her as a transgressor in accordance with the archetype of Eve in this section. There is no comparable negative characterization of women in the APl. In fact, women usually join Paul and Thecla's side in the APl (e.g. 3:7; 4:2-3), while men frequently oppose them (cf. 3:11-16; 4:1-3; 5:2; 9:16, 18). Women are not regarded as necessarily in league with sinful Eve. Rather, as one recent interpreter argues, Thecla is depicted as an anti-type of Eve.[8] Finally, the notion of salvation through childbearing is completely foreign to the APl, where Paul's kerygma is summarized as "the word of God concerning continence and resurrection" (APl 3:5: λόγος θεοῦ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως) and where the avoidance of sexual relations is a constantly recurring topic (e.g. 3:6, 7). Thecla herself is a prime example of a woman who is saved even though she does not bear children. Some scholars who have questioned the degree to which the APl is encratic have pointed to the presence of married couples in the APl, especially Onesiphorus and Lectra (APl 3:2).[9] Marriage, however, did not necessarily imply conjugal relations in the early church and, more importantly, the leading characters of the story, Paul and Thecla, as well as the majority of the supporting actors, are clear advocates of sexual continence, not only by personal example, but also through their teaching.[10] Perhaps the most important passage describing how the Presbyter regarded marriage is found in APl 3:5, where Paul pronounces a macarism on those who "have wives as though not having them" (μακάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς μὴ ἔχοντες, cf. 1 Cor 7:29). While not condemning marriage outright, this statement is a far cry from 1 Tim 2:15, where childbirth and *ipso facto* sexual relations are made into a *requirement* for a woman's salvation.[11]

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[7] On 1 Tim 2:11-15 and the APl, see Elisabeth Esch-Wermeling, *Thekla—Paulusschülerin wider Willen? Strategien der Leserlenkung in den Theklaakten* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, NF 53; Münster: Aschendorff, 2008) esp. 38-43 on the development of Thecla from quiet listener to active teacher.

[8] Ibid., 44-49 offers a valuable discussion of Thecla as the antitype of Eve.

Continuing in chapter 3, the Pastor lists a number of prerequisites for church leaders. While 1 Tim envisions a clear church hierarchy, there are no references to church offices in the APl outside of 3 Cor (APl 10). Moreover, many of the requirements for church leaders would certainly not have been shared by the author of the APl. Especially problematic from the Presbyter's perspective is the requirement that a church leader be "the husband of one wife" (3:2), which assumes that these leaders must be married men, and furthermore that they be fathers (cf. 3:4 "keeping his children submissive"). Similarly, the claim that a potential leader "must be well thought of by outsiders" (3:7) seems at odds with the position of the APl, which relates constant conflict with outsiders. A point of agreement may be found in 1 Tim 3:11, where the author states, "The women likewise must be serious, not slanderers, but temperate, faithful in all things" (Γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως σεμνάς, μὴ διαβόλους, νηφαλίους, πιστὰς ἐν πᾶσιν). Scholars have been divided over whether these "women" are the wives of the deacons or are themselves deacons.[12] It is difficult to ascertain how the Presbyter might have read this text. If the women were understood to be deacons in their own right, this passage would mark a rare point of convergence between the APl and 1 Tim. However, this deaconship would still be a rather circumscribed leadership role, given that 1 Tim does not allow women to teach (2:11).

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[9] Cf. Yves Tissot, "Encratisme et actes apocryphes," in *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres: christianisme et monde païen* (ed. François Bovon; Publications de la Faculté de théologie de l'Université de Genève 4; Genève: Labor et Fides, 1981) 109-119; Peter W. Dunn, *The Acts of Paul and the Pauline Legacy in the Second Century* (Cambridge: Ph.D. Dissertation Cambridge University, 1996) 90.

[10] Similarly, Richard I. Pervo, "To Have and to Have Not: Receptions of Paul in The *Acts of Paul*," (Paper read at the SNTS Meeting in Berlin, 2010), 3: "The APl requires abstinence *sine die*... [celibacy] is no longer viewed as the more desirable option but as the *only* option." (I would like to thank Dr. Pervo for graciously making this paper available to me).

[11] Pervo makes a similar observation (ibid., 9): "Paul may have been all things to all people, but the fabricator of tents will need the largest circus pavilion ever erected to contain both the intimation that women will be saved by bearing children (1 Tim 2:15) and the macarism: 'Blessed are the bodies of virgins, for they will please God and not lose the reward for their chastity' (APl 3.6)."

Any possible agreement finds its end at 1 Tim 4:3, where the author describes (some of) his opponents as people who "hinder marriage and abstain from foods" (κωλυόντων γαμεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων). One may surmise a direct polemic here against a group similar to the one to which the Presbyter belonged. It is easy to see how Paul's preaching of continence (ἐγκρατεία, APl 3:5; cf. 3:6–7, 11) in the APl could be construed as the "hindering of marriage." In fact, in APl 3:11, Paul's opponent Thamyris characterizes Paul's activities precisely as such when he accuses Paul of "deceiving virgins, in order that they might not get married" (παρθένων ἀπατῶν, ἵνα γάμοι μὴ γίνωνται). There are likewise indications in the text of the APl that Paul was "abstaining from foods." In APl 3:25, Paul is reported to have eaten bread and vegetables (λάχανα), an unremarkable dietary choice except for the fact that he consumes said items in a setting strongly reminiscent of the multiplication miracle of the canonical Gospels. Paul and his company have five loaves (cf. Mk 6:41; Mat 14:17; Luk 9:13; John 6:9) given to them by a boy (APl 3:23; cf. John 6:9). Considering the similarities of the situation, the possibility that Paul intentionally ate vegetables instead of the fish mentioned in the Gospels arises. As we will soon argue, the apocryphal Paul also seems to have avoided alcohol, which strengthens this line of interpretation, given that some other teetotaling early Christians also avoided meat.[13]

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[12] See Gottfried Holtz, *Die Pastoralbriefe* (THKNT 13; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1965) 85; Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (trans. Philip Buttolph and Adela Yarbro; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972) 58; Jürgen Roloff, *Der erste Brief an Timotheus* (EKK 15; Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger/Neukirchener, 1988) 164-165; I. Howard Marshall and Philip H. Towner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999) 492-494.

First, however, we turn to 1 Tim 5:3-16 where the author gives instructions regarding widows. A "real widow" (5:5) is a woman older than sixty without children who can take care of her (5:4, 9). She must, moreover, be "well attested for her good deeds, as one who has brought up children, shown hospitality, washed the feet of the saints, relieved the afflicted, and devoted herself to doing good in every way" (5:10). It is interesting to note that the one widow who appears in the APl, Tryphaena, conforms to 1 Tim's requirements; her daughter has died and she has no one else who can take care of her (APl 4:5 οὐδεὶς ὁ βοηθῶν· οὔτε τέκνον, ἀπέθανεν γάρ, οὔτε συγγενής, χήρα γάρ εἰμι) and she shows hospitality to the much afflicted saint Thecla (APl 4:2). One striking difference, of course, is that the church does not support Tryphaena. She is an independent individual, unreliant on the help of others.

Later in chapter 5, the author of 1 Tim exhorts his audience to make sure that younger widows "marry" and "bear children" (5:14) and gives instructions concerning "the elders" (5:17). As previously noted, both the strong recommendation of procreation and the notion of church hierarchy are foreign to the world of the APl. We can be less certain about the Presbyter's stance with respect to 1 Tim 5:23, where Timothy is told: "No longer drink only water, but use a little wine" (μηκέτι ὑδροπότει, ἀλλὰ οἴνῳ ὀλίγῳ χρῶ). In the APl, neither wine nor any other alcoholic drink is ever mentioned. As in many of the other apocryphal Acts, the Eucharist seems to have been celebrated with bread and water (cf. APl 3:5; 25).[14] In light of this, it seems quite plausible that the author of the APl would have taken issue with Paul's suggestion to Timothy—the "real" Paul would never have advocated the use of wine![15]

The situation is similar in 1 Tim 6:17-19, where the author adopts a rather pragmatic position concerning wealth. The rich are not to "set their hopes on uncertain riches" (ἠλπικέναι ἐπὶ πλούτου ἀδηλότητι), but on

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[13] See below, p. 202 on Tatian.

[14] See Andrew McGowan, *Ascetic Eucharists: Food and Drink in Early Christian Ritual Meals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), esp. 185-6; Jean-Marc Prieur, "L'eucharistie dans les Actes apocryphes," in *Le Repas de Dieu: Das Mahl Gottes: 4. Symposium Strasbourg, Tübingen, Upsal, 11-15 septembre 2002* (ed. Christian Grappe; WUNT 169; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004) 253-270.

[15] Similarly, MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle*, 58; Jeremy W. Barrier, *The Acts of Paul and Thecla* (WUNT 2.270; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009) 135.

God, and they are to use their money to "do good, to be rich in good deeds, to be liberal and generous" (ἀγαθοεργεῖν, πλουτεῖν ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς, εὐμεταδότους εἶναι, κοινωνικούς). In other words, the rich may keep their money, at least to some extent, as long as they use it wisely. The APl advocates what is perhaps a more radical position. Thecla, who gives up on her marriage to the rich Thamyris (cf. APl 3:13), trades her bracelets and silver mirror to bribe the guards so that she may listen to Paul in prison (APl 3:18). Even more telling is that Onesiphorus is said to have "left the things of the world and followed Paul with all his house" (APl 3:23), which in this case quite literally meant that Onesiphorus left behind his possessions in Iconium. Additionally, when Tryphaena comes to faith, she immediately gives her possessions to Thecla (APl 4:14). Compared to 1 Tim, the APl seems to raise the bar for serious followers of Paul with regard to wealth.[16]

The Presbyter and Second Timothy

As has often been noted, there are significant differences between 1 Tim and 2 Tim.[17] It has generally been overlooked, however, that many of these ideological differences overlap with the differences between 1 Tim and the APl. Virtually all of the issues in 1 Tim which the Presbyter would have found problematic are absent from 2 Tim: 2 Tim does not give instructions for church offices. It does not recommend, let alone require, marriage and procreation. It does not recommend the use of wine. It does not suggest that one should strive for a quiet and peaceful life. It does not tell women to be submissive and to remain silent and it does not suggest that the rich can maintain their wealth. On the other hand, most of what we do find in 2 Tim is in agreement with the APl. For example, 2 Tim mentions five place names in such a way as to suggest that Paul visited these places (Rome [1:17], Ephesus [1:18], Antioch, Iconium [3:11], Corinth [4:20]); these same places are also on Paul's itinerary in the APl. Furthermore, both documents agree on what happened in these various locales: persecution in Antioch and Iconium (2 Tim 3:11; APl 3:15-21; 4:1) and imprisonment in Rome (2 Tim 1:8,17; APl 14). Both documents also agree that Luke was in Rome with Paul at some point (2 Tim 4:11; APl 14) and that Titus was working in Dalmatia (2 Tim 4:10; APl 14). In addition, eight personal names are shared by 2 Tim and the APl, two of which (Hermogenes and

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[16] Cf. Esch-Wermeling, *Thekla—Paulusschülerin wider Willen?*, 55-56. Roloff, *Der erste Brief an Timotheus*, 366, discerns "eine antiasketische Spitze" in 1 Tim 6:17-19.

[17] See n. 4 above.

Onesiphorus) do not appear anywhere else in Christian literature from this period and information is given about three others (Demas, Titus and Luke) which is not found elsewhere.[18] The similarities between 2 Tim and the APl are not, however, restricted to such matters of detail; much of the letter's content must also have seemed congenial to the Presbyter.

The first verses of the epistle contain a positive reference to women (2 Tim 1:5). The author praises "the faith that dwelt first in your grandmother Lois and your mother Eunice." Significantly, Timothy's father and grandfather are not mentioned. Assuming their absence stems from the fact that they were not believers (cf. Acts 16:3), the situation is reminiscent of some of the stories in the APl where the women gladly accept the gospel, while the men reject Paul's message (e.g. APl 3:9; 9:16, 18). If we read this verse in the context of the other PE, we are bound to understand these women to have precisely the kind of circumscribed role and submissive attitude that 1 Tim praises, but if we look at 2 Tim in isolation, there is no reason to assume this. On the contrary, in the context of 2 Tim alone, women appear as independent actors who play an important role in the *paradosis* of faith.

Following this section, 2 Tim 1:6 claims that "the gift of God" is placed within Timothy "through the laying on of my hands." Here, Paul is depicted as the one who gave the spiritual blessing to Timothy. This conflicts with 1 Tim 4:14, where this "gift" comes by way of the council of elders: "Do not neglect the gift you have, which was given you by prophetic utterance when the council of elders laid their hands upon you."[19] The situation in 2 Tim is certainly much closer to that found in the APl, where Paul commissions followers on his own (e.g. APl 4:16) and a "council of elders" is wholly absent.

The text following almost immediately after that, 2 Tim 1:8 ("Do not be ashamed then of testifying to our Lord, nor of me his prisoner, but share in suffering for the gospel in the power of God"), is important in two respects. First, the idea of suffering for the gospel features prominently here (cf. also 2:3, 4:5, and especially 3:12: "All who desire to live a godly life in Christ Jesus will be persecuted"), an idea which is not very pronounced

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18) On Titus and Luke, cf. above; Demas (APl 3:1) is mentioned in Col 4:4 and Philemon 24, but only in 2 Tim has he become an unfaithful companion.

19) For a critical discussion of attempts to harmonize 1 Tim 4:14 and 2 Tim 1:6, see Alfons Weiser, *Der zweite Brief an Timotheus* (EKK 16/1; Düsseldorf/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger/Neukirchener, 2003) 108-109.

in the other PE.[20] Indeed, there is no indication in 1 Tim and Tit that the life of a follower of Jesus must involve suffering. 1 Tim 2:2 expresses the belief that the ideal Christian life is "quiet and peaceable," and 1 Tim 3:7 requires that a Christian leader be well thought of "by those outside" (ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν). A second important element in 2 Tim 1:8 is the reference to Paul in prison, which portrays Paul in conflict with the authorities (cf. 2 Tim 2:9). Dennis MacDonald misreads this passage (at least partly) when he suggests that Paul is portrayed here as a "submissive martyr" who has essentially reconciled himself with Rome.[21] MacDonald comes to this interpretation by reading 2 Tim 1:8 in light of texts such as 1 Tim 2:1-2 and Tit 3:1-2, where such a submissive attitude towards the authorities is propagated. But if 2 Tim is read without reference to the other PE, the text is actually much closer to the APl than MacDonald allows; both documents suggest that Paul's activity was of such a nature that he ended up in prison awaiting execution.[22] This cannot be said with equal justification about either 1 Tim or Tit.

The next chapter mentions two opponents (Hymenaeus and Philetus) "who have swerved from the truth by holding that the resurrection is past already (ἤδη γεγονέναι, 2:17-18)." This same teaching appears in APl 3:14, but is now ascribed to Demas and Hermogenes: "We shall teach you concerning the resurrection which he says is to come, that it has already taken place (ἤδη γέγονεν) in the children whom we have." This teaching is found nowhere else in early Christian literature in this specific form.[23]

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[20] The notion of "struggle" is present in 1 Tim 4:10 (κοπιῶμεν καὶ ἀγωνιζόμεθα) and 6:12 (ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα), but this is neither quite the same as 'being persecuted' (διωχθήσονται, 2 Tim 3:12), nor is it a general requirement for believers.

[21] MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle*, 66-67.

[22] G. Häfner, "Gegner in den Pastoralbriefen und die Paulusakten," *ZNW* 92 (2001): 69 makes a similar observation.

[23] The formulations used in 2 Tim 2:18 ([τὴν] ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γεγονέναι) and APl 3:14 (ἀνάστασιν . . . ἤδη γέγονεν) are conspicuously close. The phrasing in 1 Cor 15:12 ("there is no resurrection of the dead," ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν [similarly APl 10:1(=PHeid 45)]) is different, although some have argued that 1 Cor 15 must be understood along the same lines as 2 Tim 2:18 and APl 3:14. Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 1172-1176 gives a helpful overview of scholarly opinion. A similar notion is found in *Gos. Thom.* 51 if we follow the common suggestion to read ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ rather than ⲉⲧⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ in the first sentence, in which case the second sentence of the logion may be translated: "He said to them, 'That (resurrection) which you are awaiting has (already) come.'" (ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ ⲛⲁⲩ ϫⲉ ⲧⲏ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ϭⲱϣⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲏⲧ̄ⲥ̄ ⲁⲥⲉⲓ).

Also of interest is 2 Tim 3:6-8, which occurs as part of a tirade against the false teachers of the "last days":

> For among them are those who enter houses (οἱ ἐνδύνοντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας) and capture weak women (αἰχμαλωτίζοντες γυναικάρια), burdened with sins and swayed by various impulses, who will listen to anybody and can never arrive at a knowledge of the truth. In the same way that Jannes and Jambres opposed Moses, so these people, of corrupt mind and counterfeit faith, also oppose the truth.

According to MacDonald, "[t]he imagery... is of missionaries who, like soldiers, enter households and carry off 'little women' (*gynaikaria*) as prisoners."[24] In MacDonald's view, "[t]his is precisely what Paul does with Thecla, Artemilla and Eubula in the APl, all of whom leave their lovers to follow the apostle."[25] Following MacDonald's argument, 2 Tim is here criticizing the activities of Paul in the APl. However, in the APl, Paul never enters the houses of women. Thecla is Paul's neighbor, but he never enters her house; instead, she listens to him from a nearby window (APl 3:7). Other women are in the same house as Paul, but they "enter" (εἰσπορευομένας) *his* house, not the other way around (APl 3:7, cf. 3:11). Similarly, Artemilla and Eubula come to Paul in prison (APl 9:20). Furthermore, there is no indication that Paul tries to separate women from their husbands. On the contrary, in APl 9:21, Paul explicitly "dismissed her [Artemilla] to her husband Hieronymus." Husbands and wives sometimes separated as the result of the unwillingness of the husband to accept Paul's teachings, but it is certainly not the case that Paul was actively "carrying off" women as prisoners. This is not to deny the possibility that there is a certain conceptual similarity between the criticisms of 2 Tim and the activity that we see Paul engaging in in the APl, but anticipating our argument about the direction of influence, it is important to note that if this text was *intended* to criticize Paul's activity in the APl, it seems to fail, for it criticizes precisely the things that Paul does not do: Paul does not enter houses and he does not take women captive (in the sense of separating them from their husbands). If, on the other hand, the author of the APl regarded 2 Tim favorably and used it as a reference for composing his work (as we will argue is overwhelmingly likely), then it makes perfect sense why he is careful not to have Paul do what this verse opposes and why he stresses

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24) MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle*, 57.

25) Ibid.

that the women came to Paul instead of the other way around. It seems highly probable that the Presbyter interpreted this text without construing it as criticism of Paul's activity in the APl, a point to which we will return later in this paper.

Since 2 Tim begins with a reference to the women Eunice and Lois, who have "arrived at a knowledge of the truth" and ends with greetings to female co-workers, it is evident that the characterization of 2 Tim 3:6-7 is not meant to apply to women in general. It stands to reason, therefore, that the Presbyter would have read this text along the same lines as a modern scholar such as Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, who argues:

> The scornful diminutive [γυναικάρια] underlines that the author is not thinking of all women or women as such, as is the case in 1 Tim and Tit which reflects a deep-rooted misogynism (cf. 1 Tim 5:11-13). The reference here is to a specific and well-known psychological type, which should be no more extended to include all women than the scathing description of some men (4:2-5) should be applied to all males.[26]

Continuing in 2 Tim 4:5, Timothy is exhorted to do the "work of an evangelist" (ἔργον ποίησον εὐαγγελιστοῦ), which suggests that Timothy must preach the word not only within the community, but also to those outside of it.[27] This perspective is largely absent from 1 Tim and Tit, where the focus is on internal issues. In the APl, of course, Paul is *only* an evangelist, and he is (except in 3 Cor) not very much concerned with the internal issues of local churches.

Alone among the PE, 2 Tim closes with personal greetings to a number of people, including two women, Prisca and Claudia (2 Tim 4:19-22). This reference bolsters our earlier suggestion that, when read by itself, 2 Tim appears to have a relatively favorable view of women.

The Presbyter and Titus

The letter to Titus is much shorter than the letters to Timothy, and there is considerable conceptual overlap between this letter and 1 Tim. A list of requirements for church officials similar to the one in 1 Tim is found in Tit 1.

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[26] Murphy-O'Connor, "2 Tim Compared," 412. Similarly, Johnson, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy*, 411-414.

[27] So Murphy-O'Connor, "2 Tim Compared," 409; George W. Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids/Carlisle: Eerdmans/Paternoster, 1992) 457.

A church leader is to be "the husband of one wife, and his children... believers and not open to the charge of being profligate or insubordinate" (1:6). As noted earlier, the strong recommendation of marriage and the need to be obedient to worldly authorities are notions essentially foreign to the APl.

Again much like in 1 Tim, Tit 2 contains advice on how to deal with the various members of the community, including that older women should "encourage the young women to be lovers of husbands and lovers of children" (σωφρονίζωσιν τὰς νέας φιλάνδρους εἶναι, φιλοτέκνους) and to be "sensible, holy, domestic, kind, and submissive to their husbands, that the word of God may not be blasphemed" (σώφρονας ἁγνὰς οἰκουργοὺς ἀγαθάς, ὑποτασσομένας τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ βλασφημῆται, Tit 2:4-5). As in 1 Tim, the author wants women to marry and bear children. They should not, moreover, in any way give offense to non-believers (similarly, Tit 3:1). Tit 2:4-5 further suggests that older women should instruct younger women. For the Presbyter, this would likely not have been enough. Before Thecla is commanded by Paul to "teach the word of God" (APl 4:16) which sounds like a general directive, she has already instructed (κατηχήσασα) Tryphaena in the word of God (APl 4:14). Tryphaena, who regarded Thecla as a substitute for her deceased daughter (APl 3:29), was almost certainly older than Thecla, so the author of the APl apparently had no problem with younger women instructing older women.[28]

Although the data offered by this short letter are limited, it is evident that Tit is much closer to 1 Tim than it is to 2 Tim and that there are significant discrepancies between Tit and the APl.[29] This evaluation of the letter is strengthened by the observation that the place names mentioned in Tit do not fit the itinerary of the APl, in contrast to the place names found in 2 Tim.[30]

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[28] Similarly Esch-Wermeling, *Thekla—Paulusschülerin wider Willen?*, 43-44.

[29] *Pace* Bauckham, "Acts of Paul," 124.

[30] Tit 1:5 suggests that Paul visited Crete and 3:12 indicates Paul's plan to spend the winter in Nicopolis. Neither Crete nor Nicopolis are mentioned in the APl and, although it is possible that these places were mentioned in parts of the APl that have not been preserved, it would still be difficult to fit a winter stay at Nicopolis into the itinerary of the APl, since APl 9-10 envisions Paul going directly from Philippi to Corinth and then on to Italy.

2. The Pastor and the Presbyter: Directions of Influence

The previous section demonstrated that the author of the APl had a vastly different agenda than the author of 1 Tim and Tit. The positions advocated by these two letters with respect to marriage, procreation, the role of women, church hierarchy, the use of wine, and the attitude toward secular authority are almost diametrically opposed to the convictions of the implied author of the APl. In 2 Tim, on the other hand, the Presbyter would have found little that was particularly objectionable and much with which he could wholeheartedly agree (positive references to women, the absence of church hierarchy, Paul as a prisoner, notions of heresy, etc.). Additionally, it should be recalled that 2 Tim shares many personal and place names with the APl.

The present section explores how these insights help us determine the direction of influence between the APl and the PE. While previous scholarship usually assumed that the APl used the PE as a source, Dennis R. MacDonald argued in his 1983 book, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon*, that the PE are responding to oral legends about the apostle Paul, which were later written down in the APl.[31] In other words, the traditions that eventually made their way into the APl were already known to the author of the PE, who responded to them in his letters. In MacDonald's view, this explanation best accounts not only for the similarities in detail and differences in ideology between the APl and the PE, but also for the few differences in detail found in the APl and the PE (see below). MacDonald's proposal has enjoyed no small success with numerous scholars.[32] But while MacDonald is to be applauded for stressing the contrast between (elements) of the PE and the APl and for firmly placing this issue on the scholarly agenda, the answer his book formulates to the question of the direction of influence is not persuasive.

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[31] MacDonald was not the first to argue that the PE are dependent on some form of the APl but his version of the argument is the most sophisticated and has been more influential than that of anyone before him.

[32] Scholars who accept MacDonald's thesis include Ann G. Brock, "Genre of the Acts of Paul: One Tradition Enhancing Another," *Apocrypha* 5 (1994) 130-131; Margaret Y. MacDonald, *The Pauline Churches: A Socio-Historical Study of Institutionalization in the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline Writings* (SNTSMS 60; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 181-183; Frances M. Young, *The Theology of the Pastoral Letters* (NTT; Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 13-23; David G. Hunter, *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) 94, but many more could be mentioned. Others reiterate MacDonald's views without seriously disputing them; cf., e.g., Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press,

MacDonald gives two arguments for the dependence of the PE on an earlier oral form of the traditions in the APl. First, MacDonald argues that "the very genres" of the APl and the PE indicate "the direction of the polemic." Taking up a suggestion by Peter Corssen, MacDonald argues: "If someone wanted to alter the traditional memory of a historical figure, he or she would be more likely to use forged letters than a collection of stories."[33] It follows then, that the Pastoral *letters* are responding to the *stories* of the APl. This, to be sure, is not a very persuasive argument, for there is no good reason why one genre would be a more obvious choice than another. It does not seem unreasonable that someone who wanted to change the image of Paul would seek to do so by devising a narrative about Paul.

More important is MacDonald's second argument, which is based on the claim that although the model of literary dependence of the APl on the PE is able to account for the correspondences, it "makes little sense of the differences" between the documents.[34] If the author of the APl used the PE, how does one explain the few differences in details between the texts? There are three significant points at which the information given in the APl and the PE differs. MacDonald claims that these differences are best accounted for by understanding them as small changes that occurred in the process of storytelling and oral tradition.[35] We will presently review these three points.

The City of Onesiphorus: Ephesus or Iconium?

According to APl 3:2, Onesiphorus resided in Iconium: "Onesiphorus… who heard that Paul had come to Iconium, went out with his children Simmias and Zeno and his wife Lectra to meet Paul, that he might receive him into his house" (cf. APl 4:17). In 2 Tim 1:17-18, however, Paul mentions that Onesiphorus had come to visit him in Rome and that he had been of great service in Ephesus: "You well know all the service he rendered

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1983) 220; Leander E. Keck, *Paul and His Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988) 9; Marshall and Towner, *Pastoral Epistles*, 50-1.

[33] MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle*, 63, following P. Corssen, "Die Urgestalt der Paulusakten," *ZNW* 4 (1903) 42.

[34] MacDonald, *The Legend and the Apostle*, 63.

[35] Ibid., 65.

at Ephesus" (2 Tim 1:18). This seems to suggest that Onesiphorus lived in Ephesus, as may also be plausibly inferred from 2 Tim 4:19.

The Location of Titus: Dalmatia or Rome?

In 2 Tim 4:10, we read: "For Demas, in love with this present world, has deserted me and gone to Thessalonica; Crescens has gone to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. Luke alone is with me." 2 Tim 1:16-17 suggests that this letter may have been written from Rome, in which case it may be inferred from 2 Tim 4:10 that Titus is not in Rome with Paul, but rather in Dalmatia. In APl 14:1, however, we find: "There were awaiting Paul at Rome Luke from Gaul and Titus from Dalmatia."

The Names of Paul's Opponents

In the APl, "Demas and Hermogenes the coppersmith" (APl 3:1) teach "concerning the resurrection . . . that it has already taken place" (APl 3:14). In 2 Tim 2:17, however, this teaching is ascribed to Hymenaeus and Philetus. Moreover, in 2 Tim, Demas and Hermogenes are never a pair. Hermogenes is mentioned together with Phygelus (2 Tim 1:15), and Demas appears alone in 4:10. Also, in 2 Tim 4:14, Alexander, who did Paul "great harm," is called "the coppersmith," whereas in APl 3:1, Hermogenes is the coppersmith.

MacDonald argues that such variations are best explained as the result of oral tradition. The author of the PE was familiar with one oral version of the story, the author of the APl with another. Critics have been quick to point out that the explanatory power of MacDonald's model comes at a significant price, for it requires that stories about the APl and Thecla were circulating before the composition of the PE. This is problematic, they note, because the PE are generally dated 40 to 80 years earlier than the APl.[36] What is not often recognized at this point is that these oral legends must have been quite similar to the stories that were eventually written down in the APl, since they must have contained the details that the APl and 2 Tim have in common in their final written form. The oral legends that were circulating according to MacDonald's model cannot have been stories with only some general similarities to the final written form; they must have been rather similar in matters of detail. In the absence of any evidence for the existence of such oral traditions, this theory appears implausible.

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[36] The APl are commonly dated to the last third of the second century, see W. Schneemelcher, "Acts of Paul," in *NTA*, 2:235; Esch-Wermeling, *Thekla - Paulusschülerin wider Willen?*, 14 n. 12; Hans-Josef Klauck, *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: An Introduction* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2008) 50. Somewhat earlier (middle of the second century): Rordorff, "Verhältnis," 460. The PE are usually dated not much later than the early second century, for discussion see, e.g., Jerome D. Quinn, *The Letter to Titus* (AB 35; New York: Doubleday, 1990) 18-19; Annette Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 72f., 195; Benjamin Fiore, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Sacra Pagina 12; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2007) 19-20. Although the dating of both the PE and the APl is far from secure, few would

Other scholars have argued against MacDonald's thesis by identifying points at which the evidence seems best explained by literary dependence of the APl on the PE. Richard Bauckham in particular has sought to demonstrate this and in one of the instances that he adduces, it does indeed seem more plausible that the account in the APl is based on the PE.[37] In 2 Tim 4:17, Paul is said to have been "saved from the mouth of a lion" (ἐρρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος). Bauckham argues that this statement was taken up by the author of APl in the story of Paul and the lion at Ephesus (APl 9).[38] Bauckham's main argument for the direction of influence is the allusion to Psalm 22:22 (LXX 21:22) that many interpreters discern in 2 Tim 4:17, where the Psalmist prays: "save me from the mouth of the lion" (σῶσόν με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος). Bauckham is probably correct in understanding the reference as metaphorical, both in 2 Tim and in the Psalm. On this basis, Bauckham argues that it would appear more likely that the author of the APl created the story on the basis of 2 Tim (probably in conjunction with 1 Cor 15:32 and perhaps also 2 Cor 1:8-10), than that the author of 2 Tim made a metaphorical statement alluding to Psalm 22 based on the story in the APl.[39]

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dispute that the APl in its present form belongs to a later period, in light of the spectacular martyrdom stories, the extraordinarily miraculous events (e.g. talking lions) and the exalted status of Paul in the APl (Paul appears as a second Jesus, cf. APl 3:5-6, 21, 25 and Richard I. Pervo, *The Making of Paul: Constructions of the Apostle in Early Christianity* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010] 160-161).

37) Häfner, "Gegner in den Pastoralbriefen und die Paulusakten," 74, gives the same example.

38) Similarly, Peter W. Dunn, "The Influence of 1 Corinthians on the *Acts of Paul*," SBLSP 1996, 441. Cf. Pervo, "To Have and to Have Not," 6-7.

39) Bauckham's other examples are less persuasive. Of the examples offered in "Acts of Paul," 128 n. 64, Bauckham himself admits that "they carry no great weight alone," but the same seems to be true of the other cases he discusses. With respect to 2 Tim 2:18, Bauckham argues that this "can be readily understood as alluding to an actual current view-a spiritualised view of the resurrection as taking place in the present experience." The teaching found in APl 3:14 that the resurrection has taken place in the children is, in Bauckham's judgment, "Surely not a view which was being propounded by Christian teachers, but is rather

We may now add another objection to MacDonald's thesis. Our reading of the individual PE has shown that there is little in 2 Tim that is at odds with the APl. It should also be recalled that virtually all similarities in detail are between 2 Tim and the APl, not with the other PE. This renders MacDonald's explanation implausible, for if the Pastor was indeed responding to the stories of the APl, why would he write a letter that takes over many details from the legends and is compatible with its teachings (2 Tim) and then write a *separate* letter that has practically nothing in common with the legends, yet denounces its teachings (1 Tim)? If the author of the PE was claiming the details of Paul's story for his own portrait of Paul, why did the author not provide a clearly alternative image of Paul in the letter that contains almost all of these details (2 Tim)? By proceeding in this way, the author would have left open the possibility that his opponents (the people behind the APl) could agree with 2 Tim ("Yes, this letter is correct, both in terms of details and teachings") and disregard 1 Tim and Tit ("This letter has nothing to do with the real Paul, not in its details and not in its teachings").[40]

When we add this insight to the problems of dating and the evidence of 2 Tim 4:17 adduced by Bauckham, it becomes clear that the three minor differences for which MacDonald's theory provides a simple explanation (see above) do not outweigh the problems of his theory. To accept

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an ingenious interpretation of the meaning of 2 Timothy 2:18 occasioned by a desire to situate this teaching in the context of the story of Paul and Thecla." Bauckham further argues that the fact that Demas accepts payment from Thamyris (APl 3:11,13), as well as Demas' understanding of resurrection without reference to a future world, is derived from 2 Tim 4:10, where Demas is described as "in love with the present world." Following MacDonald's model, however, one can understand the reference to Demas as "in love with the present world" in 2 Tim 4:10 as a summary statement of his behavior as described in the stories behind the APl. Bauckham states that the teaching mentioned in APl 3:14 was "surely not a view which was being propounded by Christian teachers," but he fails to give any evidence or rationale for this assertion. His argument that the original teaching found in 2 Tim 2:18 was adjusted for the purposes of the APl is unconvincing (at least in its present form, cf. however, below, pp. 198-200). One could just as easily argue that the statement of APl 3:14 was adjusted for the purposes of the author of the PE, who would not in any way want to associate procreation (resurrection in the children) with "heresy."

[40] This argument assumes that the PE were composed as a unity. If 1 and 2 Tim were composed by two different authors (cf. Herzer, "Abschied vom Konsens?," 1267-1282) it is possible, at least in theory, that both were responding to the APl, but in very different ways. Such a theory would still have to reckon, of course, with the other arguments advanced against MacDonald's position.

MacDonald's model, one must not only be willing to assume the circulation of oral stories (with the details that the documents have in common already in place) before the PE were written, but one must also conjecture that the author of the PE responded to these stories in a most ineffective way. This renders it unlikely that this model provides the best explanation of the evidence.

Minor Differences Between 2 Timothy and the Acts of Paul

If MacDonald's theory cannot be upheld, alternative explanations must be sought for the three minor differences that have been advanced in support of MacDonald's reading. Such alternative explanations are not hard to imagine. In the case of both Onesiphorus' and Titus' location, it can be demonstrated that the APl is dependent on 2 Tim and uses data from 2 Tim to describe different situations without opposing what is said in 2 Tim.

MacDonald points out that the APl situates Onesiphorus' home in Iconium, whereas 2 Tim places him in Rome and Ephesus (2 Tim 1:17-18; 4:19). It should be noted, however, that in 2 Tim, Onesiphorus appears as a trusted confidant of Paul who has helped him "often" (πολλάκις, 1:16), whereas it is said in the APl that Onesiphorus had never seen Paul (APl 3:2). Rather than being completely at odds with 2 Tim, it seems more likely that the APl is consciously describing a period before the events narrated in 2 Tim. At this point, Onesiphorus and Paul have not yet met and Onesiphorus is still living in Iconium. In APl 3:23, we learn that Paul and Onesiphorus and his family have left Iconium. Onesiphorus, we are told, "left the things of this world and followed Paul with his entire house." 2 Tim and APl are not incompatible at this point, but simply relate different episodes in the relationship between Paul and Onesiphorus. The APl describes their first meeting and the start of Onesiphorus' itinerant lifestyle and 2 Tim attests to his activity as one of Paul's most loyal coworkers in Ephesus and Rome.

The strength of this interpretation is bolstered when we observe that something similar happened with respect to Titus' location. Although 2 Tim 4:10 places Titus in Dalmatia and APl 14:1 states that he was in Rome, it is again quite possibly the case that the documents are simply referring to different periods in time, especially since Titus is said to have come to Rome *from Dalmatia* in APl 14:1. It is surely more significant that both documents link Titus to Dalmatia, than that they give a different place as Titus' present location. The information found in 2 Tim and APl can be easily reconciled at this point: Titus came to Rome from Dalmatia (according to APl) and had returned to Dalmatia by the time 2 Tim was written.[41]

The only remaining argument for MacDonald's theory is the difference in the names of Paul's opponents. MacDonald holds that these names have been inadvertently mixed up in the oral tradition process. Yet if we take a close look at the two opponents in APl, Demas and Hermogenes, we can see that this "mix-up" is anything but inadvertent. In order to be able to tell a story about them, the Presbyter combined the details about the opponents in 2 Tim into one pair. At four places, 2 Tim mentions named opponents:

1:15 You are aware that all who are in Asia have turned away from me, including Phygelus and Hermogenes.
2:17-18 Among them are Hymenaeus and Philetus, who have swerved from the truth by claiming that the resurrection has already taken place.
4:10 Demas, in love with this present world, has deserted me and gone to Thessalonica.
4:14 Alexander the coppersmith did me great harm.

Using all of these details, the Presbyter has formed one pair of opponents: Demas and Hermogenes (APl 3:1-16). The names come from 2 Tim 1:15 and 4:10 and Hermogenes' profession as a coppersmith (APl 3:1) is based on 2 Tim 4:14. Their activity in Asia (APl 3:1-16) conforms to 2 Tim 1:15. Furthermore, Demas and Hermogenes desert Paul, which matches 2 Tim 4:10, where Demas is said to have left Paul out of love for the present world (cf. APl 3:11-13 where Demas and Hermogenes are bribed by Thamyris). Finally, Demas and Hermogenes are said to have taught that the resurrection has already happened (APl 3:14), an idea taken from 2 Tim 2:17-18. It is easy to see how the Presbyter combines the traits of all of Paul's opponents in 2 Tim to create one extraordinary pair of heretics. This is not simply a mix-up of names, but rather a consistent effort to combine all the details about the opponents of the PE into one pair.[42] This phenomenon is easier to explain by a theory of literary dependence than by oral tradition.

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[41] With Bauckham, "Acts of Paul," 130, we may hypothesize that Titus was with Paul in Rome in APl 14:1 in order to exclude the possibility that 2 Tim 4:10 could be interpreted to say that Titus defected from Paul.

[42] Similarly, Bauckham, "Acts of Paul," 130; Pervo, "To Have and Have Not," 10.

Although the differences between 2 Tim and the APl are real, they are not irreconcilable and do not suggest a confusion that took place as the result of oral tradition. To the contrary, they offer additional evidence that 2 Tim was used as a source of information in the composition of the APl. As a result, it seems unavoidable to conclude that the author or redactor of the final form of the APl knew and used the PE, or, at the least, 2 Tim. By claiming that the relationship between the APl and the PE is best explained by the dependence of the APl on the PE rather than of the PE on an oral version of the APl, we are not excluding the possibility that there may have been a historical connection between some of the opponents of the PE (esp. 1 Tim) and the people behind the APl. Indeed, it seems quite likely that those condemned for "hindering marriage" in 1 Tim would have appreciated certain aspects of the APl. But there is no reason to believe that the PE were written in opposition to the material found in the APl. Even if we cannot prove the non-existence of such oral traditions by the time that the PE were written—it is logically possible, after all, that the APl are responding to the PE, but that an earlier version of the stories of the APl circulated orally before the PE were written—the fact that there is no evidence in its favor warrants the application of Occam's Razor. We do not need to postulate the existence of oral traditions in order to explain the relationship between the APl and the PE, and the theory should therefore be discounted.

3. The Composition of the *Acts of Paul*: Some Implications

Before we proceed, we must ask whether the Presbyter did, in fact, know all three of the PE. Based on our previous discussion, it is clear that the Presbyter depended on 2 Tim, but was this also the case with 1 Tim and Tit? We cannot be sure with regard to Tit, which is both much shorter than the other Pastorals and has much in common with 1 Tim. In the case of 1 Tim, however, it does seem plausible that the author had knowledge of this work for a number of reasons. The *Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians* is the earliest document that shows knowledge of the PE and the author of that work seems to have known both 1 and 2 Timothy.[43] Those among later authors who betray knowledge of the PE, usually seem to know all three, or at least, both 1 and 2 Timothy.[44] If the letters were composed as a unity, we would expect them to be known collectively to later audiences and therefore also to the author of the APl.

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[43] For discussion, see Kenneth Berding, "Polycarp of Smyrna's View of the Authorship of 1 and 2 Timothy," *VC* 53 (1999) 349-360; Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*, 114-140.

This hypothesis is confirmed by APl 3:14. In this section, Demas and Hermogenes, Paul's opponents, are advising Thamyris, Thecla's fiancé:

> Demas and Hermogenes said: "Bring him before the governor Castellius, on the ground that he is seducing the crowds to the new doctrine of the Christians, and so he will have him executed and you shall have your wife Thecla. And we will teach you concerning the resurrection which he says is to come (ἥν λέγει οὗτος ἀνάστασιν γενέσθαι), that it has already taken place in the children whom we have, [and that we are risen again in that we have come to know the true God] (ὅτι ἤδη γέγονεν ἐφ᾿οἷς ἔχομεν τέκνοις [καὶ ἀνέστημεν θεὸν ἐπεγνόντες ἀληθῆ].)[45]" (Trans. Schneelmelcher, adapted)

We have already commented on the relation of this text to 2 Tim 2:18, which also refers to the notion of a past resurrection. This link is widely recognized, but scholars have not drawn the connection with 1 Tim 2:15, which teaches that salvation takes place "by having children" (σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας). In order to determine if and how that text is taken up here, we must consider why Demas and Hermogenes are advising Thamyris in this way. Are they attempting to give Thamyris insight into Paul's teaching (in which case what they are saying must be taken as corresponding to the teachings of the Paul of the APl), or are they giving Thamyris their own view in order that he might use it to win Thecla back (in which case this teaching does not correspond to the teachings of the Paul of the APl)? The second scenario seems overwhelmingly more likely. Not only is the context of this statement Demas and Hermogenes' plan to have Paul executed and to get Thecla back to Thamyris, but it is also difficult to see how the idea that the resurrection has already taken place in

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Merz and others think Ignatius also knew the PE (pp. 141-187) but cf. M.M. Mitchell, "Corrective Composition, Corrective Exegesis: The Teaching on Prayer in 1 Tim 2,1-15," in *1 Timothy Reconsidered* (ed. K.P. Donfried; Leuven: Peeters, 2008) 45 n. 15 and Robert M. Grant, *The Formation of the New Testament* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1965) 94, 96.

[44] Cf. BiPa 1:510-517; Philip H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006) 4; Marshall and Towner, *Pastoral Epistles*, 3-5.

[45] The Coptic text at this point reads: ⲏⲇⲏ ⲁⲥ[ϣⲱⲡⲉ ϩⲛ̄ ⲛ̄ϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲛⲧⲱ[ⲱⲛ ⲉ(?) ⲁⲛⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ.

the children can be squared with Paul's teachings elsewhere in the APl, where Paul emphasizes continence. Moreover, Demas and Hermogenes have already told Thamyris about Paul's understanding of resurrection in APl 3:12: "He [Paul] says: There is no resurrection for you, unless you remain chaste and do not defile the flesh, but keep it pure" (λέγων Ἄλλως ἀνάστασις ὑμῖν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἁγνοὶ μείνητε καὶ τὴν σάρκα μὴ μολύνητε ἀλλὰ τηρήσητε ἁγνήν). We can therefore safely conclude that the notion of a resurrection that has already occurred is the teaching of Paul's opponents and not of Paul himself.

How exactly to understand the saying "it has already taken place in the children whom we have" is unclear, especially since the textual status of the portion in brackets is insecure.[46] Whether the parents take part in the resurrection because they brought forth children or whether being born is itself seen as a form of resurrection is uncertain. Regardless of our interpretation, however, it is clear that children are seen as the locus of resurrection. Resurrection, moreover, is in the world of the APl, closely connected to salvation. APl 3:12 ("otherwise there is no resurrection for you") suggests that, from the perspective of the APl, resurrection is not guaranteed. In other words, not all will be resurrected and judged on the last day, but rather only the saved will experience resurrection. This means that salvation itself is made conditional upon childbirth in APl 3:14.

This idea is similar to 1 Tim 2:15, where it is said that salvation takes place "by having children" (σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας). The soteriology of both texts is strikingly similar; it is in (or through) childbirth that salvation takes place. This concept is, to the best of my knowledge, not found in other extant early Christian documents, making this a very strong indication that the Presbyter had knowledge of 1 Tim. A major difference between APl 3:14 and 1 Tim 2:15, however, is that "salvation by childbirth" is taught by Paul in 1 Tim, but by his opponents, Demas and Hermongenes, in the APl. What seems to have happened, then, is that the Presbyter borrowed this soteriological doctrine from 1 Tim and turned it on its head by ascribing it to Paul's opponents. The APl is very often at odds with the teachings of 1 Tim, as previously noted, and it would therefore make sense for the author of the APl to include among the teachings of Paul's opponents an idea advocated by 1 Tim. By linking "salvation through childbirth" to the resurrection that has already taken place, the author of the APl also brings 2 Tim into play. The heresy of 2 Tim (the resurrection has already taken place) is connected to the teaching of 1 Tim (salvation through childbirth) and placed in the mouth of Paul's opponents. In this way, the author of the APl brilliantly aligns the author of 1 Tim with the heretics of 2 Tim. This argument provides additional evidence for direct dependence of the APl on the PE, as it seems unlikely that this ingenious combination of elements from 1 and 2 Tim could come about in any other way but through direct knowledge of the documents. It also raises the question of the hermeneutical stance of the Presbyter vis-à-vis the individual PE.

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[46] For discussion, see the literature cited in Esch-Wermeling, *Thekla—Paulusschülerin wider Willen?*, 58 n. 125.

The first centuries of Christianity witness to a number of different strategies to deal with texts deemed problematic by later audiences. Two of these strategies are evidenced most famously by Marcion, who on the one hand *rejected* entire documents that were not to his liking and on the other hand *excised* passages from documents that he otherwise regarded favorably.[47] A more subtle approach can be seen within 1 Tim itself, where the Pastor engages in what Margaret Mitchell has called "corrective composition." Mitchell uses this term to describe the approach of the author of the PE to the authentic Pauline letters. The Pastor, Mitchell argues, sought "not to replace the existing *corpus Paulinum*, but to enlarge and interpret it."[48] The Pastor ignored certain parts of the Pauline corpus that did not fit his agenda, took up other parts and molded them in his own image of Paul, and repeated what he thought needed underscoring. For example, in Mitchell's view, the statement that women are to keep silent in 1 Tim 2:12 harkens back to 1 Cor 14:34-35, amplifying that text to remove any doubt about Paul's meaning.[49]

Our analysis shows that the Presbyter very probably regarded 2 Tim as an important source of information about Paul's life, travels, and teaching, and did not consider much in this letter problematic. However, the Presbyter may have been concerned about possible readings of 2 Tim 3:6-7, which speaks of teachers who enter houses to take women captive. It is not difficult to see, however, how this text could be interpreted (à la Mitchell's "corrective composition") in a way that clearly distinguishes between what is condemned here and Paul's activities in the APl. Indeed, the problem that 2 Tim 3:6-7 is concerned with is not so much the method of the missionaries, but the fact that the people involved are "like Jannes and Jambres," who oppose Paul's truth. Traces of how the Presbyter would have explained this text may be found in the portrayal of Demas and Hermogenes, who are possibly modeled on Jannes and Jambres to the extent that they also make their way into Onesiphorus's household after he initially does not invite them (APl 3:4) and make it their goal to take Thecla captive for Thamyris (APl 3:14). Regardless of the accuracy of this interpretation, it is important to note that there is only one passage in 2 Tim that likely required some (re)interpretation or explanation.

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[47] See, most recently, Sebastian Moll, *The Arch-Heretic Marcion* (WUNT 250; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 77-106.

[48] Mitchell, "Corrective Composition, Corrective Exegesis," 43 *et passim*. See also Merz, *Die fiktive Selbstauslegung*.

49) Mitchell, "Corrective Composition, Corrective Exegesis," 45-47.

The situation is quite different with respect to 1 Tim. In this letter there is much that the Presbyter disagreed with (teachings about women, marriage, procreation, church hierarchy, alcohol, etc.) and, in light of that, we must wonder what status the Presbyter accorded to this letter. The question is a speculative one to be sure; we have no way to be absolutely sure how 1 Tim was read. The tolerance for problematic religious texts was considerable in early Christianity, especially for those texts already read as canonical, as is clear from the generally high status accorded to the Hebrew Bible despite the fact that quite a few Old Testament texts stand in a tensive relation with the Gospel. We cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility that even though the differences between the APl and 1 Tim are considerable, the former's author still regarded the latter as an authoritative document.

There are a few points, however, that raise doubt as to whether this was indeed the case. First, one expects an attempt to reinterpret or explain the material deemed both authoritative and problematic. Annette Merz, Mitchell, and others have shown how the PE do exactly that with the *homologoumena*, the authentic Pauline epistles. Yet in the case of the APl, we see no attempts to reinterpret or explain material found in 1 Tim. There are a significant number of points on which the two texts disagree, but nowhere do we witness the Presbyter making any conciliatory efforts. Quite to the contrary, one of the only clear points of contact between the APl and 1 Tim occurs when the Presbyter takes up a teaching from 1 Tim and transforms that teaching into a heterodox view by ascribing it to Paul's opponents. This indicates that the Presbyter was not content with simply ignoring 1 Tim, which would have been one possible strategy to allow a problematic text to retain its authority, but actively sought to refute at least this element of its teaching. A final reason to suspect that the Presbyter did not regard 1 Tim as an authoritative document comes from evidence that other early Christians also disputed the authenticity of individual PE. With reference to 2 Tim, Origen remarks that "some have dared to reject this Epistle, but they were not able."[50] More directly relevant to the present argument is Jerome, who writes in the preface to his commentary on Titus: "Tatian, patriarch of the Encratites, who himself also repudiated a number of Paul's letters (*qui et ipse nonnullas Pauli epistolas repudiauit*), believed that this one, i.e., *To Titus* (*hanc uel maxime, hoc est ad Titum*) was certainly the apostle's, giving little weight to the assertion of Marcion and others who agree with him on this."[51] This statement is important not only because it confirms that the authenticity of individual PE was disputed, but also because it seems a reasonable suspicion that 1 Timothy was among the letters that Tatian disputed. Robert M. Grant notes: "[Tatian's] rejection of marriage, meat, and wine compelled him to deny the authenticity of 1 Timothy, where all three are accepted."[52] Among the Pauline letters, 1 Tim does indeed seem among the most objectionable for an early Christian with encratic tendencies, whereas it is exceedingly difficult to imagine reasons why Tatian would have objected to 2 Tim. We have argued that the Presbyter likewise had problems with marriage, meat, and wine and, although he was likely not an encratic *tout court*, his sympathies in that direction suggest that he may also have shared Tatian's rejection of 1 Tim.

In sum, then, there are considerable indications that the author of the APl rejected 1 Tim and did not regard it as an authoritative Pauline epistle. Although certainty will always be elusive on this point, this is perhaps the most reasonable reconstruction.

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[50] *In Matt. ser. vet. interp.* 117; translation from B.M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament: Its Origin, Development, and Significance* (Oxford/New York: Oxford UP, 1987) 138.

[51] Text and translation: Molly Whittaker, ed., *Oratio ad Graecos and Fragments* (Oxford Early Christian Texts; Oxford/New York: Clarendon Press, 1982) 82-83. I owe this reference to Bauckham, "Acts of Paul," 124.

[52] Robert M. Grant, "Tatian and the Bible," in *Studia Patristica* (ed. K. Aland and F.L. Cross; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957) 301. Similarly, Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, 116; Bauckham, "Acts of Paul," 124; Nils Alstrup Dahl, "The Origin of the Earliest Prologues to the Pauline Letters," in *Studies in Ephesians: Introductory Questions, Text- & Edition-Critical Issues, Interpretation of Texts and Themes* (ed. Nils Alstrup Dahl et al.; WUNT 131; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 198 n. 90; Pervo, *The Making of Paul*, 197.

The Acts of Paul *and 2 Timothy: The Question of Motivation*

We will finally consider the question of why the author of the APl interacted so extensively with the PE. One possible explanation for his use of 2 Tim is an interest in Paul's martyrdom. Since the author wanted to describe Paul's final activity, he would naturally have turned to the letter that, with some justification, could be described as "Paul's testament."[53] Another, not incompatible, possibility is that the author was looking for information about Paul's life after the period described in Acts.[54] I would like to end this paper with a suggestion that might help answer the question of motivation more fully. Regardless of whether the Presbyter rejected 1 Tim or found ways to accept it as an authoritative document, it is clear that the portrait of Paul found in 2 Tim was much more congenial to the author of the APl than the one suggested by 1 Tim. I would therefore suggest that, in taking up the PE, the Presbyter tried to influence the Pauline heritage by emphasizing and amplifying the portrait of Paul found in 2 Tim while downplaying, if not outright rejecting, the ideas, teachings, and person of Paul as depicted by 1 Tim. By composing his narrative in agreement with the teachings of 2 Tim and by invoking its personal and place names, the Presbyter sought to advance that letter's image of Paul over and against the portrayal found in 1 Tim.

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[53] E.g., Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament* (2 vols.; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995) 2:303.

[54] This is Richard Bauckham's position, e.g. "Acts of Paul," 131. Cf. however, R.I. Pervo, "A Hard Act to Follow: The Acts of Paul and the Canonical Acts," *Journal of Higher Criticism* 2 (1995) 3-32.

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Book Notes

The Gospels

1.) G. Van Belle, M. Labahn and P. Maritz (eds.), *Repetitions and Variations in the Fourth Gospel: Style, Text, Interpretation* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009) xi + 711 pp. ISBN 9042921542 (= *BETL* 223) €85. This is a collection of twenty-five essays originating in a colloquium at Leuven, fourteen are in English, eight in German and three in French. Invidious though it is to select contributors, the following gives a good idea of the overall quality and authority of the whole: Frey, Schnelle, Zumstein, Nicklas, Busse, Bieringer.

Gilbert Van Belle, himself an authority on Johannine style, thanks to his monumental study of parentheses in John, is not only an editor but the contributor of two helpful essays: one on the theory of repetitions and variations in the Fourth Gospel, the other a thorough survey of academic research into such themes. The so-called Louvain hypothesis, associated with Frans Neirynck and his circle, and especially recalling the influence of Neirynck's *Duality in Mark* and the relationship of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics, is prominent throughout.

Topics of the essays range from general and thematic studies (such as repeated references to the Spirit, the theme of love, and references to death), to essays on text and structure (e.g. the Farewell Discourses, the Bread of Life passage, glorification, the Easter morning narrative etc.) As we have come to expect from this series, there are impressively full indexes and generous bibliographical references. Researchers into the Fourth Gospel, its composition and theology and those seeking exegesis of particular passages will benefit from this rich collection of studies.

2.) Another collection of essays in the *BETL* series that also comes from a conference is: P. Foster, A. Gregory, J.S. Kloppenborg and J. Verheyden (eds.), *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem. Oxford Conference, April 2008: Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011) xxv + 961 pp. ISBN 9042924017 (*BETL* 239) €85. There are thirty-two essays, two (by Schnelle and Lührmann) are in German; the rest are in English. Among the international contributors are Eugene Boring, David Sim, Charles Hedrick, Mark Goodacre, Ulrich Luz, Andreas Lindemann and Judith Lieu. There is a lengthy and significant piece by Peter Head on the relevance of textual criticism for the Synoptic Problem. After an introductory essay (by John Kloppenborg), setting out the topics to follow, there is a long and careful assessment of the current state of research on the synoptic problem in the light of 100 years of study on the topic. This is written by Christopher Tuckett who, at the time of the conference did not know that the volume in which his essay was to appear would be presented as a

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Festschrift to honour Tuckett and his work. As a consequence, the book contains a warm tribute to Christopher Tuckett, written by David Catchpole in his inimitable style, and there is a list of Tuckett's publications.

This is a carefully planned set of papers, some general, some focussed on assessments of different attempted solutions to the problem, including hypothetical sources. There are separate essays on the relationship of the Synoptic Gospels to John, the apocryphal Gospels, the Apostolic Fathers, Marcion and even "Secret" Mark. Kathleen Corley's and Christopher Rowland's pieces (respectively on white male dominance of research on the synoptics (!) and on art and the synopsis) are somewhat peripheral.

This publication marks the centenary of the publication of the *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* by Members of the University of Oxford and parallels another similar publication in 2005 of two volumes on the Apostolic Fathers edited by Gregory and Tuckett to mark the 100th anniversary of *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* by the Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology. Tuckett will be delighted to have his *Festschrift* associated with such a seminal work on the Synoptics. This is a handsome publication and one that should stand the test of time as it is a valuable and up-to-date survey of a topic in New Testament studies which continues to fascinate and influence researchers. There are full bibliographies, extensive footnotes and indexes, consistent with the high standards of *BETL*.

Dictionary

John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow (eds.), *The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2010) xxxvii + 1360 pp. ISBN 0802825490. $95. This very impressive reference tool is more than a "mere" *Dictionary*. In fact the dictionary of entries does not begin until p. 293. The opening section is given to thirteen major essays on aspects of Judaism from Alexander the Great to the Bar Kokhba revolt. Authoritative contributions by the likes of John Collins, Stuckenbruck, Ulrich, Tigchelaar and Schiffman on such overarching themes as "Judaism in the Diaspora," "The Dead Sea Scrolls," and "Early Judaism and Rabbinic Judaism" make what follows that much more useful, as one can relate many individual entries to their wider contexts. (Many other encyclopaedias could benefit from such good practice.) There are 530 good-sized entries by a wide range of international scholars. Each entry has a short select bibliography attached (usually of English-language titles). Articles cover literary themes (Biblical, pseudepigraphical, Rabbinic, and writers such as Josephus and Philo), religious belief (e.g. mysticism, grace, Son of Man) and practices, such as meals, worship, circumcision. (Although there is a wide range of scholars who write essays or entries, there is a conspicuous lack of contributors from France, Italy, Spain and even Germany despite much work on the continent—Göttingen, the Madrid Consejo, or Paris, especially on the LXX and related topics. These countries are sadly underrepresented here, although archaeological work from French schools is to be found.) There is a goodly number of (monochrome) photographs and some maps. This Dictionary should serve as a helpful first port of call for most topics relating to the Second Temple Judaism. It is a handsome production and at a good price.

Manuscripts

Four years after their collection, *New Testament Manuscripts: Their Texts and their Worlds* (no. 2 in this series) comes Thomas J. Kraus and Tobias Nicklas (eds.), *Early Christian Manuscripts: Examples of Applied Method and Approach* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) xx + 243 pp. ISBN 9004182653 (= *Texts and Editions for New Testament Study* 5) €99. Following a gratuitous and protracted history of this latest collection come nine chapters which include full examinations of New Testament papyri P91 and P23 (by Don Barker); a study of Origen (with reference to P. Egerton 2) by Rachel Yuen-Collingridge; an article on pre-Constantine manuscripts of the immensely popular Shepherd by Hermas, which provides a helpful cataloguing of extant fragments; and an analysis of New Testament manuscript P50 (by John Granger Cook). Barker is concerned with the way in which New Testament manuscripts were sometimes reused (typically as amulets) and he includes a preliminary list of such materials. Theodore de Bruyn also has an essay with a similar, preliminary (albeit fuller) listing of such texts. There are inevitably overlaps here. But these two contributions remind us of the importance of including "Amulets" as a sub-category of New Testament or LXX witnesses. Paul Foster, whose name keeps recurring in these *Book Notes* has here written a wise analysis of P. Oxy. 1224 with full palaeographical, philological and textual notes and photographs, This apocryphal New Testament text, P. Oxy. 1224, has been somewhat neglected, so we welcome his essay. Foster's careful study puts this apocryphon where it belongs, centre-stage among other fragmentary gospels on papyrus. Stanley Porter, a scholar even more ubiquitous than Foster, contributes an important article on the Babatha archive, a collection of papyri largely given to legal matters, and the role these Greek manuscripts should play in any discussion of the relevance of documentary texts for a linguistic study of New Testament Greek usage, and he draws some preliminary conclusions. Kraus writes a salutary essay on the perils and limitations of reconstructions of fragmented texts. He gives helpful illustrations from his own research (on the apocryphon known as the Fayyum Fragment, and on P. Merton II, 51 by way of example). So: this is no arbitrary collection of essays that contributors happened to have in the back of their drawer but a coherent assemblage of informative articles, relevant to any future work on the describing, use and classifying of early Christian artefacts. The (unclear) subtitle to the book (*Examples of Applied Method and Approach*!) is presumably intended to say that the book is of practical help. And it is. We congratulate editors and publishers for a fine addition to this increasingly important monograph series.

Apocrypha

1) *The Gospel of Peter*

Paul Foster, *The Gospel of Peter: Introduction, Critical Edition and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) xvi + 555 pp. ISBN 9004180949 (= *Texts and Editions for New Testament Study* 4) €170. Foster's "forthcoming" critical edition of an unnamed work, tantalisingly referred to on p. xiv of Kraus and Nicklas' book (reviewed above), is in fact this one. It is a splendidly full introduction to and, even more importantly, an in-depth commentary on this apocryphon. Foster has devoted much time and effort to the Gospel of Peter over recent years and his work now reaches a fitting climax in this current volume. The dearth of secondary literature on the Christian apocrypha is slowly being addressed. Foster's work here should serve as a model for comparable studies. In many ways it would have been entirely appropriate for this book to have been in the Oxford series, *Early Christian Gospel Texts*, but it seems that was not to be. Instead, it finds an appropriate home in *TENTS*, although the publishers' readers have not served our author well. I note an unacceptably high number of typographical errors, most notably in bibliographical references and usually involving non-English names and words—I readily spotted some sixty slips. This is a pity because, apart from that, we have here an impressive piece of scholarship. Obviously, Foster's main concern is the Akhmim fragment but he pays due attention to other proposed fragments of this apocryphon. There are serviceable photographs of all fragments, with transcripts and translations. This is an impressive volume on this small gospel and one that should serve students of this text well.

2) *The Gospel of Thomas*

a) Charles W. Hedrick, *Unlocking the Secrets of the Gospel of Thomas: A Radical Faith for a New Age* (Eugene OR: Cascade Books, 2010) xvi + 220 pp. ISBN 1556352395. $27. This is a book intended for a general readership. A glossary explains terms such as Gnostic, Irenaeus, Marcion, Q. According to its Preface the tone is "reader-friendly." Each of the logia is given a separate page, even when many comments on it are quite short. The aim of these comments is to expose what the original (Coptic) readers or hearers to the sayings are likely to have understood. The book's subtitle shows that Hedrick believes that all the logia belong to the revelation-bearer, the risen Jesus, whose pronouncements testify to the radical new age and which draw on earlier traditional materials. Hedrick says that this gospel is not Gnostic in its entirety. We may welcome this simple commentary and put it alongside the recent, more extensive exposés on Thomas by DeConick and Plitsch.

b) By contrast, another new publication on this gospel is an in-depth analysis: Wilfried Eisele, *Welcher Thomas? Studien zur Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte des Thomasevangeliums* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) xii + 308 pp. ISBN 3161505430. (= *WUNT* 259) €99. This is based on the author's Tübingen Habilitationsschrift. In it he treats in minute details the differences between the Greek and Coptic logia where these two are in parallel, predominantly logia 1, 2, 3, 5-6, 30 (and 77), 36 and 37 (64 pages on these two logia do full justice to T.C. Skeat's work). He analyses the differing published hypotheses about the origins of this collection. Rather than try to recreate one supposed Urtext from all the extant remains of these logia, Eisele treats the two traditions as separate, differing traditions, each with its own raison d'être and structure, and as independent text forms. This is a book with many valuable insights that deserve thorough examination.

3) *The Epistula Apostolorum*

Julian V. Hills has written the second monograph in the series *Early Christian Apocrypha &* under the title *The Epistle of the Apostles* (Santa Rosa: Polebridge Press, 2009) viii + 132 pp. ISBN 1598150179. $18. This series introduces and provides a modern English translation of a single apocryphon with detailed notes on the text and translation and with references to parallels or quotations from Biblical and other literature. In this case we have a careful, almost literal, translation—the first into English direct from the original texts, now found in full in Ethiopic and, partially, in Coptic (even though the original language of the Epistola Apostolorum was probably Greek), It is an important text from the 2nd century that seems to have come from a "proto-orthodox" branch of Christianity in Egypt. Despite this being a text that deals *inter alia* with the date of Easter, the resurrection, and the afterlife, it has been surprisingly neglected. This book (alongside Brepols' comparable *Collection de poche de l'AELAC* edition of this text by Jacques-Noël Pérès in 1994) should enhance its prominence. The original texts are not printed but the footnotes and endnotes refer regularly to the Ethiopic (transliterated) and Coptic. Greek words within the Coptic are preserved within the English translation.

Patristics

Paul Foster (ed.), *Early Christian Thinkers: The Lives and Legacies of Twelve Key Figures* (London: SPCK, 2010) ix + 203 pp. ISBN 0281060986. £14.99. Foster, a co-editor of *Expository Times*, commissioned twelve experts to contribute an article apiece on key figures in the 2nd-3rd centuries. These appeared in the journal in 2008-9. Now they are reproduced in this volume. And very handy it is to have these contributions in one cover. The "thinkers" are Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Perpetua, Origen, Hippolytus, Cyprian, Gregory Thaumaturgos and Eusebius. The authors include Sara Parvis, Paul Parvis, T.D. Barnes, Everett Ferguson and Judith Kovacs. Each provides a helpful bibliography at the end of their chapters. Obviously, some of the early thinkers are better known than others; some, but not all, left behind an impressive *Nachlass*, but all had a great influence on and/ or reflected change, development and consolidation in these formative centuries for Christianity. We have a scholarly but accessible entrée to each figure's life and writings and their influence for their own day and thereafter. Foster's introductory essay is a splendid overview of what is to follow and he shows the links, and differences, between his chosen twelve. The valuable publication of such helpful and authoritative essays is a credit to *ExpT* and now to SPCK.

J.K. Elliott

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The Earliest Manuscript Title of Matthew's Gospel (BnF Suppl. gr. 1120 ii 3 / 𝔓⁴)

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Abstract
A flyleaf bearing the title of Matthew's gospel, found with the Luke fragments of 𝔓⁴ (henceforth P4), has been neglected in studies of P4 as well as in editions of the Greek New Testament. This article publishes for the first time a photograph of the flyleaf, and seeks to provide an accurate transcription of the often misspelled title. It also discusses the various factors impinging upon the date of the fragment, such as the Philo codex in which it was found and the apostrophe in the middle of Matthew's name. A date in the late second or early third century makes best sense of the evidence, making this neglected flyfleaf the earliest manuscript title of Matthew's gospel.

Keywords
Gospel of Matthew, title, flyleaf, P4, *inscriptio*

Introduction[1]

One of the many controverted matters in the study of the gospels has been the antiquity of their titles and attributions.[2] The subject of this present

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[1] I owe particular thanks to M. Christian Förstel, Curator of Greek manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, for his assistance and permission to view the manuscript (6.ii.2012). I am also grateful to the Bibliothèque nationale for supplying a high resolution image of the fragment and for permission to publish it. I want also to thank Peter Head, Charles Hill, Dirk Jongkind, James Royse and Tommy Wasserman, and the anonymous *Novum Testamentum* reader, for their very helpful comments on this article.

[2] The most substantial recent discussions are S. Petersen, "Die Evangelienüberschriften und die Entstehung des neutestamentlichen Kanons," *ZNW* 97 (2006) 250-274; M. Hengel, "Die Evangelienüberschriften," in idem, *Jesus und die Evangelien: Kleine Schriften V* (WUNT 211; Tübingen: Mohr, 2007) 526-567, and D.C. Aune, "The Meaning of Εὐαγγέλιον in the Inscriptiones of the Canonical Gospels," in E. Mason, ed., *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) 857-882.

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article is one of the most neglected pieces of evidence in this area, namely an early "flyleaf" on which the title "Gospel according to Matthew" is written. This flyleaf was discovered as part of a wad of papyrus in a codex of Philo, along with its much better known companions, the Luke fragments of P4. These fragments of Luke have been the subject of considerable discussion in recent years, especially as candidates for part of "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels,"[3] whereas the Matthew flyleaf has suffered considerable neglect by comparison.

The initial publication of the Luke fragments does not mention the title. In this first notice of the discovery in 1892, Vincent Scheil published some of the Luke text without mention of the Matthew flyleaf, though he did mention that the portions of Luke "faisaient partie d'un Évangéliaire plus complet."[4] When he published the Luke text again in 1893 alongside the Philo manuscript, the Matthew title was mentioned, though only in passing in the preface rather than as part of the edited text.[5] The next substantial discussion, that of Lagrange, ignores the flyleaf, despite his claim that he would "donner en entier" the text of the fragments.[6] In the full edition in 1938 by Merell, the title is mentioned in a verbatim excerpt from Scheil, although still again only in the introductory matter;[7] and while photographs of all the Luke text are published, there is no plate with the Matthew title. A decade later, the official "Detailed List" of Maldfeld and Metzger from 1949 omits it from the description of P4.[8]

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[3] This is the title of an article by Skeat (in the form of a question, albeit a *nonne* question) to be discussed below.

[4] V. Scheil, "Fragments de l'Évangile selon saint Luc, recueillis en Égypte," *RB* 1 (1892) 113-115 (114).

[5] V. Scheil, "Deux traités de Philon," *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire* 9.2 (1893) iii-viii ("Préface") + 151-215 (Philo text) + 216 ("Fragment d'Évangile") + Plates I-IV. The mention appears in "Préface," iii.

[6] M.-J. Lagrange, *Critique Textuelle II: La critique rationnelle* (2nd ed.; Paris: Gabalda, 1935) 118-124 (118).

[7] Copying from Scheil, "Deux traités de Philon," iii, J. Merell, "Nouveaux fragments du Papyrus 4," *RB* 47 (1938) 5-22 (6): "À la suite du quarante-quatrième feuillet, en guise de bourre, je pense, et pour remplir la capacité de la couverture, se trouvaient plusieurs fragments de feuillets collés ensemble, [Scheil + *et provenant d'un Évangéliaire*,] l'un d'eux portant κατα Μαθθαιον, et les autres, des fragments de saint Luc." (See also the list of contents on the same page.) This is strange, not only because of the mention of the *pensée* in the first person, but also because Merell states that he spoke with Scheil about the matter in 1937.

[8] G. Maldfeld & B.M. Metzger, "Detailed List of the Greek Papyri of the New Testament," *JBL* 68 (1949) 359-370 (364).

Shortly thereafter came the publications in the 1950s of the Magdalen Papyrus (P64),[9] and the (then) Barcelona fragments (P67) of Matthew.[10] These two fragments were quickly seen to belong together,[11] and very soon after this the controversy, still unresolved, began over whether P4 also belonged with them as part of the same codex.[12] Roberts' 1963 discussion mentions the Luke fragments but not the Matthew title, perhaps understandably given that his treatment is a somewhat discursive one.[13] On the other hand, K. Aland does include the Matthew title as part of P4 in publications in 1965-1966 and 1967.[14] He classifies the Matthew title fragment as "Fragment E" of P4.[15] Most importantly of all for NT scholars and students, however, reference to the title is absent from the most widely consulted lists of NT manuscripts, the online and printed *Kurzgefasste*

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[9] C.H. Roberts, "An Early Papyrus of the First Gospel," *HTR* 46 (1953) 233-237, with Plate.

[10] R. Roca-Puig, *Un papiro Griego del Evangelio de San Mateo* (Barcelona: Grafos, 1962 [^{1}1956 *quod non vidi*]). The manuscript is no longer in Barcelona but in Montserrat, under the classification Abadia de Montserrat II 1.

[11] The identification was made by C.H. Roberts. See his appended note to the second edition of *Un papiro Griego del Evangelio de San Mateo*, and at the end of R. Roca-Puig, "Nueva publication del papiro numero uno de Barcelona," *Helmantica* 37 (1961) 103-124 (123-124).

[12] The possibility seems first to have been raised (though not accepted) in K. Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri II," *NTS* 12 (1965/66) 193-210 (193 n. 1). The most substantial case in favour is that in T.C. Skeat, "The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?" *NTS* 43 (1997) 1-34. For recent criticisms of Skeat, see e.g. P.M. Head, "Is P4, P64 and P67 the Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels? A Response to T.C. Skeat," *NTS* 51 (2005) 450-457, and S. Charlesworth, "T.C. Skeat, P64+67 and P4, and the Problem of Fibre Orientation in Codicological Reconstruction," *NTS* 53 (2007) 582–604. See also now T. Wasserman, "A Comparative Textual Analysis of P4 and P64+67," *TC* 15 (2010) 1-26, and C.E. Hill, "Intersections of Jewish and Christian Scribal Culture: The Original Codex Containing P4, P64, and P67, and its Implications," in *Among Jews, Gentiles and Christians in Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Professor Oskar Skarsaune on his 65th Birthday* (ed. R. Hvalvik and J. Kaufman; Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2011) 75-92.

[13] C.H. Roberts, *Buried Books in Antiquity: Habent Sua Fata Libelli* (Arundell Esdaile memorial lecture, 1962; London: Library Association, 1963) 13.

[14] Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri II," 193-194; idem, *Studien zur Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments und seines Textes* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967) 108, under the heading "$\mathfrak{P}^{4}$(+$\mathfrak{P}^{64}$+ $\mathfrak{P}^{67}$?)": "Bei den Fragmenten noch 3 Teile eines fremden Textes und Rest eines Blattes, r° mit der Überschrift Matthäusevangelium, v° mit bisher unidentifiziereten Buchstabspuren in 2 Spalten, wohl zur gleichen Handschrift gehörend."

[15] Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri II," 193-194.

Liste, and the first Appendix to the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*.[16] Nor has any other manual edition to my knowledge mentioned the title.[17] This is the case not only in lists of papyri and their contents, but also in the NA^{27} apparatus to the Matthew title, as well as that of UBS^{4}. It is possible that it is excluded because it is considered not to be part of a continuous NT text, but no scholar to my knowledge has expressed the view that it is an amulet or free standing entity of another sort. Scheil's view that the Luke fragments formed part of an "Évangéliaire" was presumably taken on the basis of the Matthew title,[18] and indeed K. Aland himself on the basis of the flyleaf states: "Der Pariser Papyrus hat nämlich ursprünglich keineswegs nur das Lukasevangelium, sondern mindestens auch das Matthausevangelium enthalten."[19]

The purpose of the present article is three-fold. First, to present a photograph of the text with an accurate transcription. Not only has a photograph of the text never (as far as I know) been printed, but the text has also been inconsistently transcribed, as we shall see. Secondly, this article will discuss the controverted matter of the fragment's date, followed by (thirdly) some concluding implications.

1. The Text of the Title

The introduction above focused on the neglect of the Matthew title, by highlighting how sometimes the fragment is sometimes treated as part of P4, but usually is not. A different kind of neglect appears, however, in the way in which some scholars have mentioned the title, but have transcribed it incompletely or inaccurately. We will touch upon this before proceeding to a positive description of the title's contents and a description of the fragment's physical characteristics.

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[16] NA^{27}, 684.

[17] A sampling will illustrate the point: of the early BFBS editions, the first (1904) lists no manuscript contents, while the second 1958 edition does, listing the "Approximate contexts" as Luke 1-6 (p. x). The subsequent UBS editions (1966, xi; 1968, xi; 1975, xiii; 1993, 7*) merely give the contents as "e" (*evangelia*). The Nestle-Aland editions do not list P4 in the list of papyri until the 26th edition (1979), where (as is repeated in the 27th), only the Luke contents are noted.

[18] See n. 7 above; it is interesting that this is the one phrase of Scheil's which Merell omits.

[19] Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri II," 193-194.

1.1 *Previous Transcriptions of the Matthew Title*

Scheil's initial publication of the the Philo codex in 1893 mentions the text, but, omitting ευαγγελιον, simply prints κατα Μαθθαιον.[20] In 1960, the Bibliothèque nationale catalogue gave the text as follows, noting the fact that the text is not all straightforwardly legible, but mis-accenting ευαγγελιον, and unfortunately misspelling Matthew's name: εὐαγγελίον <κα>τὰ Ματθαῖον.[21] K. Aland in 1965-66 saw the unclarity of the letters somewhat differently:[22] ευαγγελιον | κ̣ατ̣α Μαθθ̣αιον. Thiede in 1995 has εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ μαθθαῖον.[23] Skeat in 1997 is the first to print the apostrophe: ευαγγελιον | καταμαθ'θαιον.[24] Comfort has presented the text with a spelling mistake in Matthew's name different from that of the Bibliothèque nationale catalogue: ευαγγελιον κ̣α̣τα μαθ'θαον.[25] Similarly Aune, who links the fragment specifically with P67, and has ευαγγελιον | καταμαθ'θθιον.[26] It will be helpful perhaps to scholars to present a photograph with a transcription for which explanation is provided.[27]

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[20] Scheil, "Preface," iii, followed by Merell, "Nouveaux fragments du Papyrus 4," 6. Also reproduced in van Haelst's catalogue entry for the Philo codex: J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1976) §695.

[21] C. Astruc & M.-L. Concasty, eds., *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. Troisième partie: Le supplément grec. Tome III* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1960) 241 (§1120, by Concasty). This is the spelling in Codices Alexandrinus (*subscriptio* to Matthew) and Ephraemi rescriptus (*inscriptio* to Matthew), and in Codex Washingtoniensis (at Matt. 10.3).

[22] Aland, "Neue neutestamentliche Papyri II," 194.

[23] C.P. Thiede, "Papyrus Magdalen Greek 17 (Gregory-Aland^{64}): A Reappraisal," *ZPE* 105 (1995) 13-20 (13) = *TynB* 46 (1995) 29-42 (30), where the article is reprinted.

[24] Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 18.

[25] P.W. Comfort, "New Reconstructions and Identifications of New Testament Papyri," *NovT* 41 (1999) 214-230 (217).

[26] Aune, "Meaning of Εὐαγγέλιον," 875.

[27] Other studies have noted the fragment: M. Hengel first notes it in his *Studies in the Gospel of Mark* (London: SCM, 1985) 66: "ευαγγελιον κατα μαθθαιον" (cf. also his other studies on the titles); P.W. Comfort, "Exploring the Common Identification of Three New Testament Manuscripts: P4, P64 and P67," *TynB* 46 (1995) 43-54 (54 n. 30), gives the text in the final footnote (ευαγγελιον κατα μαθθαιον). G.N. Stanton, "The Fourfold Gospel," *NTS* 43 (1997) 317-346 (333 n. 54): εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ μαθθαῖον, as ditto P.-M. Bogaert, "Ordres anciens des Évangiles et Tétraévangile en un seul codex," *RTL* 30 (1999) 297-314 (311); P.W. Comfort & D.P. Barrett, *The Complete Text of the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999) 43-44, print the text spelled correctly, and with the apostrophe (ευαγγελιον κατα μαθ'θαιον), but without underdotting the uncertain letters. In this footnote and elsewhere, the Greek is all in lower case to facilitate comparison.

1.2 *Photograph and Transcription*

Before offering a transcription, it will be necessary here to set out what principles are employed for underdotting and brackets in this article. It is quite possible that different criteria, rather than simply different pairs of eyes, have influenced the printing of <κα>τα, κ̣ατ̣α and κ̣α̣τα, by the BnF catalogue, Aland and Comfort respectively.

I adopt the following procedure, based upon the rational and transparent method outlined by J.M. Robinson.[28] (1) If there is no text visible, a restoration is placed in square brackets when the reading is basically certain. But if the text is unknown, the square brackets are left blank, with dots to indicate the approximate number of missing letters. (2) Underdotting is provided where ink can be seen, but there is "visual ambiguity," i.e. a question about whether the traces may be open to more than one interpretation.[29] Where the visible traces are ambiguous, but there is no "logical ambiguity" about the letter, the letter is underdotted. (3) Where there is no other visual possibility, the letter is not underdotted. On these criteria, the resulting text is as follows:

ευαγγελιον
κ̣ατ̣αμαθ’θαιον

The word ευαγγελιον is clear in all its letters. In the κ̣ατ̣α, there is some ink visible from the *kappa*[30] and the *tau*,[31] but there is certainly visual ambiguity. The first *alpha*, while very abraded, cannot be anything other than an *alpha*. The second *alpha* in the κατα is tolerably clear, as was seen *omnium consensu* in the quoted transcriptions above. The beginning of μαθ’θαιον is clear up to and including the apostrophe, but the imperfect clarity of the second *theta* is noted by Aland, who underdots it. On the criteria set out above, which may well not have been those shared by Aland, this would be unnecessarily cautious. Even on purely visual grounds there is no

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[28] See J.M. Robinson, "Interim Collations in Codex II and the Gospel of Thomas," in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (ed. A. Bareau; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974) 379-392 (387).

[29] Robinson, "Interim Collations," 387.

[30] In the *kappa*, since the only visible parts are the top of the trunk, and ends of the branches, other possibilities exist, such as a *sigma* before the *alpha*, with the top of the trunk being part of a different letter.

[31] The dark mark above the line after the first alpha is a hole in the manuscript, not ink.

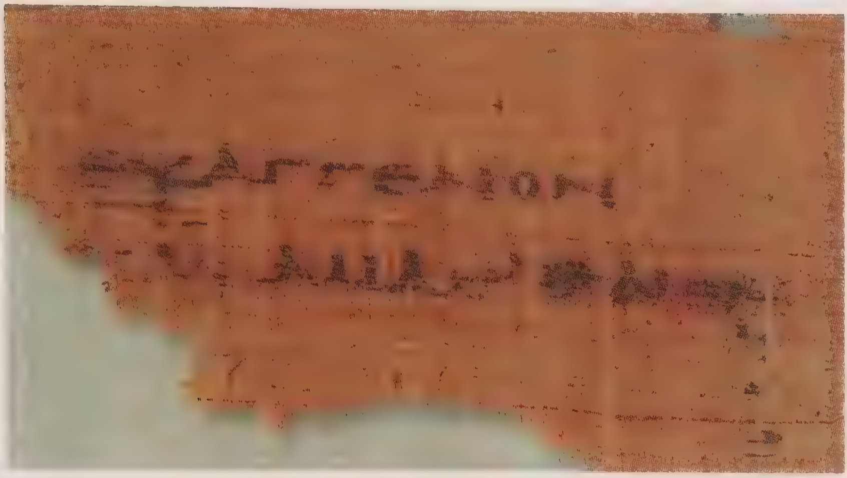

Plate 1. The text of the Matthew title fragment (courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

alternative, since the closest competitors, *beta, epsilon, xi* and *sigma*, are all impossible. After the clear *alpha* and *iota*, the *omicron* and *nu*, while not clear, can be seen with the benefit of magnification to be the only possibilities.

For the purposes of this section, concentration has merely been on the factors which impinge on the legibility of the text. We will return later (in §2.4 below) to the character of the hand.

1.3 *Physical Description of the Fragment*

We can also note the physical features of the manuscript (Plate 2). The Matthew title is written on papyrus.[32] The fragment measures 160 mm high × 97 mm wide at its longest extents,[33] and the text begins 36 mm down from the top of what survives. The distance from the end of ευαγγελιον to the right hand edge on the same line is c. 47 mm, but elsewhere on the right hand side of the fragment the edge is 2-3 mm beyond the edge on

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[32] The title is not stuck onto the page, pace D.C. Parker, *Codex Bezae: An Early Christian Manuscript and its Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 11.

[33] Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 18, has "extreme dimensions 15.5 × 9.5 cm."

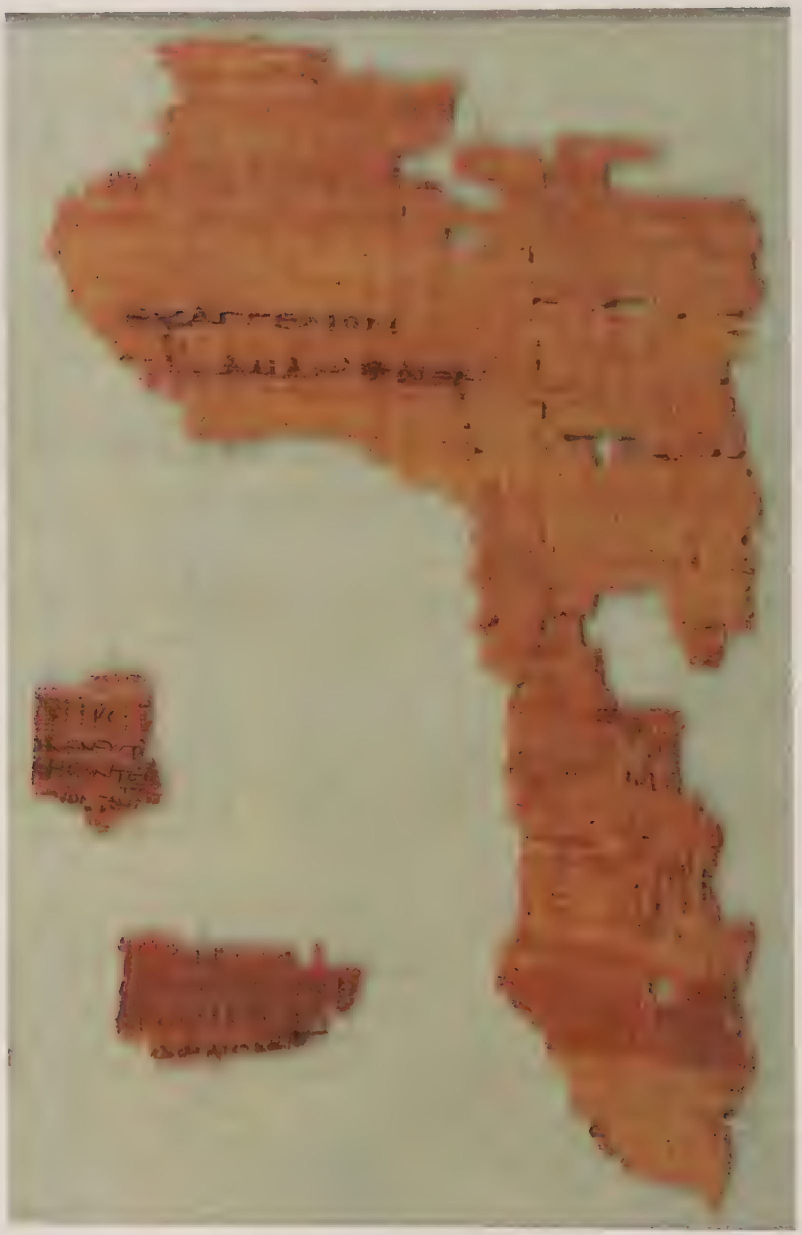

Plate 2. The Matthew title fragment in its entirety (with two smaller fragments of Philo, *Sacr.*)

that line. The extent from the beginning of ευαγγελιον to the left hand edge is approx. 10-11mm:

<?> <10-11mm> ευαγγελιον <47mm><2-3mm> <?>

As a result of these calculations, if ευαγγελιον is centralised on the page, then the unknown <?> on the left hand side is at least 40mm, and therefore the hypothetical width is >137mm.

The writing might be called "small":[34] the bilinear letters have a height of around 2mm, with a gap between the lines of approximately 4mm. The title is written is on the recto, i.e. along the horizontal fibres. The verso is blank, although there are some almost entirely illegible traces of ink which have apparently rubbed off from another leaf: individual letters can be made out, but unfortunately not enough are continuous to identify from where.[35] There is also a faint impression from another leaf on the right hand side of the recto, roughly half way down as well as towards the bottom, but again this is illegible. Skeat's description of the papyrus as a flyleaf, or cover page, of a codex (or possibly a title page within a codex) is almost certainly correct. It is very unlikely, given (a) the relative lack of evidence for gospel rolls, and (b) the considerable size of the fragment, that the page was a σίλλυβος or tag glued to a roll.[36] There are parallels to this sort of single-sided title flyleaf, such as the first page of P62,[37] and the first pages of Nag Hammadi Codices III (the *Apocryphon of John*)[38] and XI (the *Interpretation of Knowledge*).[39]

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[34] L.W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006) 175 n. 67, rightly notes that such classifications are much less useful than real measurements.

[35] Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 18: "On the other side are some faint traces of writing which are probably set-offs, i.e. impressions of writing transferred from another piece of papyrus to which it had been stuck. The first line seems to contain something like οθου, which certainly does not suggest the beginning of Matthew; moreover, the *theta* has the central bar projecting beyond the circular part on both sides—something which the scribe of P4 never does." I confess that I was unable to see Skeat's οθου, but I did notice this fact about the *theta* in the traces. (Skeat's οθου, given that the ink is an impression from another leaf and therefore a mirror image, would presumably mean υοθο, unless he had already taken this mirroring into account.)

[36] See the (considerably smaller) examples described in E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (2nd ed.; revd. by P.J. Parsons; London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 1987) 34-35 (§§6-8).

[37] A bilingual (Greek and Achmimic Coptic) flyleaf with the title of Matthew's Gospel at the beginning of P62 (title is on the verso, with a blank recto). See L. Amundsen, "Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection," *Symbolae Osloenses* 24 (1945) 121-147 (121).

These measurements above leave open the possibility (but no more) that our fragment was the title to a Matthew text which formed part of the same codex as the Luke P4 fragments.[40] If the Matthew fragment measured >160 mm × >137 mm, then this comports with what Skeat has to say about the P4 codex: "The overall size of the page is uncertain, since none of the original edges appear to have survived. All that can be said is that the page must have measured at least 17 cm in height by 13.3 cm in breadth."[41] Overall, however, the dimensions of the title page neither encourage nor discourage a connection between the flyleaf and the Luke fragments.

One can also compare these dimensions with the Philo codex, which according to the catalogue measures 170 × 155 mm, though Turner gives 178 × 165.[42] Here, the similarity might point to a production in a similar workshop, though this is clearly speculation.

It may also be profitable to compare all these measurements with Turner's typology. The Philo codex belongs to Group 9 (codices which are almost square), and P64 + 67 he assigns to the "Aberrant 1" subgroup within Group 9 (this is a speculation, however, as Turner admits, since the fragments do not represent complete pages).[43] It is easy to imagine that the P4 Luke fragments and the Matthew title might also belong in this group. P66 is also listed by Turner as a member of the group.[44]

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[38] M. Waldstein and F. Wisse, eds., *The Apocryphon of John: Synopsis of the Nag Hammadi Codices II,1; III,1; and IV,1 with BG 8502,2* (NHMS XXXII; Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1995) 1 (title on the verso).

[39] J.D. Turner, "Introduction to Codex XI," in *Nag Hammadi Codices XI, XII, XIII* (ed. C.W. Hedrick; NHS 28; Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1990) 3-20 (5, 19), again with the title on the verso.

[40] *Pace* Comfort, "Exploring the Common Identification," 51 n. 16, the objection that the hand of the flyleaf is different from that of the Luke fragments is not a fatal one: either the same scribe might have written a title page in a different style, or—as in the case of e.g. the superscriptions in Codex Sinaiticus—a different scribe may have written the title, but as part of the original production of the codex. The codex could, however, have included a blank flyleaf which was later inscribed by a user after production: there are examples of blank flyleaves in codices (e.g. Nag Hammadi Codices IV and V). The question of whether the Matthew flyleaf belonged with P4 (+ P64 + P67) will not be pursued here, however.

[41] Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 19. His judgment is based on the supposed size of his P4 + P64 + P67 codex, but the dimensions of the P4 fragments (which are rather larger than those of P64 and P67) have the most significant impact on his calculation of the dimensions.

[42] Astruc & Concasty, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. III, 3*, 241 (Concasty); E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Haney Foundation Series, 18; Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977) 21.

2. The Date of the Title Fragment

In the matter of the manuscript's date, there are five principal factors: (i) the date of the Philo codex in which the fragment was found, (ii) the fact that the manuscript had apparently outlived its original purpose, (iii) the date of the accompanying Luke fragments, (iv) the date of the hand, and (v) the impact of the apostrophe.

2.1 *The Date of the Philo Codex*

The Matthew flyleaf and the Luke fragments of P4 were discovered in a codex of Philo containing *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit* and *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*.[45] (See Plate 3.) There has been some confusion about why the gospel fragments were in the Philo codex, some of which may be cleared up. The gospel fragments have been described by Roberts and Skeat as "packing for the binding" or "stuffing for the binding" of the Philo codex,[46] or as serving the purpose of reinforcing the binding.[47] These scholars were both writing after all the fragments had been placed between glass, however, and so one needs to go back to the observation of the original source, Scheil:

> À la suite du quarante-quatrième feuillet, en guise de bourre, je pense, et pour remplir la capacité de la couverture, se trouvaient plusieurs fragments de feuillets collés ensemble…[48]

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[43] Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, 22, places "??" after his measurements of P64 + P67.

[44] See Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, 24-25 for a discussion of the group. He notes that dates for manuscripts in the group range from the second to the fourth centuries.

[45] Suppl. gr. 1120 1 (van Haelst §695). Scheil wrote in November 1891 (printed in 1893, viii) that he presented the manuscript to the Bibliothèque nationale, where it is now. F.G. Kenyon, *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1899) 145, wrongly states it was in the Gizeh museum.

[46] C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press/ The British Academy, 1979) 13 and 8 n. 1.

[47] Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 24.

[48] Scheil, "Deux traités de Philon," iii.

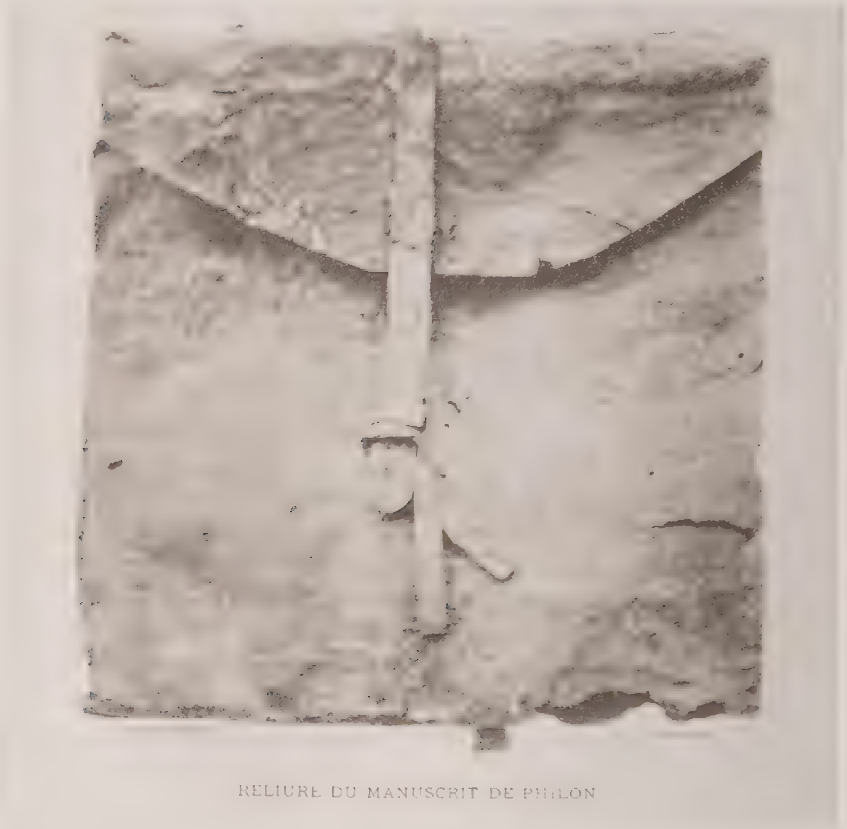

Plate 3. The Philo Codex as seen by Scheil

Another clue comes from the fact which is not really mentioned in the literature, namely that the final page of the Philo codex (page 89) is attached (still today) to the inside of the leather codex.[illegible] The order of the material in the codex was therefore:

Philo, pages 1-88 (foll. 1-44)
Gospel fragments ("à la suite du quarante-quatrième feuillet")
Philo page 89 (with a colophon)

[illegible] Astruc & Concasty, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. III, 3*, 241 (Concasty), notes that the last leaf is attached to the binding, but does not state whether this is a leaf of Philo or of the gospels.

This means that, according to Scheil, the fragments did not form stuffing inside the leather back-cover. Nor were they hidden there; they were glued together ("collés ensemble"). They must therefore have formed a kind of wad[50] to compensate for the Philo pages being too thin or conversely the leather binding being too thick: the spine of the leather cover would presumably be vulnerable if the innards were not substantial enough to fill it.

Be that as it may, the codex was found in 1889 having apparently been enclosed in a niche in a wall,[51] and was acquired by Scheil at Luxor in 1891.[52] His preliminary report of the Luke text in the following year remarked that Coptos was the codex's place of origin, and he dated the manuscripts (of both Philo and Luke) to the sixth century.[53] (A proper edition of the Philo text followed in 1893.) This sixth century date has been almost universally rejected, however, and has been subjected to a gradual reduction.

The first challenge came in 1896 in the first volume of the Cohn-Wendland edition of Philo, in which Cohn reports having consulted U. Wilcken ("*Udalricus Wilcken peritissimus papyrorum iudex*"), who saw no reason for such a late date.[54] Although no specific date was proposed there, this gap was filled by Kenyon's suggestion in 1899 of the third century.[55] In 1912, while discussing the newly discovered Oxyrhynchus fragments of Philo (*P.Oxy.* IX 1173),[56] Arthur Hunt followed Wilcken in regarding Scheil's sixth century date as "impossible," dating the

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[50] The word used in Comfort's translation of the statement, for "bourre."

[51] Scheil, "Fragments de l'Évangile selon saint Luc," 113; idem, "Deux traités de Philon," iii. Merell's reference to 1880 a misprint for 1889. The introductions to the Loeb Classical Library texts of Philo (LCL II, p. 93, and IV, p. 282) also have 1889. Skeat rightly warns that the story of discovery must be taken "like all dealers' stories—in this case quite literally—*cum grano salis*," alluding to the fact that the codex was encrusted with a mass of small crystals of salt ("Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 25).

[52] Merell, "Nouveaux fragments du Papyrus 4," 5, on Scheil's own testimony. Head, "Is P4, P64 and P67 the Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 452, reports that they were bought in 1890. Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 24 n. 17, provides some biographical information about Scheil.

[53] Scheil, "Fragments de l'Évangile selon saint Luc," 113; idem, "Deux traités de Philon," iv.

[54] L. Cohn & P. Wendland, eds., *Philonis Alexandri Opera quae Supersunt* (Berlin: Reimer, 1896) I, xlii. (Cohn was the sole editor of the first volume.)

[55] Kenyon, *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, 145: "Sixth century (?third)." Presumably here Kenyon is deferring to the judgment of Scheil, but offering his own alongside it.

[56] To these fragments belongs *P.Oxy.* XI 1356 as well.

Oxyrhynchus fragments to the third century, and the Coptos manuscript to the same date on the basis of their similarities.[57] He remarks upon their similarities of size, as well as "the informal character of the hands... and the occasional insertion of breathings and accents."[58] Waddell repeated Hunt's observations about the resemblance between the Paris and Oxyrhynchus codices, adding the similarity of "the square shape of the leaves."[59] Roberts (in 1963), Turner (in 1977) and Skeat (in 1997) confirmed a third century date.[60] Roberts and Skeat also note the scholarly consensus on the point,[61] and speculate about where the manuscript was produced, though there is not sufficient evidence for any degree of certainty here.[62] Most recently, the third century date has been repeated in Royse's overview of the textual transmission of Philo's works.[63] Since plates are reproduced in Scheil's 1893 edition, the scripts have been readily available to examine, and so it need not be suspected that the date is simply repeated from one scholar to the next.[64] The third century date can thus be regarded as a reasonably secure *terminus ad quem* for both the Luke fragments and the Matthew title.

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[57] A.S. Hunt, ed., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Part IX* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1912) 16.

[58] Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri IX*, 16.

[59] W.G. Waddell, "On the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Philo (P. Oxy. IX, 1173; XI, 1356)," *Études de Papyrologie* 1 (1932) 1-6 (5). He notes, however, that the Paris papyrus is in two columns, whereas the Oxyrhynchus text is in a single column.

[60] Roberts, *Buried Books*, 12; Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, 113; Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 26; Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, Belief*, 8: "later third century." The only exception which I have found to the third century date is that given by Harl (as advised by A. Bataille), namely the fourth century. M. Harl, ed., *Quis rerum divinarum heres sit* (Philon d'Alexandrie 15; Paris: Cerf, 1976) 155.

[61] Roberts, *Buried Books*, 13: "the Philo, as the experts agree, belongs to the third century"; Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 26: "a third century date has been generally accepted."

[62] Roberts, *Buried Books*, 12, is equivocal about a Caesarean or Egyptian provenance; Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 25-26, is much more definitely in favour of an Egyptian origin, suggesting Alexandria. The question of the Caesarean provenance arises out of the discussion by Cohn of the textual history of Philo in Cohn & Wendland, eds., *Philonis Alexandri Opera quae Supersunt*, I, esp. i-iv and xli-xlix (cf. also Wendland in *Opera*, III, iii, and Roberts, *Buried Books*, 12). All the medieval codices are identified as stemming from a single archetype originating in Caesarea, and the Paris codex does so as well (being closest to Family UF). If the Paris codex is from Caesarea, a third century date would tally with the fact that in the fourth century, the papyrus collection of the Caesarea library was copied onto parchment for better preservation (during which time papyrus codices would not have been produced), as noted both by Jerome (*Ep.* 34.1 and *Vir. Ill.* 113, on the task *in membranis instaurare*), and one of the manuscripts (Vindobon. theol. gr. 29 [Cohn, *Opera*, I, iii:]: Ευζώιος ἐπίσκοπος [in 376-379 CE] ἐν σωματίοις ἀνενεώσατο).

[63] J.R. Royse (with A. Kamesar), "The Works of Philo," in *The Cambridge Companion to*

2.2 *The "Recycling" of the Flyleaf in the Philo Codex*

The terminus should be pushed back still further than the date of the Philo codex. This is because the use of the Matthew title fragment as part of the wad in the Philo codex presupposes that the flyleaf had outlived its original function and become recycling fodder. Unfortunately it is impossible to know how long this took. Skeat commented on P4 + P64/P67 as follows:

> Obviously they must be earlier than the date of the Philo codex. Obviously, too, one must allow some time for such an *edition de luxe* of the four Gospels to become so dilapidated that it was torn up and used as waste paper; and if a third-century date for the fragments is to be considered at all, it must surely fall within the very early years of that century.[65]

Of all the parts of a codex, however, the flyleaf is a part (along with the back page) very vulnerable to being damaged, or dislodged from the rest of the codex. So although our flyleaf clearly predates the Philo codex by some period of time, we cannot be certain by how long.

2.3 *The Date of the Luke P4 (cf. P64 + P67) Fragments*

All other things being equal, we might also regard the Luke P4 fragments as at least capable of assisting in the dating of the Matthew title fragment. As with the Philo codex, the Luke text has also been dated earlier and earlier over the past century. After Scheil's sixth century date,[66] Lagrange stated that the text could be "daté avec sureté du IV^{e} siècle."[67] Merell agreed, citing the authoritative verdicts of Kenyon (curiously, given his suggested

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Philo (ed. A. Kamesar; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) 32-64 (63), dating both the Coptos papyrus and the Oxyrhynchus text to the third century.

[64] E.g. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, 113, indicates that the dating is his own, and that he had seen the manuscript or photographs of it; indeed, Turner has a plate on p. xii.

[65] Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 26.

[66] Scheil, "Fragments de l'Évangile selon saint Luc," 113.

[67] Lagrange, *Critique Textuelle II*, 118.

third-century date for the Philo), Collart, and Dain.[68] Turner, on the other hand, gave a date of "iii or iii/iv,"[69] and now it is common to assign it to the third century.[70] Skeat has dated it to the late second century.[71] This is partly because of his connection of P4 + P64/67, but this cannot be regarded as distorting the picture because even if the three fragments do not all hail from the same codex, the hands of P4 and P64/67 are nevertheless so similar that they should in any case be assigned to the same timeframe.[72] (It is curious that P64 and P67 tend to be dated earlier than P4: this is a tendency which should be rectified).[73] Most recently, Barker has dated the fragments to the much wider time-span of mid-second to mid-fourth centuries, but such a late terminus ad quem does not take sufficient account of the Philo codex.[74] For our purposes, however, it is sufficient to say that the late second or early third century date of the P4 fragments should make at least some contribution to the question of dating the Matthew title.

2.4 *Palaeography (i): The Letter Forms*

We can begin with a brief survey of the letter forms. Overall, the script is written in carefully formed upright capitals, in some (though not all) respects resembling biblical uncial on Skeat's definition ("vertical strokes are thick, horizontal ones relatively thin, while sloping strokes come between these extremes").[75] The curvilinear *mu* is less characteristic of the biblical majuscule, as are the proximity or even connection between some of the letters, and the oval *omicron*. The script is essentially bilinear, small, and in *scriptio continua*, as is evident from the lack of spacing between κατα and μαθθαιον.[76] Letters are written consistently, so only one description is given for each letter:

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[68] Merell, "Nouveaux fragments du Papyrus 4," 7.

[69] Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, 145.

[70] See the list of papyri in the Appendix to NA^{27}.

[71] Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 30.

[72] See e.g. Head, "Is P4, P64 and P67 the Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels?" 451, who questions whether they were part of the same codex, but suggests that the same scribe wrote the two (separate) texts.

[73] See e.g. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex*, 145, 149, giving "iii-iv" as the date for P4, but "ii" for P64 + P67; the Appendix to NA^{27} dates them to "III" and "ca. 200" respectively.

[74] D. Barker, "The Dating of New Testament Papyri," *NTS* 57 (2011) 571-582 (578).

[75] Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 3. Similarly G. Cavallo, "Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri," in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (ed. R. Bagnall; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 101-148 (129) on the "biblical majuscule."

- *epsilon*: flat with long cross-bar extending beyond the shorter top horizontal and the even shorter bottom horizontal
- *upsilon*: descender extending below the line, with straight branches (right branch at 45 degrees, the left rather flatter)
- *alpha*: a roughly equilateral triangle, with three strokes, and the top extending above the line
- *gamma*: prominent long horizontal, rather longer than the vertical, forming neat right-angle
- *lambda*: slight inward curve on the longer diagonal, and the top (like the *alpha*) extending above the line; touching the following *iota*
- *iota:* straight vertical line
- *omicron*: full-sized bilinear, oval in shape
- *nu*: broad, with the long sloping middle stroke touching the top of the left vertical but some way up from the bottom of the right vertical
- *kappa*: the ends of the branches may indicate that they are rounded and that the letter is formed in two strokes; touching the following *alpha* at the base
- *tau*: quite wide
- *mu:* formed in three strokes, with curved central member which touches the base-line at the centre; touching the *alphas* on both sides
- *theta*: apparently a larger top than bottom half, though this is not clear; the cross-bar protrudes to the right

Of the collection of plates in Cavallo's *Ricerche*, the closest analogues are *P.Berol.* 7499 (third century) and *PSI* 1377 (second-third century).[77] Among the alphabets tabulated by Kenyon, the closest matches are §13 = Harris Homer (first century CE), with §16 = Bankes Homer and §17 = Bodl. MS Gr. class. A. 1 (both second century CE). Also with some resemblance is *P.Oxy.* IV 661, from the latter half of the second century. (See Table 1 for three comparanda.) So the script is consistent with a date in the

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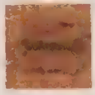
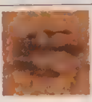
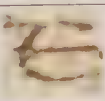
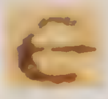
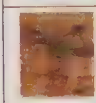
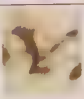
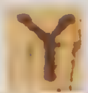
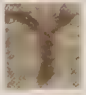
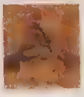
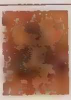
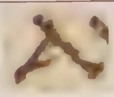
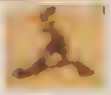
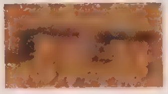
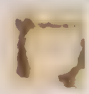
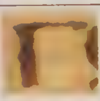
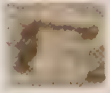
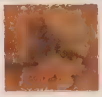
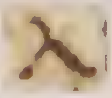
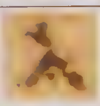
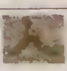
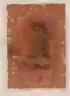
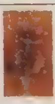
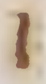
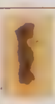
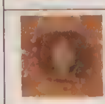
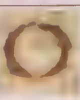
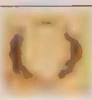
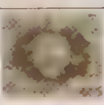
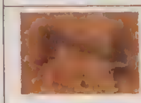
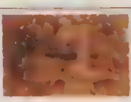
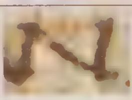
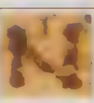
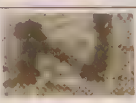
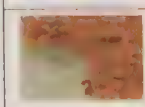
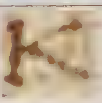
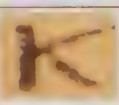
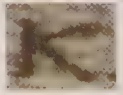
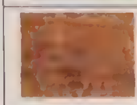
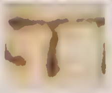
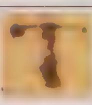
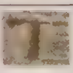
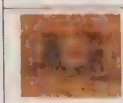
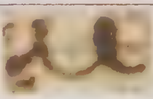
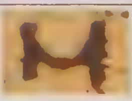
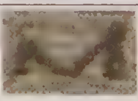
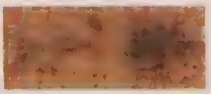
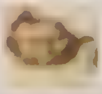
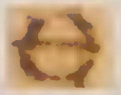
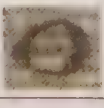
[76] Although some of the letters touch, there are no ligatures.

[77] G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Studi e testi di papirologia 2; Florence: Le Monnier, 1967) 20 and n. 3 for the date of *P.Berol.* 7499, with plate 19a; on *PSI* 1377, *Ricerche*, 41 for the date, with plate 20a.

Table 1.

Matthew Flyleaf		Bankes Homer (BM Papyrus cxiv) (ii)	*P.Oxy.* 661 (late ii)	P.Berol. 7499 (iii)
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				

second or third centuries, without there being very close analogues indicating a narrower time-frame. Additional caution is necessary since it cannot be guaranteed that a title page would be written in a script identical to that of the main text.

2.5 *Palaeography (ii): The Apostrophe*

We have noted the standard dates given for the P4 fragments, remarking upon the current preferences for either a second or third century view. In the main, however, there has been much less hesitation in assigning the Matthew flyleaf to the third century for the single reason of the apostrophe in the middle of Matthew's name (μαθ'θαιον). We will sketch the evidence adduced for this dating, as well as a recent proposal of an earlier date, before pronouncing judgment.

Arguments for the Third Century Date

The giants in the field of papyrology commonly state that the apostrophe as a consonant divider is a feature almost exclusively belonging to the third century CE and beyond.[78] Observations to this effect were made already by Grenfell and Hunt in 1899 and Wilcken in 1901.[79] More recently, Turner and Parsons have commented: "In the first decade of iii A.D. this practice suddenly becomes extremely common and then persists."[80] Parsons had earlier remarked in a review that it "is normal practice in the third century, and not before."[81]

Numerous examples of the apostrophe can be adduced from the third century. Texts which will be familiar to biblical scholars include P66, which while dated in NA^{27} to "c. 200" is taken by Turner/Parsons to be "earlier iii A.D." or "*c.* A.D. 200-50";[82] from (or also from) the third century are

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[78] Some are more specific, remarking on the particular consonants: e.g. the apostrophe "between double nasals" (Turner/Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 108), or "at mute or liquid junctures" (Haslam—see n. 116 below).

[79] B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Volume II* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund) 1899, 115, on *P.Oxy.* II 224: "The apostrophe separating the γ and μ of στεναγμος in 1039a (the use of which makes it probable that the papyrus is not older than the third century) is by the original scribe"; U. Wilcken, "Ein Polybiustext auf Papyrus," *APF* 1 (1901) 388-395 (388): "das Häkchen… das bisher wenigstens nicht früher als für das III. Jahrh. sicher nachgewiesen ist."

[80] Turner/ Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 11 n. 50.

[81] P.J. Parsons, Review of Cavallo, *Richerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 379.

[82] Turner/Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 108.

P75,[83] *P.Chester Beatty* VII,[84] *P.Lond.Lit.* 207,[85] P106;[86] later come P110 (fourth century);[87] a fourth century manuscript of the *Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres*,[88] and a fifth-sixth century fragment of the *Ascension of Isaiah* in Greek.[89] Numerous non-Christian papyri employ the same convention, such as BM 2557.8-9,[90] *P.Oxy.* VII 1016,[91] *P.Oxy.* XXVII 2458 (all third century), and *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4378 (13 May 369). The most exact parallels to our flyleaf are the spelling of Matthew's name as ματ'θαιος at Matthew 10.3 in Codex W, and, in Coptic, as ⲙⲁⲑ`ⲑⲁⲓⲟⲥ in *Gos. Thom.* 13 (NHC II 82,34–83,1).

These are merely illustrative of a much larger body of examples. As a result, it is not surprising to find two of the contributors to the recent *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* remarking that "in the third century CE, the habit arose of placing an apostrophe between doubled mutes or liquids,"[92] and that it is "a palaeographic trait not common until the third century."[93] Earlier, Skeat had assumed the same in his comment that the Matthew title "may be ascribed to the 3rd century, since the hook-shaped mark between the two *thetas* does not become common until about 200 AD."[94]

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[83] This date is given in the *Kurzgefasste Liste*.

[84] F.G. Kenyon, ed., *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. Fascicle VI. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ecclesiasticus: Text* (London: Emery Walker, 1937) viii.

[85] D. Barker, "The *Nomina Sacra* in P.Lond.Lit. 207," in *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1-7 August, 2004, Volume 1* (ed. J. Frösén, T. Purola and E. Salmenkivi; Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2007) 93-104.

[86] P.M. Head, "Some Recently Published New Testament Papyri from Oxyrhynchus: An Overview and Preliminary Assessment," *TynB* 51 (2000) 1-16 (5).

[87] Head, "Some Recently Published New Testament Papyri," 5.

[88] A. Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians. P. Chester Beatty XVI (with new editions of Papyrus Vindobonensis Greek inv. 29456+29828 verso and British Library Cotton Tiberius B. v f. 87)* (Leiden/New York: Brill, 1994) 89-90 on the fourth century date, and 83 for examples of the apostrophe between gammas.

[89] B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri, being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney* (London: Oxford University Press, 1900) 3.

[90] H.J.M. Milne, *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1927) 165-166: απαγ'[γελω].

[91] τετ'τιγων in *P.Oxy.* VII 1016.232.

[92] W.A. Johnson, "The Ancient Book," in Bagnall, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 256-281 (262).

[93] D.G. Martinez, "The Papyri in Early Christianity," in Bagnall, ed., *Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, 590-622 (599), though noting the existence of earlier examples (613 n. 49).

[94] Skeat, "Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 18; L.W. Hurtado, "The Origin of the Nomina Sacra: A. Proposal," *JBL* 117 (1998) 655–673 (657 n. 7), cites from personal cor-

Arguments for a Possible Earlier Date

On the other side, some evidence can be marshalled against a third century watershed for the habit. First, there are counterexamples to the rule that the apostrophe is a clear indication of a third century date. If one combines examples given by Crönert and Comfort with the exceptions noted by Turner and Parsons, and some others, the following list of those fairly securely dated before the third century emerges:[95]

11 CE:	αλ’λωι	(P. Wess. Taf. gr. 6,7, line 5)[96]
101/102 CE:	Αγ’χοριμφις	(*BGU* iii 715.5)[97]
184/185 CE:	αγ’γηων	(*P.Petaus* 86.11 = *P.Michigan* 6871)[98]
193 CE:	επενεγ’κωσι	(*SB* xiv 11342.11)[99]
ii CE:	απυγ’χεως	(*P.Rainer* 24856 i 22 = *SPP* xxii 2.22)[100]

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respondence with Skeat: the apostrophe as a division of double consonants "is common in the 3rd cent. but decidedly rare in the 2nd." A.F. Gregory, *The Reception of Luke and Acts in the Period before Irenaeus: Looking for Luke in the Second Century* (WUNT II/169; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003) 30, follows Skeat's *NTS* article in dating the flyleaf to the third century on the basis of the apostrophe.

[95] W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1903) 18; P.W. Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Paleography* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 2005) 109; Turner/Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 11 n. 50. *Contra* T. Nicklas, "Papyrus Egerton 2," in *Non-Canonical Gospels* (ed. P. Foster; London: Continuum, 2008) 139-149 (140 n. 6), on the later dating of the Egerton manuscript: "Concretely the newly found part of the manuscript has an apostrophe between two consonants at the new line 44, a scribal practice otherwise not attested during the second century CE."

[96] The text is printed in K. Wessely, *Papyrorum Scripturae Graecae Specimina Isagogica* (Leipzig: Avenarium, 1900) 4 and in Table 6 (text 7). Since the text has not to my knowledge yet been published in the official publications of the Rainer papyri (to which it belongs) I present the reference number above in the form given in the sceptical note of Wilcken, where he remarks, presumably (!) in reference to the first-century scribe rather than Wessely: "Das sieht eher wie ein lapsus calami aus" ("Ein Polybiustext auf Papyrus," 388 n. 4). Wessely is clear about the presence of the apostrophe, however, noting: "Hoc instrumentum scriptum esse a scriba haud imperito manifestum est etiam ex eo quod in vocabulo αλ’λωι quo facilius legatur uirgula addita est."

[97] Not Αγ’χωριμφις as in Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts,* 109.

[98] This is not a dubious example because it only appears in one of three duplicate copies, as suggested by Turner/ Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 11 n. 50. Turner/ Parsons print the text correctly, rather than as αγ’γων as in Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts,* 109.

[99] SB = *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten.*

[100] SPP = *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyrusurkunde* series (ed. K. Wessely).

Crönert also adduces examples from 201, 207, 215 and 216 CE, and then on deeper into the third century and beyond.

Second, there are additional borderline cases where manuscripts are given the rather vague date of "*c.* 200," such as P46, with its κριτ'τονος in Hebrews (Heb. 7.7; 8.6; cf. also κριτ'τοσι in 8.6),[101] P66 (on the NA^{27} dating), as well as the Manchester and Berlin fragments of Polybius (φαλαγ'γος)[102] and the Egerton-Cologne manuscript of the *Unknown Gospel*, to both of which we will return.[103]

Thirdly, as a roughly parallel situation we can also note examples of the apostrophe used to mark word division, rather than appearing in the middle of a word: a Vienna papyrus from the second century (or perhaps first century) has an apostrophe between two *mus* (εμ`μεισιν [i.e. ἐν μησίν]);[104] *P.Oxy.* LIII 3702, dated by the editors to the second-third century, has a similar division in προσ'γαμον.

Comfort and Barrett are the two scholars (writing collaboratively) who have ventured to question the consensus view. As a result of some of these considerations outlined above, they remark: "This title sheet was probably produced around a.d. 175-200 because that is when it became stylish for scribes to insert a hooked comma (apostrophe) between double consonants—as here, between the thetas."[105] Similarly, Comfort *seul* concludes that it "was probably produced around A.D. 150-200" for the same reason.[106]

Problems in the Debate

There are several questions which might be asked of both "sides" in the controversy here.

First, the reasons given by Comfort and Barrett for assigning a probable second century date are clearly problematic. Both the facts and the logic are faulty: it is not really true that the habit "became stylish" in the second century, and even if it had, a particular instance in a particular manuscript cannot with probability be assigned to the time when the habit first became fashionable.[107]

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[101] See the images on the APIS website at the University of Michigan.

[102] Not φαλαγ'γας as in Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts*, 109.

[103] *P.Köln* 255 has ανενεγ'κον.

[104] See W. Crönert, "Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der christlichen," *APF* 1 (1901) 502-539 (536-537), and idem, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis*, 18 n. 3.

[105] Comfort & Barrett, *Complete Text of the Earliest New Testament Manuscripts*, 44.

[106] Comfort, "New Reconstructions and Identifications," 217.

Secondly, on the other hand, do the second century instances assembled above comprise a critical mass sufficient to mean that examples ante-dating 200 CE are not merely egregious exceptions? This is a hard question to answer. One factor which should be noted is the rarity of any consistent pattern to the usage of the apostrophe. For example, in the P46 text of Hebrews, the apostrophe appears in three out of twelve instances of forms of κρ(ε)ίττων (and nowhere else in P46); similarly, as Turner and Parsons note, only one manuscript (*P.Michigan* 6871) among the three copies of *P.Petaus* 86.11 has the apostrophe between the *gammas*.[108] We also have the curious situation of great gaps between the first recorded instances in 11 CE, then in 101/102 CE, and then in 184/185, after which there is a steady stream. Even after 200 CE, the apostrophe is by no means a ubiquitous feature.

Thirdly, to what extent is the apostrophe alone sufficient indication of a later date, especially when other factors might point to an earlier hand? We can consider four parallel cases.

(1) In the example of the "Unknown Gospel" (using this label so as to include all the fragments), the Egerton fragments were dated to around the mid-second century on various grounds,[109] but with the addition of the Köln papyrus, this was revised upwards by Gronewald to the third century on the basis of the apostrophe.[110] Skeat, however, merely conceded that the Köln papyrus "may necessitate revising the dating of the MS."[111]

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107) Cf. the brief remark in R. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009) 95.

108) Turner/ Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 11 n. 50.

109) See H.I. Bell & T.C. Skeat, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and other Early Christian Papyri* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935) 2-7.

110) M. Gronewald, "Unbekanntes Evangelium oder Evangelien Harmonie (Fragment aus dem 'Evangelium Egerton')," in *Kölner Papyri. Vol. VII, Band 6* (ed. M. Gronewald, B. Kramer, K. Maresch, M. Parca and C. Römer; Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1987) 136-145 (136-137): "Nachzutragen ist, daß sich in dem Kölner Fragment nun auch Apostroph zwischen Konsonanten (ανενεγ᾽κον) wie in P.Bodmer II findet, was nach E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* 13, 3 eher ins dritte Jahrhundert weist. Doch auch bei einer eventuellen Datierung um 200 würde P.Egerton 2 immer noch zu den frühesten christlichen Papyri zählen."

111) Cited in Hurtado, "Origin of the Nomina Sacra," 657 n. 7; cf. Skeat's remark that the apostrophe is "common in papyri from the late 2nd century onwards" ("The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 5).

(2) A very similar situation occurs in the publication of some Polybius fragments divided between Berlin (*P.Berol.* 9570) and Manchester (*P.Ryl.* 60). In his publication of the latter, Hunt includes in the heading a date of "Late second century."[112] Thus preferring a date before 200 CE, he notes the differing view of Wilcken, the editor of the Berlin fragments, who opted for a date after 200. Wilcken had remarked that he would otherwise be inclined to date the hand to *c.* 200 CE, but assigned it to the third century because of the apostrophe; the fact that the apostrophe only appears once leads him to place it at the beginning of that century, and moreover: "Natürlich ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Hs. dem Ende des II. Jahrhs. angehört."[113] On the strength of other factors, however, Hunt remarks that the apostrophe is "no very certain indication."[114]

(3) In volume 53 of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, M.W. Haslam edited a rhetorical treatise which is dated in the superscription as "Second (or third?) century" (*P.Oxy.* LIII 3708).[115] Haslam comments that he would hesitate to date it later than the second century, adding the following remark: "A factor telling in favour of a third- rather than a second-century date for 3708 is the use of apostrophe at mute or liquid junctures (αναγ᾽καζομενος 2↓ 13, εκ᾽λε[23, εγ᾽δ[→25) ... but I do not think a hand such as this would normally be dated beyond the end of the second century."[116]

(4) When editing *P.Oxy.* XLII 3013, Parsons dated the manuscript "Second/Third cent.," while noting that the apostrophe in αγ᾽νοων "suggests a later rather than an earlier date."[117] Compare the later comment of Turner/Parsons, that the text, "a dramatic hypothesis in a semi-cursive hand, which might otherwise be assigned to ii A.D., has αγ᾽νοων," and is therefore to be assigned to the third century instead.[118] Again, then, this is

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[112] A.S. Hunt, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1911) 190.

[113] Wilcken, "Ein Polybiustext auf Papyrus," 388.

[114] Hunt, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri*, 190.

[115] M.W. Haslam, ed., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Volume LIII* (London: Egypt Exploration Society/The British Academy, 1986) 60. For images, see the plates in the volume, as well as: http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/POxy/papyri/vol53/pages/3708.htm.

[116] Haslam, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri: Volume LIII*, 60, citing also Parsons' view to the contrary in *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 379.

[117] P.J. Parsons, ed., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XLII* (London: Egypt Exploration Society/The British Academy, 1974) 46.

[118] Turner/Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 11 n. 50.

a case where the apostrophe alone has been a deciding factor against other considerations.

These examples are interesting parallel cases, because the apostrophe is the only factor which led editors (respectively) Gronewald, Wilcken and Turner/Parsons to redate these three manuscripts. In the four cases above, however, it is worth noting the uncertainty of (1) Skeat, the dissenting voices of (2) Hunt and (3) Haslam, as well as (4) Parsons' editorial equivocation about "Second/Third cent.," with the latter merely a *suggested* preference. Overall, perhaps one has here a case similar or parallel to the method of dating by a "test letter," a practice generally criticised, according to which a single letter-form is taken decisively to be clear indication of a definite date.[119] In these cases above, the apostrophe is often treated not merely as a deciding factor in favour of a third century hand all other things being equal. Rather, it is regarded by some as alone sufficient to indicate a third century date, and to outweigh the other factors indicating an earlier timeframe.

Evaluation

It is extremely difficult to evaluate the relative merits of these arguments. Perhaps one should at most conclude that the appearance of the apostrophe cannot be assigned quite the decisive significance it has had in some recent discussions. On the other side, neither should one rush to argue that an apostrophe is as likely to be second century as third. In all of this it also needs to be remembered that the line between the second and third centuries is a specious moment: in the oft-quoted aphorism of E.R. Dodds, "There are no periods in history, only in historians." Overall, the presence of the apostrophe in the flyleaf might well play a role in nudging the date into the third century, but it should not play an absolutely decisive role.

2.6 *Conclusion on the Date of the Matthew Title Fragment*

To summarise this discussion conveniently, we can present the results as follows:

- the presence in the Philo codex means a *terminus ad quem* of the third century

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[119] C.H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C.—A.D. 400* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956) xiv; Turner/Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 20.

- recycling presupposes original production some time before that of the Philo codex
- circumstantial evidence of the (other) P4 fragments *possibly* suggests late ii / early iii
- letter forms have close parallels in second and third centuries
- the apostrophe *may* suggest a date post-200 CE, but is not decisive

In the end, the best conclusion may be to assign a date of "late second / early third century." Dates such as "circa 200" are not especially enlightening, since we do not know what the deviation might be either side, and to say "second/third century" is not very helpful since the first half of the second century is extremely unlikely, as is the second half of the third.[120]

Concluding Implications

Before drawing out some implications from the preceding discussion, we can first summarise. We have seen that our Matthew title fragment has suffered various kinds of neglect: no photograph has been published, it is routinely omitted from lists of NT manuscripts, and it is often misprinted when it actually is mentioned. This article has sought to rehabilitate the flyleaf by presenting a photograph and accurate transcription, as well as by drawing attention to its importance, which is a consequence of a late-second or early-third century date.

We can conclude with three proposals.

The first is the Matthew title be classified (or reinstated) as a NT manuscript, which for most textual critics it is not. This may arise from the fact that superscript and subscript titles do not have verse numbers in the way that the text of the main body of the gospels does, and so in lists of the contents there is no easy way of noting the presence of a title. Its lack of versification may also give a sense that it is not a continuous gospel manuscript, and so might have been left out of account for that reason. It should be possible, however, to come up with an abbreviation to enable the presentation of such a reference: "*inscr.*" and "*subscr.*" (*inscriptio* and *subscriptio*) would preserve the terminology used at present in the Nestle-Aland hand edition. If the Matthew title were classified as part of P4, the contents of P4 could be listed in Appendix I of a future Nestle-Aland edition as follows:

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[120] Cf. the comments of Skeat re P4 + P64 + P67 ("The Oldest Manuscript of the Four Gospels," 30).

> Mt *inscr.*; L 1,58–59; 1,62-2.1.6-7; 3,8-4,2.29-32.34-35; 5,3-8; 5,30-6,16

If the Matthew title is judged not to belong to the same manuscript as the Luke fragments, however, then the flyleaf could be given its own P number.

Secondly, it is proposed that this Matthew fragment be represented in the textual apparatus of hand editions of the NT, and be included as a witness to the *inscriptio* of Matthew.

Thirdly, following from this, this Matthew fragment might then make a difference to the form in which Matthew's title should be presented. In NA^{27} the superscript titles are printed in the main body of the text in the shorter form (κατα Μαθθαιον, κατα Μαρκον, etc.), rather than in the longer form with ευαγγελιον. This is particularly surprising in the case of John, which has P66 and P75 in support of the longer version. Given that we have now seen, on the strength of our Matthew fragment, that the oldest manuscript title of Matthew also appears in the longer form, Matthew's title should perhaps also be printed in that way. (This assumes, as presumably do all references to titles in editions, a desire to represent the *Ausgangstext*, or initial text.) There is support from the early fourth-century bilingual Greek/Achmimic P62, which also has another Matthew flyleaf, and has been similarly neglected.

The Matthew fragment which has been the subject of this discussion is quite clearly the oldest manuscript title of Matthew's gospel. Indeed, it may even be the earliest extant characterisation of Matthew's work as a gospel. Papias mentions Matthew's collection of *logia* (*ap.* Eus. *HE* 3.39.16), and the *Gospel of Thomas* depicts Matthew as an authoritative spokesman (*Gos. Thom.* 13). Thereafter, Irenaeus and Clement mention the "Gospel of Matthew" but our fragment may well be contemporaneous with their *floruerunt*. Depending on when one dates P66 and P75, our manuscript may even be our earliest manuscript title for any gospel.

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Kontinuität und Neuanfang bei Lukas
Göttliches Handeln an der Zeitenwende[1]

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Heimbach

Abstract

Recent approaches towards Luke 1 have accentuated the theocentric perspective of this narrative, which also lead towards emphasizing a relationship of continuity between John and Jesus. This theocentric perspective, however, has only scarcely been described in terms of narratology. The following analysis describes what is told about God in Luke 1 and how it is told. By employing the narratological distinction between "story" and "discourse" it becomes evident that Luke's way of writing about God's action, reflects his attempt to achieve a balance between continuity and new beginning in his concept of history. Concerning the relationship between the figures of John and Jesus, it follows that they belong together in their common relationship with God, but at the same time a caesura is marked between them that highlights the role of Jesus.

Keywords

Luke 1; Lukan God; continuity and discontinuity; narratological approach; John and Jesus

I. Problemhorizont, Fragestellung und Ansatz

In der wissenschaftlich viel verhandelten und nach wie vor kontrovers diskutierten Aussage in Lk 16:16[2] bringt der lukanische Jesus im Gespräch mit den Pharisäern die beiden Größen (1) ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται und

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[1] Für eine erste Durchsicht des Manuskriptes und weiterführende Hinweise danke ich aus ganzem Herzen Herrn Professor Dr. Gerd Häfner (München), für die Mühen des Korrekturlesens Herrn Simon Blumberg (Bonn) und für die Beschaffung von Literatur Herrn Marco Petrelli (Bonn). Herrn PD Dr. Dominik Markl gebührt mein Dank für die englische Übersetzung des abstracts.

[2] Für C.G. Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet: Die Charakterzeichnung Johannes des Täufers im lukanischen Erzählwerk* (HBS 31; Freiburg u.a.: Herder, 2001) 259 beispielsweise gehört dieser Vers "sicher zu den meistbehandelten und meistdiskutierten Texten" im NT.

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(2) das εὐαγγελίζεσθαι der Basileia durch die Zeitangaben μέχρι Ἰωάννου und ἀπὸ τότε in ein chronologisches Nacheinander.[3] Unabhängig von der Frage, ob man diese beiden Größen nun als Bezeichnung von zwei Geschichtsepochen auffasst[4] oder aber im Anakoluth in V.16a ein verbum dicendi ergänzt und ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται folglich als Angabe des Verkündigungsinhaltes μέχρι Ἰωάννου betrachtet,[5] bleibt an der von Jesus vorgenommenen Zuordnung in der Form μέχρι Ἰωάννου—ἀπὸ τότε die genaue Platzierung des Täufers zwischen *Gesetz und Propheten* und der *Basileiaverkündigung* unbestimmt.

War es im Jahr 1954 Hans Conzelmann, der im Zusammenhang mit seiner forschungsgeschichtlich bedeutsamen Unterscheidung von drei heilsgeschichtlichen Epochen im lukanischen Doppelwerk (Zeit Israels—Zeit Jesu—Zeit der Kirche)[6] dem Täufer noch einen Platz in der Epoche Israels, d.h. in der Zeit von "Gesetz und Propheten" zugewiesen hat,[7] wird seit längerem stärker dafür votiert, bereits mit Johannes eine neue Epoche beginnen zu lassen.[8] Auf dieser Auslegungsspur[9] wird er "auf jeden Fall

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[3] Vgl. dazu z.B. M. Wolter, *Das Lukasevangelium* (HNT 5; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2008) 554.

[4] Gemeint ist damit: die Zeit von Gesetz und Propheten einerseits und die Zeit der Basileiaverkündigung andererseits; so für viele: F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas. 3. Teilband* (EKK 3/3; Düsseldorf und Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger/Neukirchener, 2001) 99.

[5] Zu lesen wäre dann beispielsweise: κηρύσσειν bzw. εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας.

[6] Siehe ausführlich H. Conzelmann, *Die Mitte der Zeit: Studien zur Theologie des Lukas* (BHTh 17; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, ^{6}1977); vgl. zu seiner forschungsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung jetzt nur A. Lindemann, "Hans Conzelmann," in *Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft nach 1945* (ed. C. Breytenbach/R. Hoppe; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2008) 155-166 hier 158-159; und vgl. schließlich als eine exemplarisch-kritische Stimme zu Conzelmanns Trennung der heilgeschichtlichen Epochen (insbesondere zur Trennung der Zeit Jesu von der Zeit der Kirche) nur E. Rasco, *La teología de San Lucas: Origen, desarrollo, orientaciones* (AnGr 201; Rom: Università Gregoriana, 1976) 162.

[7] So Conzelmann, *Mitte*, 17 (und öfters).

[8] So z.B. Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet*, 260, für den diese neue Epoche "vom εὐαγγελίζεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ geprägt ist"; oder J.B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (NICNT; Grand Rapids [MI]: Eerdmans, 1997) 603 mit Anm. 317.

[9] Zugrunde liegt dieser gegenwärtig vorherrschenden Interpretationsrichtung nicht nur eine inklusive Interpretation der Präpositionalphrase μέχρι Ἰωάννου sondern auch ein ebenfalls inklusives Verständnis der Zeitangabe ἀπὸ τότε; einer inklusiven Interpretation von ἀπὸ τότε widersprechen beispielsweise M. Klinghardt, *Gesetz und Volk Gottes* (WUNT 32; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1988) 81 und Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 554 nachdrücklich.

[als] ein Wendepunkt in der Geschichte"[10] eingestuft bzw. als "ein Mann des Übergangs"[11] bezeichnet. Dabei lässt ein direkter Vergleich dieser Zuschreibungen deren Unschärfe zu Tage treten.[12] Denn speziell bei ihrer parallelen Verwendung ohne nähere Angaben zu ihrer inhaltlichen Zuordnung[13] bleibt in der Schwebe, ob im Einzelfall davon ausgegangen wird, dass mit dem Täufer nach lukanischer Darstellung schon eine neue Zeit angebrochen ist und seine Geburt die messianische Zeit inauguriert[14] (Stichwort: "Zeitenwende") oder ob er von Lukas doch noch auf der Grenze, d.h. an "der Schwelle zum Neuen,"[15] verortet ist (Stichwort: "Übergang").

Trotz dieser Unbestimmtheiten im Detail ist den soeben angeführten Vorschlägen doch die Tatsache gemein, dass die Verortung der Johannesfigur innerhalb des lukanischen Geschichtsentwurfs immer in Bezug auf die neue bzw. messianische Zeit, d.h. auf die Zeit Jesu erfolgt. Daher kommt man im Kontext der Diskussion um die Platzierung des Täufers unweigerlich mit der grundlegenden Frage nach dessen Zuordnung zur Jesusfigur in Berührung. Von besonderem Interesse ist hierbei, wie diese beiden Figuren innerhalb des lukanischen Geschichtsentwurfs unter den Aspekten von Kontinuität (Zusammengehörigkeit) und Diskontinuität (Zäsur) einander zugeordnet sind.

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[10] G. Theißen, "Jünger als Gewalttäter (Mt 11,12f.; Lk 16,16): Der Stürmerspruch als Selbststigmatisierung einer Minorität," *StTh* 49 (1995) 183-200 hier 191 Anm. 26.

[11] So Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet*, 261 in wörtlicher Übernahme von: J. Ernst, "Johannes der Täufer und Jesus von Nazareth in historischer Sicht," *NTS* 43 (1997) 161-183 hier 166. Im Unterschied zu Ernst, dem es um die Verhältnisbestimmung von Jesus und dem Täufer unter *historischem* Fokus geht (siehe ebenda 162), übernimmt Müller die Rede vom Täufer als "Mann des Übergangs" in seiner Untersuchung des *lukanischen* Täuferbildes. Ernst selbst spricht an anderer Stelle im Hinblick auf das lukanische Täuferbild davon, dass Lukas "im Täufer vielmehr den Mann [sieht], der die heilsgeschichtliche Zeitenwende personalisiert" (*Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation, Geschichte, Wirkungsgeschichte* [BZNW 53; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1989] 110).

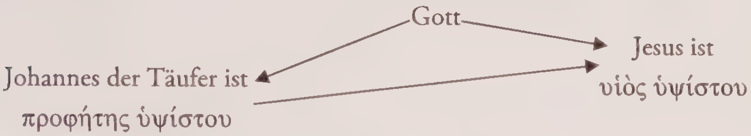
[12] Ganz undeutlich bleibt H. Klein, *Das Lukasevangelium* (KEK 1/3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006) 548, der im Haupttext herausstellt, dass die Epoche für das Gesetz und die Propheten "mit dem Täufer zu Ende gegangen" ist, dann aber ebenda in Anm. 23 mit Blick auf das ἀπὸ τότε ohne nähere Angaben erklärt: "Die neue Zeit schließt nach Lk den Täufer ein."

[13] So beispielsweise bei Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet*, 260-261.

[14] Nach F.G. Lang, "Abraham geschworen—uns gegeben: Syntax und Sinn im Benediktus (Lukas 1,68-79)," *NTS* 56 (2010) 491-512 hier 510; diese Einschätzung gewinnt er aus der Analyse des Benediktus; auf Lk 16:16 verweist er ebenda 510-511.

[15] Lang, "Abraham," 511.

Die maßgeblichen Weichen dazu sind von Lukas schon weit vor der hier als Ausgangspunkt gewählten Aussage aus Lk 16:16 gestellt worden, wenn er ganz zu Beginn seiner Erzählung in Lk 1[16] die Johannes- und Jesusfigur wegweisend und nachhaltig unter Anwendung des antiken Stilprinzips der Synkrisis[17] charakterisiert.[18] Dabei wird Seite an Seite mit der Profilierung der jeweiligen Eigenheiten etwa durch den Gebrauch der parallel strukturierten Zuschreibungen, denen zufolge Johannes προφήτης *ὑψίστου* (V.76) und Jesus υἱὸς *ὑψίστου* (V.32) ist,[19] die gemeinsame Bezogenheit beider Figuren auf Gott[20] als zentrales Merkmal ihrer Zuordnung herausgearbeitet:



Die hier zu beobachtende theozentrische Ausrichtung der Erzählung gewinnt generell bei der Erforschung von Lk 1(-2) langsam an Bedeutung.[21] Sie dient, wie gerade gesehen, im Hinblick auf die Frage nach der Zuordnung des Täufers zu Jesus dazu, die Annahme der Zusammengehörigkeit beider Figuren abzusichern[22] und damit den Aspekt ihrer Verbundenheit stärker gegenüber einer einseitigen Unter- bzw. Überordnung zur Geltung zu bringen.[23]

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[16] Vgl. zur programmatischen Funktion von Lk 1-2 im Hinblick auf das Gesamtwerk neben W. Radl, *Der Ursprung Jesu: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Lukas 1-2* (HBS 7; Freiburg u.a.: Herder, 1996) 40 jetzt noch S. Schreiber, *Weihnachtspolitik: Lukas 1-2 und das Goldene Zeitalter* (NTOA 82; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009) 17.

[17] Ausführlich zu diesem Prinzip äußert sich Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet*, 59-64.

[18] Siehe für Johannes beispielsweise Lk 1:1-17 und für Jesus Lk 1:31-35.

[19] Was die Profilierung der Unterschiede angeht, so beobachtet P. Benoit, "L'enfance de Jean-Baptiste selon Luc 1," *NTS* 3 (1956/57) 169-194 hier 193 (Hervorhebung von mir), dass es "une difference *très nette* entre le Prophète du Très-Haut et le Fils du Très-Haut" gibt.

[20] Dieser ist das Denotat des in beiden Zuschreibungen gebrauchten Nomen regens ὑψίστου.

[21] Vgl. z.B. M. Coleridge, *The Birth of the Lucan Narrative: Narrative as Christology in Luke 1-2* (JSNT.S 88; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993) 228: "God is presented as prime mover"; R. Kampling, "Gepriesen sei der Herr, der Gott Israels: Zur Theozentrik von Lk 1-2," in *Der lebendige Gott. FS Wilhelm Thüsing* (NTA.NF 31; ed. T. Söding; Münster: Aschendorff, 1996) 149-179 besonders 167-172; oder Green, *Luke*, 50 (Kursivdruck im Original) im Rahmen seiner Überlegungen zur Struktur von Lk 1:5-2:52: "Who is the primary actor? *Clearly, God is this actor.*"

[22] So begründet beispielsweise R.E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke* (AncB Reference Library; New

Obschon in der neueren Forschung die theozentrische Perspektive stärker gewichtet wird, haben bis dato erzähltheoretisch angelegte Überlegungen zur materialen Ausgestaltung dieser grundlegenden Bezugnahme auf Gott kaum eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt. Damit ist die hier verfolgte Agenda abgesteckt: In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass in Lk 1[24] die maßgeblichen Weichen der Charakterisierung und Zuordnung der Johannes- und Jesusfigur im Licht einer theozentrischen Perspektive gestellt werden, geht es nachfolgend um eine genauere Ausdifferenzierung der Beschaffenheit dieser erzählerischen Ausrichtung auf Gott. Dazu ist konkret zu fragen, *was* und *wie* im ersten Kapitel des Opus Lucanum von Gottes Handeln

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Updated Edition; New Haven/London: Yale University, 1999 [Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1993]) 285 seine Annahme, dass da "no rivalry between the two figures in salvation history" ist, mit dem Hinweis darauf, dass "*God sends* the same angel Gabriel to announce both conceptions" (ebenda [Hervorhebung von mir]); und noch deutlicher äußert sich Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet*, 297: "Diese Verbundenheit (sc. von Johannes und Jesus) unterstreicht die theozentrische Perspektive"; in das Umfeld dieser Auslegungsrichtung lassen sich auch jene Aussagen einordnen, laut derer die Zusammengehörigkeit beider Figuren dadurch unterstrichen wird, dass sie beide eine Aufgabe in dem *einen* göttlichen Heilsplan erfüllen: siehe z.B. R.C. Tannehill, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: 1. Band. The Gospel according to Luke* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1991) 19-20; Green, *Luke*, 51; K.A. Kuhn, "The Point of the Step-Parallelism in Luke 1-2," *NTS* 47 (2001) 38-49 hier 42; und noch Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 115 zu προφήτης ὑψίστου: "Das Ineinander von Differenz und Gemeinsamkeiten soll nicht den Täufer gegenüber Jesus herabsetzen, sondern zum Ausdruck bringen, dass beiden eine unterschiedliche Rolle in dem einen Heilsplan Gottes zugedacht ist".

[23] Mit Nachdruck: Müller, *Mehr als ein Prophet*, 145; dass sich diese Perspektive noch nicht wirklich durchgesetzt hat, zeigt beispielsweise ein Blick in das Johannesbuch von U.B. Müller (*Johannes der Täufer: Jüdischer Prophet und Wegbereiter Jesu* [Biblische Gestalten 6; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2002]) und den Lukaskommentar von H. Klein. In beiden Fällen bleibt der Aspekt der gemeinsamen Bezogenheit auf Gott bei den jeweils vorgetragenen Überlegungen zur Verhältnisbestimmung von Johannes- und Jesusfigur unausgeleuchtet, und es wird einseitig der Gedanke der Überordnung Jesu über den Täufer stark gemacht: z.B. Müller, *Johannes der Täufer*, 136 (dort zu den Zuschreibungen: προφήτης ὑψίστου und υἱὸς ὑψίστου); Klein, *Lukasevangelium*, 82.

[24] Anders als in der älteren Forschung wird seit längerer Zeit zu Recht nicht mehr in Frage gestellt, dass die Erzählung in Lk 1(-2) ein integraler Bestandteil der Gesamterzählung ist: siehe nur D. Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas* (BZNW 112; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2003) 40 (mit weiteren Literaturangaben ebenda in Anm. 1).

erzählt wird[25] und was die dabei zu machenden Beobachtungen über das zugrunde liegende Geschichtsverständnis unter den Gesichtspunkten von Kontinuität und Neuanfang aussagen. Sind diese Daten erhoben, kann der Frage nachgegangen werden, welches Licht von diesen Überlegungen zur Beschaffenheit der theozentrischen Perspektive, d.h. zum Was und Wie des Redens von Gott in Lk 1, auf die Verhältnisbestimmung von Johannes- und Jesusfigur fällt. Darauf aufbauend ist dann noch auszuleuchten, wie beide Figuren von dieser Perspektive aus gesehen unter den Aspekten von Zusammengehörigkeit und Grenzziehung einander zugeordnet sind.

Methodisch liegt diesen Überlegungen die aus der Erzähltheorie stammende Unterscheidung zwischen der Ebene der *Geschichte* (engl. *story*, frz. *histoire*) und der des *Erzählerberichtes* (engl. *discourse*, frz. *discours*) zugrunde,[26] da mithilfe dieser Ebenenunterscheidung eine Besonderheit der lukanischen Art und Weise, von Gottes Handeln zu erzählen, gut zu Tage gefördert werden kann.[27] Zugleich gibt der Einsatz dieser Unterscheidung die Anordnung der Analyseschritte und damit den Aufbau der nachfolgenden Überlegungen vor: Während in Abschnitt II die Ebene der *Geschichte* betreten wird und nach dem *Was* der lukanischen Erzählung, d.h. nach deren Inhalt, gefragt wird, geht es in Abschnitt III auf der Ebene des Erzählerberichtes um die Ausdrucksseite der Erzählung, also darum, *wie* in Lk 1 von Gott erzählt wird.[28]

Und schließlich noch eine terminologische Anmerkung: Was den Erzähltext angeht, so gehe ich unter erzähltheoretischem Fokus davon aus, dass sich dieser Text aus zwei Komponenten zusammensetzt, nämlich (1) aus den

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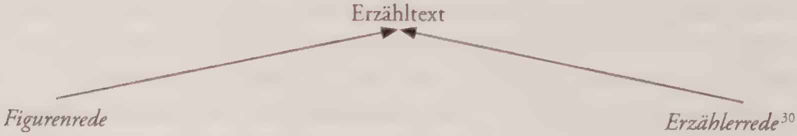
[25] Anfängliche Beobachtungen zu den Besonderheiten bei der Charakterisierung Gottes in Lk 1 habe ich an anderer Stelle bereits vorgetragen: "Augustus' Erlass und Gottes Macht: Überlegungen zur Charakterisierung der Augustusfigur und ihrer erzählstrategischen Funktion in der lukanischen Erzählung," *NTS* 57 (2011) 1-30 hier 16-17.

[26] Mit der gewählten Terminologie (Geschichte—Erzählerbericht) folge ich M. Fludernik, *Erzähltheorie: Eine Einführung* (Einführung Literaturwissenschaft; 2. Auflage; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008) 10-11.

[27] Dies muss in diesem Stadium meiner Ausführungen noch eine abstrakte Behauptung bleiben, welche erst im Laufe der weiteren Untersuchung, spätestens aber in den Abschnitten III-IV, mit Leben gefüllt wird.

[28] Eine weitere Stimme zum erzähltheoretischen Hintergrund: "In simple terms, the story is the *what* in a narrative that is depicted, discourse the *how*" (S. Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* [Ithaca, New York: Cornell, 1980] 19 [Kursivdruck im Original]).

Reden der Figuren der erzählten Welt, die vom Erzähler zitiert werden, und (2) aus der Erzählerrede selbst, die erst im Akt des Erzählens entsteht:[29]



II. Gottes Handeln auf der Ebene der Geschichte (story, histoire)

Die Überlegungen auf der Ebene der Geschichte, d.h. unter der Frage nach dem Was der Erzählung, können relativ knapp ausfallen, da sich hier schnell und im Einklang mit einem breiten Forschungskonsens der Eindruck einstellt, dass Gott in der lukanischen Erzählung von allem Anfang an zweifelsohne alle Handlungsfäden in der Hand hält.[31] Obwohl er als Figur auf der Bühne der erzählten Welt gar nicht unmittelbar in Erscheinung tritt,[32] ist er der Hauptinitiator des gesamten im Opus Lucanum präsentierten Geschehens.[33] Dieses folgt im Ganzen, wie der auctor ad Theophilum nicht müde zu betonen wird, dem göttlichen Heilsplan.[34] Diesem werden von Lukas auch die Befehle und Anordnung der weltlichen Machthaber (etwa das Dekret des Kaisers Augustus) zugeordnet und so als Bestandteil dieses allesumgreifenden Planes ausgewiesen.

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[29] Nach W. Schmid, *Elemente der Narratologie* (de Gruyter Studienbuch; 2. Auflage; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2008) 154; und nochmals mit anderen Worten ebenda 155: "Zum Erzähltext werden die Erzählerrede und Figurenrede durch den Erzähler vereinigt. Die Reden der Figuren sind Zitat in der Rede des sie auswählenden Erzählers."

[30] Vgl. zur weiteren (hier weitgehend vernachlässigbaren) Ausdifferenzierung zwischen Figuren- bzw. Erzählerrede und Figuren- bzw. Erzählertext den Literaturhinweis in Anm. 57.

[31] So z.B. Coleridge, *Birth*, 48 (nach der Auslegung von 1:5-25).

[32] Vgl. dazu neben Kampling, "Gepriesen," 167 ("keine personae dramatis") noch K. Löning, "Das Gottesbild in der Apostelgeschichte im Spannungsfeld von Frühjudentum und Fremdreligionen," in *Zur Gottesfrage im hellenistischen Judentum und im Urchristentum* (QD 138; ed. H.-J. Klauck; Freiburg u.a.: Herder, 1992) 88-117 hier 95 ("Gott ist nirgends Figur der von Lukas erzählten Geschichte neben anderen").

[33] Kampling, "Gepriesen," 167 nennt Gott in Lk 1-2 die "handlungsbegründende und handlungsbewegende Figur".

[34] Zu beachten ist hier die Rede von ἡ βουλή in Apg 2:23; 4:28 und der häufige Gebrauch des einschlägigen Leitwortes δει ab Lk 2:49; vgl. dazu J. Squires, *The plan of God in Luke-Acts* (MSSNTS 76; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993) und C.H. Cosgrove, "The divine ΔEI in Luke-Acts," *NovT* 26 (1984) 168-190; und jüngst C.G. Müller, "Διήγησις nach Lukas: Zwischen historiographischem Anspruch und biographischem Erzählen," in *Historiographie und Biographie im Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (NTOA 69; ed. T. Schmeller; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009) 95-126 hier 125-126.

Und noch mehr: Bereits den ersten Versen der eigentlichen[35] Erzählung ist zu entnehmen, dass Gottes Handlungsvollmacht keineswegs auf den im Opus Lucanum erzählten Zeitraum von der zweimaligen Aussendung des Engels in Lk 1 bis zum zweijährigen Romaufenthalt des Paulus in Apg 28[36] begrenzt ist. Sie besteht über die Zeiten hinweg uneingeschränkt. Wenn nämlich in Lk 1:5-7 Zacharias und Elisabet ohne weitere Angaben als ein Ehepaar in die Erzählung eingeführt werden, welches untadelig ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιώμασιν **τοῦ κυρίου** wandelt (V.6), verlangen zwei Gesichtspunkte Beachtung. Durch diese Art der Charakterisierung wird nicht nur diesem Paar eine bestimmte Eigenschaft, hier: ein untadeliger Lebenswandel, zugeschrieben (1. Gesichtspunkt), sondern es wird auch eine erste Aussage über Gott getroffen (2. Gesichtspunkt). Denn durch das Genitivattribut τοῦ κυρίου innerhalb des Syntagmas πᾶσαι αἱ ἐντολαὶ καὶ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου wird Gott (= ὁ κύριος) als Geber der Gesetze und Rechtsvorschriften ausgewiesen. Folglich ist das erste, was man in der lukanischen Erzählung über Gott erfährt, die Tatsache, dass er in der Geschichte Israels zu einem Zeitpunkt *weit vor* dem im Opus Lucanum erzählten Zeitraum schon machtvoll (= gesetzgebend) an seinem Volk gehandelt hat.[37] Damit wird dem Erzähladressaten von allem Anfang an das Signal gegeben, dass der Gott, von dem Lukas in seinem Doppelwerk erzählen wird und der dort die handlungsbestimmende Figur schlechthin ist, derselbe Gott ist, der in der Vergangenheit an seinem erwählten Volk etwa durch die Gabe des Gesetzes gehandelt hat.

Durchdenkt man dies unter geschichtstheologischem Fokus, dann verbürgt der Aufweis der Identität des ab Lk 1 handelnden Gottes mit dem Gott Israels, dass Lukas in seiner Erzählung eben einen Teil der Geschichte dieses Gottes mit seinem erwählten Volk, d.h. einen Teil der Geschichte

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[35] Gemeint sind die ersten Verse nach dem metanarrativen Proömium in Lk 1:1-4.

[36] Überlegungen zur Zeichnung der Gottesfigur im zweiten Band des lukanischen Doppelwerkes finden sich beispielsweise bei D. Marguerat, "The God of the Book of Acts," in *Narrativity in Biblical and related texts. La narrativité dans la Bible et les textes apparentés* (BEThL 149; ed. G.J. Brooke/J.-D. Kaestli; Leuven: Peeters 2000) 159-181.

[37] Dazu beobachtet F. Bovon, "Gott bei Lukas" (französisches Original von 1981), in derselbe, *Lukas in neuer Sicht. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (BThSt 8; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1985) 98-119 hier 106: "Seinen Dialog mit dem Judentum beginnt Lukas damit, bei seinen Lesern die Erinnerung an den bekannten Gott wachzurufen" (weiter ebenda in Anm. 22: "Vgl. hauptsächlich Lk 1").

Israels, erzählen wird. Eine zusätzliche Unterstützung erfährt diese Annahme noch, wenn man im Rechnung stellt, wie ausgeprägt der Erzähler sich in den ersten beiden Kapiteln der Sprache der Septuaginta bedient (Septuaginta-Mimesis),[38] alttestamentliche Berufungsgeschichten diegetisch nachahmt[39] und sich, auch was die Erzählkomposition generell angeht, an das Vorbild alttestamentlicher Geschichtsschreibung anlehnt.[40]

Bündelt man die zusammengestellten Beobachtungen, dann ist für die Ebene der Geschichte (*story, histoire*) festzuhalten, dass der Gott, der seine Handlungshoheit in der Geschichte Israels schon machtvoll unter Beweis gestellt hat, der entscheidende Handlungsträger in Lk 1 ist. Geschichtstheologisch[41] wird dadurch der Aspekt der Kontinuität massiv in den Vordergrund gerückt: In seinem Opus wird Lukas dieser Geschichte einen weiteren Abschnitt hinzufügen.[42]

III. …jetzt auf der Ebene des Erzählerberichtes (discourse, discours)

III.1 *Fokussierung auf den Bereich der Erzählerrede*

Unter rein wortstatistischem Betrachtungswinkel entspricht die Situation auf der Ebene des Erzählerberichtes in Lk 1 noch vollkommen den Erwartungen, welche die Erwägungen in Abschnitt II (*story, histoire*) bezüglich der absoluten Handlungshoheit Gottes geweckt haben. Allein schon die Häufigkeit der Vorkommen der beiden einschlägigen Nomen θεός (13-mal)[43] und κύριος (15-mal)[44] weist das ihnen gemeinsame Denotat, nämlich Gott, als ganz zentrale Figur im gesamten Erzähl- und Handlungsverlauf aus.[45] Von ihm wird beispielsweise ausdrücklich gesagt, dass er gnädig an Elisabet handelt (V.25: κύριος), seinen Engel zu Maria sendet (V.26: θεός), Jesus den Thron Davids übergibt (V.32: κύριος ὁ θεός), mit seinem Arm machtvolle Taten vollbringt (V.51) und seinem Volk Erlösung schafft (V.68: κύριος ὁ θεός).

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[38] Vgl. dazu z.B. F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas. 1. Teilband* (EKK 3/1; Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger/Neukirchener, 1989), 48.

[39] Nach Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, 88.

[40] Ebenfalls nach Rusam, *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*, 88; siehe weiter ebenda: “Die beiden ersten Kapitel des lk Doppelwerks haben—literarisch gesehen—dabei Brückenfunktion: Sie gehören zur Heilsgeschichte und stellen zugleich die Verbindung her zwischen der voraufgegangenen und der nachfolgend geschilderten Heilsgeschichte.”

[41] Als einer der jüngsten Beiträge zur Diskussion um die Geschichtsdimension ist C. Clivaz, *L'ange et la sueur de sang (Lc 22,43-44). Ou comment on pourrait bien encore écrire l'histoire* (Biblical Tools and Studies 7; Leuven u.a.: Peeters, 2010) 622 (Kursivdruck im Original) zu vergleichen: “In any case, it is worth underlining that the Lukan writings have never been perceived as conventional history without being perceived at the same time as *historia sacra*”; ausführlich zur Frage nach der lukanischen Geschichtsschreibung ebenda 8-57 (ebenda 57 unterbereitet Clivaz ihren Vorschlag, “le genre littéraire comme catégorie de la réception” in Erwägung zu ziehen).

[42] Vgl. dazu u.a. auch Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 27-29; er selbst sieht im lukanischen Doppelwerk eine Epochengeschichte (ausführlicher in seinem Beitrag: “Das lukanische Doppelwerk als Epochengeschichte” [2004], in M. Wolter, *Theologie und Ethos im frühen Christentum* [WUNT 236; Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 2009] 261-289).

So geschlossen und eindimensional dieses Bild auch vordergründig wirken mag, so zeigt sich aber spätestens dann eine weitere Dimension, wenn man sich genauer mit der Verteilung beider Nomen auf Figuren- und Erzählerrede in Lk 1 vertraut macht. Auf diesem Weg kommt man langsam der am Ende von Abschnitt I erwähnten Besonderheit der lukanischen Art und Weise, von Gottes Handeln zu erzählen, auf die Spur: Während nämlich der Großteil der θεός—und κύριος—Vorkommen auf den Bereich der Figurenrede entfällt und diese Belege dort Gabriel, Maria, Elisabet und Zacharias in den Mund gelegt werden, tauchen die beiden Nomen θεός und κύριος nur je viermal innerhalb der *Erzählerrede* auf (θεός in den Vv.6, 8, 26, 64, κύριος in den Vv.6, 9, 11, 58).[46] Diesen acht Belegstellen aus dem Bereich der Erzählerrede gilt im Folgenden die gesteigerte Aufmerksamkeit, da so in Erfahrung gebracht werden kann, wo der Erzähler in dem ihm eigens zukommenden Redeanteil[47] des aus Figuren- und

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[43] Das Nomen θεός findet sich in den Vv.6, 8, 16, 19, 26, 30, 32, 35, 37, 47, 64, 68, 78.

[44] Das Nomen κύριος findet sich in den Vv.6, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 25, 28, 32, 38, 45, 46, 58, 66, 68, [76]; dabei gehe ich davon aus, dass das Nomen κύριος in V.43 eindeutig auf Jesus zu beziehen ist und in V.76 doppelten Sinn hat (nach Lang, "Abraham," 509: "Gottesname für Zacharias, für Lukas jedoch insgeheim schon Christustitel"); anders beispielsweise Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 116 ("mit Sicherheit Gott") oder Kuhn, "Point," 48.

[45] Hinzu kommen noch die drei Stellen in den Vv.32, 35 und 76, an denen von Gott als ὕψιστος gesprochen wird.

[46] Mit Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 110 ist hier vorausgesetzt, dass auch der letzte Teil von V.66—καὶ γὰρ χεὶρ κυρίου ἦν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ—Bestandteil der Figurenrede ist.

[47] Damit ist nicht in Abrede gestellt, dass auch die Figurenrede narratorial determiniert ist; vgl. als allgemeinen erzähltheoretischen Hintergrund beispielsweise Schmid, *Narratologie*, 155-156: "Auch wenn ein zu authentischer Wiedergabe fremder Rede befähigter Erzähler die Figurenreden inhaltlich zuverlässig wiedergibt und nach strenger ‚Imitation' sowohl der axiologischen als auch der sprachfunktionalen und stilistischen Merkmale der Rede strebt,

Erzählerrede zusammengesetzten Erzähltextes[48] ausdrücklich auf Gott zu sprechen kommt:[49]

> V.6: Beide (sc. Elisabet und Zacharias) waren gerecht ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ, denn sie wandelten untadelig in allen Geboten und Gesetzen τοῦ κυρίου.
>
> V.8-9: Es geschah, als er (sc. Zacharias) in der Reihenfolge seiner Abteilungen den Priesterdienst ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ versah, dass er nach dem Brauch des priesterlichen Dienstes ausgelost wurde, dass Rauchopfer darzubringen, nachdem er εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου hineingegangen war.
>
> V.11a: Es erschien ihm (sc. Zacharias) ein ἄγγελος κυρίου.
>
> Vv.26-27a: Im sechsten Monat wurde der Engel Gabriel ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ in eine Stadt in Galiläa namens Nazaret zu einer Jungfrau gesandt.
>
> V.58a: Ihre (sc. Elisabets) Nachbarn und Verwandten hörten, dass κύριος groß gemacht hat sein Erbarmen an ihr.
>
> V.64: Sein Mund wurde sogleich aufgetan, und seine Zunge, und er sprach und lobte τὸν θεόν.

Setzt man bei einer Durchsicht der zusammengestellten Belege als einen weiteren[50] Filter die Frage ein, wo innerhalb der Erzählerrede in Lk 1 Gott eine konkrete Handlung zugeschrieben wird,[51] dann ist die weiter oben

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wird allein schon die Auswahl einzelner Abschnitte aus dem Kontinuum der Reden und Gedanken der Figur und die Nicht-Auswahl anderer der Wiedergabe eine gewisse Narratorialität verleihen"; und weiter nochmal ebenda 156: "Auf jeden Fall erfahren die Segmente einer Figurenrede im Erzähltext eine funktionale Überdeterminierung, insofern sie einerseits figurale Inhalte ausdrücken, anderseits aber die doppelte Aufgabe erfüllen, die Figur zu charakterisieren und zugleich die Narration zu befördern."

[48] Vgl. dazu die terminologischen Anmerkungen am Ende von Abschnitt I.

[49] Unbedingt zu beachten ist bei dieser Fokussierung unter methodischem Blickwinkel, dass sie nicht mit einer diachron ausgerichteten redaktionskritischen Fragestellung zu verwechseln ist, welche Lukas' Intention über die Scheidung von Tradition und Redaktion zu gewinnen sucht. Im Unterschied dazu bleiben die Überlegungen hier auf der synchronen Ebene und fragen im Horizont der erzähltheoretischen Unterscheidung von Figuren- und Erzählerrede danach, wie und wann der Erzähler in seinem ureigenen Redeanteil, d.h. der Erzählerrede, ausdrücklich von Gott und seinem Handeln spricht.

[50] Gemeint ist damit ein zweiter Filter neben der bereits angewandten Unterscheidung von Figuren- und Erzählerrede.

Mit anderen Worten: Es ist nach den Textstellen innerhalb der Erzählerrede in Lk 1 zu fragen, an denen mit dem Nomen θεός bzw. κύριος ausdrücklich der Urheber einer Handlung in der erzählten Welt bezeichnet ist.

schon erwähnte Besonderheit, wie Lukas in der Erzählerrede von Gottes Handeln spricht, endlich mit Händen zu greifen. Denn aus dem Kreis der sechs aufgeführten Stellen ist mit der Erwähnung der Aussendung des Engels ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ[52] in V.26 nur eine einzige Stelle auszumachen,[53] an welcher Gott explizit eine aktuelle, d.h. während des erzählten Zeitraumes ausgeführte Handlung zugeschrieben wird.[54]

Im Unterschied dazu wird Gott an den anderen fünf Stellen entweder als Adressat von Zacharias' Lobpreis genannt (καὶ ἐλάλει εὐλογῶν **τὸν θεόν**), oder es wird wie in V.6 auf ein göttliches Handeln *außerhalb* des erzählten Zeitraumes angespielt (Gott als Geber des Gesetzes).[55] Darüber hinaus wird er in den Vv.6-11 als derjenige präsentiert, in dessen Gegenwart (ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ/ἔναντι τοῦ θεοῦ) sich das Leben der Frommen vollzieht und dem der Jerusalemer Tempel und der Zacharias erschienene Engel zugeordnet sind (ὁ ναὸς τοῦ κυρίου bzw. ἄγγελος κυρίου [κυρίου jeweils als Genitivus pertinentiae]), ohne dass dabei allerdings eine konkrete Handlung Gottes genannt wird. Mit anderen Worten: Mag die Zuordnung Engel → Herr in V.11 auch einen Hinweis darauf enthalten, dass der Engel in Gottes Auftrag unterwegs ist, so darf aber dennoch auf der Ebene der Präsentation der Erzählung nicht übersehen werden, dass Gott in V.11—im Unterschied zur Situation in V.26—nicht ausdrücklich als Auftraggeber der Aussendung genannt wird.

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[52] Vgl. dazu R. Kühner/B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache: Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre. Erster Band* (Hannover/Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, ^{3}1898) § 430 s.v. ἀπό Unterpunkt c: "vom Urheber, bei Passiven u. Intrans. dem gewöhnlichen ὑπό c.g. nahekommend".

[53] Lukas' Zurückhaltung, Gott explizit eine Handlung zuzuschreiben, hält sich auch im zweiten Teilband durch; vgl. dazu Marguerat, "The God of the Book of Acts," 163-164 besonders 164: "God never appears as a figure of the narrative world, but only in the words attributed to someone. Except for a few rare occasions, the narrator never directly ascribes the action of the narrative to God."

[54] Analoge Formulierungen, in welchen der Auftraggeber einer Aussendung mit einer mit ἀπό eingeleiteten Präpositionalphrase eingeführt wird (schematisiert: Passivische Form von ἀποστέλλω + ἀπό + Gen.), finden sich beispielsweise noch in:

Vita Aesopi 119.5:

> Wir sind von Gott geschickt worden (ἀπεστάλημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ), um dir einige Worte mitzuteilen.

1Makk 15:17:

> Die Gesandten der Juden sind als unsere Freunde und Bundesgenossen zu uns gekommen, um die von alters her bestehende Freundschaft und den militärischen Beistand zu erneuern, und sie wurden vom Hohenpriester Simon und vom Volk der Juden geschickt (ἀπεσταλμένοι ἀπὸ Σιμονος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ιουδαίων).

2Esr 7:14:

> Vom Angesicht des Königs und seiner sieben Räte wurde er ausgesandt (ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ συμβούλων ἀπεστάλη), Nachforschungen anzustellen über Judäa und Jerusalem aufgrund des Gesetzes ihres Gottes, das in deiner Hand ist.

Einer der wenigen Ausleger, welcher sich Gedanken zur Verwendung der Präposition ἀπό in Lk 1:26 macht, ist Wolter, *Lukasevangelium*, 86 (ebenda finden sich noch weitere Belegstellen für vergleichbare Formulierungen aus der antiken Literatur).

[55] Siehe dazu Abschnitt II.

Ganz anders gelagert erscheint auf den ersten Blick die Situation in der Aussage über das Großmachen des Erbarmens in V.58, da ja in diesem Vers Gott (Subjekt: κύριος) eine konkrete Handlung innerhalb des erzählten Zeitraumes zugeschrieben wird: ἐμεγάλυνεν κύριος τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτῆς. Wenn hier dennoch die Aussendungsnotiz in V.26 als einzige Stelle eingestuft wird, an welcher Gott als Handelnder in der Erzählerrede in Erscheinung tritt, muss geklärt werden, worin sich diese Aussage von V.58 grundlegend unterscheidet. Dazu helfen Beobachtungen zur Frequenz der Darstellung[56] und zur jeweils zugrundeliegenden Kommunikationssituation entscheidend weiter. Während nämlich in V.26 ein einmal geschehenes Ereignis, die Aussendung des Engels durch Gott zu Maria, einmal erzählt wird (einmal passiert / einmal dargestellt), stellt die Aussage über den göttlichen Erbarmenserweis in V.58 nach den Vv.24-25 und 57 bereits die dritte Erwähnung des einen Handelns Gottes an Elisabet dar (einmal passiert / dreimal dargestellt). War es dabei in V.24 noch Elisabet selbst innerhalb ihrer Figurenrede, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Beginn ihrer Schwangerschaft Gottes Zuwendung pries, so ist es in V.57 der Erzähler. Dieser erzählt von der tatsächlichen Geburt des Sohnes (καὶ ἐγέννησεν υἱόν) und weiß dann in V.58 *im Nachgang* zu diesem Geburtsgeschehen davon zu berichten, dass Elisabets Nachbarn und Verwandte vom göttlichen Handeln *hörten* (ἤκουσαν οἱ περίοικοι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτῆς ὅτι ἐμεγάλυνεν κύριος τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ αὐτῆς). Durch den in diesem Zusammenhang gegebenen Hinweis auf das Hören (ἤκουσαν) ist neben der Ebene der Erzählerkommunikation (Erzähler → Erzähladressat)—und damit unterscheidet sich die Kommunikationssituation in V.58 wesentlich von derjenigen in V.26—eine zweite Kommunikationsebene impliziert. Denn aufgrund der Tatsache, dass von einem Hören auf Seiten der Nachbarn und Verwandten gesprochen werden kann, ist zugleich vorausgesetzt, dass es innerhalb der erzählten Welt einen von Lukas nicht weiter genannten Kommunikationspartner gibt, von dem diese Nachbarn und Verwandten von Gottes Erbarmenshandeln an Elisabet gehört haben. Mit anderen Worten:[57] Aus der Perspektive der Figuren der erzählten Welt schauen die Nachbarn und Verwandten auf ein Geschehen zurück (Retrospektive), welches innerhalb dieser Welt als bereits stattgefunden vorgestellt ist: die Geburt Johannes des Täufers ist erfolgt (vgl. V.57). Von diesem, aus ihrem Betrachtungswinkel also in der Vergangenheit liegenden Ereignis erfahren die Nachbarn und Verwandten auf der Ebene der Figurenkommunikation von einer in der Erzählung ungenannten Senderinstanz. Den Inhalt dieser Botschaft gibt Lukas bei der Präsentation der Erzählung in Form eines Redeberichtes[58] gerafft wieder (ὅτι ἐμεγάλυνεν κύριος τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ μετ᾽ αὐτῆς).

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[56] Damit ist die Frage gemeint, wie oft innerhalb der Erzählung ein Geschehen präsentiert wird; ausführliche Angaben zum erzähltheoretischen Hintergrund finden sich bei G. Genette, *Die Erzählung* (UTB 8083; 2. Auflage; München: Wilhelm Fink, 1998) 81-83; er unterscheidet zwischen singulativer (einmal geschehen / einmal erzählt), repetitiver (einmal geschehen / x-mal erzählt) und iterativer Erzählung (einmal erzählen / x-mal passiert).

Im Unterschied zu dieser retrospektiven Orientierung der Aussage über das göttliche Erbarmen in V.58 ist die Aussendung des Engels in V.26 unter den Bedingungen der Zeitstruktur der erzählten Welt als ein in diesem Moment stattfindendes Geschehen vorgestellt, sodass sich unterm Strich folgende Unterschiede zwischen den Aussagen in den Vv.26 und 58 ausmachen lassen:

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57) Theoretisch gewendet: In der Erzählerrede in V.58 begegnet man dem Phänomen der Textinterferenz, d.h. der Tatsache, dass in ein und demselben Segment der Erzählerrede bestimmte Merkmale begegnen, die auf den Erzählertext als Ursprung verweisen, während andere dem Figurentext entspringen: nach Schmid, *Narratologie*, 181-182; vgl. zur weiteren erzähltheoretischen Ausdifferenzierung zwischen Erzählerrede und Erzählertext bzw. Figurenrede und Figurentext ebenda 156-159.

58) Nach Fludernik, *Erzähltheorie*, 80 handelt es sich beim Redebericht "um die Darstellung der Rede einer anderen Person in geraffter Form, wobei der Akt des Äußerns, die Art der Rede und das generelle Thema betont werden, die genauen Aussagen (Propositionen) der Rede und ihr Wortlaut aber nicht wiedergegeben werden."

	Inhalt	Frequenz	Kommunikationssituation
V.26	ein Geschehen wird präsentiert: ein Engel wird von Gott ausgesandt	einmal geschehen, einmal erzählt; nach Genette: singulative Erzählung	Erzähler → Erzähladressat
V.58	an ein bereits präsentiertes Geschehen wird zurückerinnert: Gott befreit Elisabet und Zacharias aus ihrer trostlosen Situation (vgl. V.24)	einmal geschehen, mehrfach erzählt (vgl. Vv.24, 57, 58); nach Genette: repetitive Erzählung	Erzähler → Erzähladressat; aber es ist eine Kommunikationssituation zwischen Figuren innerhalb der erzählten Welt impliziert: Sender → Hörende (ἤκουσαν)

Zieht man an dieser Stelle ein Zwischenfazit, dann bleibt erst einmal festzuhalten, dass dem κύριος ὁ θεός, wiewohl er die das Gesamtgeschehen beherrschende Figur ist, innerhalb der Erzählerrede nur eine einzige konkrete Handlung explizit zugeschrieben wird. Die Wahrnehmung dieses bemerkenswerten Gefälles zwischen der Dominanz des θεός auf der Ebene der Geschichte und der gleichzeitigen Zurückhaltung innerhalb der Erzählerrede ausdrücklich von konkreten göttlichen Handlungen zu sprechen, legt folgende Annahme nahe: Der Erzähler setzt an der einen Stelle, an der er in seinem eigenen Redeteil Gott eine konkrete Handlung zuschreibt, einen beachtenswerten Akzent innerhalb des erzählerischen Spannungsbogens und hebt so die zweite Geburtsankündigungserzählung (wenn auch dezent) hervor. Bestätigung erfährt diese Annahme, wenn im Folgenden die beiden Aussendungsnotizen in den Vv.11, 18 und 26 unter kommunikationstheoretischem Fokus miteinander verglichen werden.

III.2 *Die beiden Aussendungsnotizen im direkten Vergleich*

Wie eng die beiden Geburtsankündigungserzählungen in Lk 1:9-24 und 1:26-38 miteinander verzahnt sind, ist auf mikrostruktureller Ebene nicht nur an der Art der Einführung (Vv.11, 18) bzw. Wiedereinführung (V.26) des himmlischen Boten (dazu gleich mehr) abzulesen, sondern auch daran, wie jeweils von dessen Entschwinden von der Bühne der erzählten Welt erzählt wird. Lässt der Erzähler ihn im Rahmen der ersten Ankündigungserzählung irgendwann nach V.20 noch kommentarlos abtreten, so geht die zweite Erzähleinheit in V.38b mit der ausdrücklichen Erwähnung seines Fortgehens zu Ende: καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ὁ ἄγγελος. Schlägt man von hier den Bogen zur Notiz vom plötzlichen Erscheinen des Engels in V.11 zurück, dann spricht die Tatsache, dass an beiden Stellen ohne Namensnennung vom ἄγγελος κυρίου bzw. ὁ ἄγγελος gesprochen wird (im Unterschied dazu V.26: ὁ ἄγγελος *Γαβριήλ*), für die Annahme, dass die beiden Aussagen über das erstmalige Auftreten in V.11 und das zweite Entschwinden in V.38 wie ein erzählerischer Rahmen um die beiden Geburtsankündigungserzählungen gelegt sind und so zur Verknüpfung beider dienen:

in V.11: ὤφθη ἄγγελος κυρίου.
irgendwann nach V.20: Der Engel ist einfach weg.

in V.26: Der Engel Gabriel wird erneut ausgesandt;
diesmal wird Gott als Auftraggeber ausdrücklich genannt.
in V.38: καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς ὁ ἄγγελος.

Beachtet man die enge erzählerische Vernetzung beider Erzähleinheiten,[59] dann verdient die Art, wie Lukas von Gabriels zweiter Aussendung erzählt, gesteigerte Beachtung. Denn obschon der Engel und sein Auftraggeber aus der unmittelbar vorangehenden Erzähleinheit als dem Erzähladressat bekannt vorausgesetzt werden können und folglich eine ausführliche Vorstellung unterbleiben kann,[60] nennt Lukas—im Unterschied zur ersten Geburtsankündigungserzählung—in V.26 ausdrücklich den Auftraggeber von Gabriels Aussendung: ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. Das Bemerkenswerte an dieser Erwähnung zeigt sich noch eindeutiger, wenn man beide Aussendungsnotizen unter kommunikationstheoretischem Fokus miteinander vergleicht:

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[59] Zum Aspekt der Zusammengehörigkeit der beiden Geburtsankündigungserzählungen (unter synchroner Perspektive) schreibt Wolter, dass "beide Erzählfäden als zwei Stationen *einer* Handlung miteinander verflochten" sind (*Lukasevangelium*, 86 [Kursivdruck im Original]); siehe ferner noch Green, *Luke*, 82-84.

[60] Die Tatsache, dass Lukas die beiden Vorstellungen Gabriels einander zuordnet, wertet Wolter unter rezeptionstheoretischem Fokus als ein Indiz dafür, dass Lukas die "beiden Episoden nicht parallel, sondern sukzessiv gelesen wissen wollte" ("Wann wurde Maria schwanger? Eine vernachlässigte Frage und ihre Bedeutung für das Verständnis von Lk 1-2" [1998], in Wolter, *Theologie und Ethos im frühen Christentum*, 336-354 hier 354).

a) Gabriels Vorstellung in der ersten Geburtsankündigungserzählung in Lk 1:8-22

	Erzählerrede	Figurenrede (Gabriel—Zacharias)
V.11	ὤφθη ἄγγελος κυρίου	
V.19		Gabriel: Ich bin Gabriel, ὁ παρεστηκὼς ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, und ich bin gesandt, mit dir zu reden und εὐαγγελίσασθαί σοι ταῦτα.

b) Gabriels Vorstellung in der zweiten Geburtsankündigungserzählung in Lk 1:26-38

	Erzählerrede	Figurenrede
V.26-27a	Im sechsten Monat wurde der Engel Gabriel ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ in eine Stadt in Galiläa namens Nazaret zu einer Jungfrau gesandt.	

Unter kommunikationstheoretischem Betrachtungswinkel interessiert an der Einführung und Charakterzeichnung der Gabrielfigur innerhalb der ersten Geburtsankündigungserzählung vor allem die Tatsache, dass nur die kurze Eingangsnotiz von seinem Erscheinen dem Bereich der Erzählerrede entstammt (siehe Tabelle a). Der Großteil der Figureninformationen ist Gabriels eigener Figurenrede zu entnehmen. Infolge dieser Konstellation erfährt nicht nur der Erzähladressat, sondern mit Zacharias[61] auch eine Figur der erzählten Welt zusätzlich zum eigentlichen Botschaftsinhalt (Sohnesverheißung), wer dieser plötzlich erschienene göttliche Bote überhaupt ist und woher er kommt (ἀπεστάλην λαλῆσαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ εὐαγγελίσασθαί σοι ταῦτα).

Schaut man von hieraus auf die zweite Geburtsankündigungserzählung (Gabriel ↔ Maria), dann ist unschwer zu erkennen, dass sich die Kommunikationssituation in den Vv.26-38 vollkommen anders darstellt (siehe Tabelle b). In Gegenwart seiner neuen Gesprächspartnerin (= Maria) sagt der Engel nämlich überhaupt nichts über sich und seinen Status, sodass

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[61] Er ist auf der Ebene der Figurenkommunikation ja der Adressat von Gabriels Selbstvorstellung.

Maria im Unterschied zu Zacharias bis zum Schluss ihrer Unterredung nicht erfährt, um wen es sich bei ihrem Besucher handelt (Ebene der Figurenkommunikation). Diesbezügliche Informationen sind in den Vv.26-38 sämtlich auf der Ebene der Erzählerkommunikation angesiedelt. Dabei ist unter rein informativen Gesichtspunkten doch zu vermerken, dass der Erzähladressat in der Aussendungsnotiz in V.26 im Hinblick auf die Figur des Engels und seines Auftraggebers gegenüber den ihm bereits in den Vv.11-19 gegebenen Auskünften nichts wirklich Neues erfährt.

Korreliert man nun die Beobachtung, dass die ausdrückliche Erwähnung Gottes in V.26 für den Erzähladressaten keinen Erkenntnisgewinn bedeutet, mit der Tatsache, dass es bezeichnenderweise die einzige Stelle ist, an welcher Gott in Lk 1 ausdrücklich im Bereich der Erzählerrede eine Handlung zugeschrieben wird, erfährt die bereits am Ende von Abschnitt III.1 geäußerte Annahme eine entscheidende Bestätigung: Mit der expliziten Nennung des Auftraggebers der Aussendung setzt Lukas bei aller Verklammerung beider Geburtsankündigungserzählungen zu Beginn der zweiten Erzählung einen deutlichen Akzent und hebt diese auf der Ebene des Erzählerberichtes hervor, sodass also folgender Zusammenhang gilt: So eng die beiden Aussendungen des himmlischen Boten auf der Ebene der Geschichte auch zusammengehören und verknüpft sind (derselbe Bote [Gabriel]—derselbe Auftraggeber [Gott]), so ist auf der Ebene des Erzählerberichtes die Erwähnung der Sendung Gabriels zu Maria doch merklich betont, da hier einmalig in Lk 1 Gott ausdrücklich eine konkrete Handlung zugeschrieben wird (ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ).

Den jetzt noch anstehenden Fragen, welche Schlüsse diese Beobachtung einer Akzentsetzung in Lk 1:26 auf den lukanischen Geschichtsentwurf zulässt und welche Konsequenzen sich daraus für die Verhältnisbestimmung von Johannes- und Jesusfigur ergeben, soll im anschließenden Fazit nachgegangen werden.

IV. Fazit—Kontinuität und Neuanfang im Gleichgewicht

Wenn es nun ansteht, die Ergebnisse der Detailbeobachtungen aus den Abschnitten II und III zusammenzubringen, dann soll dies im Horizont der Frage geschehen, was die Anwendung der erzählwissenschaftlichen Unterscheidung der beiden Ebenen von *Geschichte* und *Erzählerbericht* für die Beantwortung der hier im Zentrum stehenden Frage nach der Art, wie in Lk 1 von Gott gesprochen wird, bringt: Der entscheidende Gewinn, der sich aus diesem Zugang ergibt, liegt in der Erkenntnis eines bemerkenswerten Gefälles zwischen der Betonung der uneingeschränkten Handlungsmacht Gottes auf der Ebene der Geschichte und dem Modus, *wie* davon auf der Ebene der Darstellung erzählt wird. Während nämlich zahlreichen Figuren Aussagen über konkrete göttliche Handlungen in den Mund gelegt werden,[62] lässt sich im Bereich der Erzählerrede in Lk 1 nur eine einzige Stelle ausmachen, an welcher Gott ausdrücklich eine aktuelle und konkrete Handlung zugeschrieben wird: Am Beginn der zweiten Aussendungserzählung in V.26 lässt Lukas den Erzähladressaten wissen, dass der Engel Gabriel ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ zu Maria gesandt wird.

Diese Beobachtung gewinnt noch erheblich an Bedeutung, wenn man im Horizont eines direkten Vergleiches der beiden Aussendungserzählungen in Lk 1 in Rechnung stellt,[63] dass die ausdrückliche Nennung des Auftraggebers der zweiten Aussendung Gabriels in V.26, d.h. die Einfügung der Präpositionalphrase ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, unter rein informativen Gesichtspunkten gänzlich überflüssig ist. Denn der Erzähladressat, an welchen dieser Vers gerichtet ist (Erzähler → Erzähladressat), weiß ja bereits aus der ersten Geburtsankündigungserzählung in Lk 1:8-25, insbesondere aus Gabriels Auskunft in V.19 (ἀπεστάλην λαλῆσαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ εὐαγγελίσασθαί σοι ταῦτα), dass der Engel in göttlichem Auftrag unterwegs ist. Wenn also die ausdrückliche Erwähnung Gottes in V.26 nicht schwerpunktmäßig dem Informieren des Erzähladressaten dient, dann spricht alles für die Annahme, dass der Erzähler mit dieser Erwähnung auf der Ebene der Darstellung in dem ihm ureigenen Redeanteil (= in der Erzählerrede) eine spürbare Akzentsetzung vornimmt. Inhaltlich verleiht er so seiner Überzeugung Ausdruck, dass bei aller Betonung der Kontinuität der Geschichte Israels mit der zweiten Aussendung Gabriels zur Ankündigung der Geburt des Sohnes Gottes innerhalb dieser Geschichte etwas Neues beginnt. Materialiter besteht dieses Neue darin, dass von nun an (= von der Ankündigung der Geburt Jesu an) das Heil Gottes an ihn gebunden ist.

Damit man angesichts dieser Annahme aber nicht Gefahr läuft, einfach in das alte Muster der Vorstellung von sich ablösenden Zeitepochen innerhalb der lukanischen Geschichtskonzeption zu verfallen[64] bzw. zu versuchen, die Johannesfigur irgendwo zwischen den Zeiten zu positionieren, gilt es vielmehr die Komplexität der Geschichtskonzeption in der lukanischen Erzählung angemessen zu berücksichtigen. Auch an diesem Punkt hilft die erzählwissenschaftliche Unterscheidung der Ebenen von Geschichte und Erzählerbericht entscheidend weiter, da sie nämlich zur Einsicht führt, dass Lukas auf der Ebene der Geschichte den Aspekt der Kontinuität der Geschichte Israels betont, während er auf der Ebene der Darstellung durch den dezenten Hinweis auf Gottes Handeln in V.26 den Gesichtspunkt des Neuanfangs behutsam hervorhebt.

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[62] Man denke nur an Elisabets Statement in V.24, Marias Magnificat oder Zacharias' Benediktus.

[63] Siehe Abschnitt III.2.

[64] Siehe dazu den Beginn von Abschnitt I.

Buchstabiert man die vorgetragenen Beobachtungen für die Frage nach der Zuordnung von Johannes- und Jesusfigur durch, dann gelangt man zu der Einsicht, dass der einfache Verweis auf deren gemeinsame Bezogenheit auf Gott[65] für eine angemessene Verhältnisbestimmung zu kurz greift. Differenziert man hingegen die theozentrische Perspektive weiter aus, indem man das mit dem Modus des Redens von Gott untrennbar verknüpfte Ringen um ein Austarieren der Aspekte von Kontinuität und Neuanfang berücksichtigt, dann zeigt sich, dass die Zuordnung beider Figuren von ihrer grundlegenden Bezogenheit auf Gott her schon mit in dieses Ringen einbezogen ist. Folglich garantiert diese theozentrische Orientierung ihrer Charakterzeichnung nicht einfach ihre Zusammengehörigkeit, sondern markiert zugleich auch eine Zäsur zwischen beiden. Damit dient diese Ausrichtung zugleich der Hervorhebung Jesu, da ja gerade im Kontext seiner Geburtsankündigung einmalig in Lk 1 explizit von einem göttlichen Handeln gesprochen wird. Konkretisiert man—anders ausgedrückt—die allgemeine Rede von der theozentrischen Orientierung der Erzählung in Lk 1, indem man in Rechnung stellt, was und wie Lukas von Gott erzählt, lässt sich folgendes Zusammenspiel ausmachen: Durch die grundlegende Orientierung beider Figuren auf Gott hin ist sowohl der Aspekt ihrer Verbundenheit als auch der eines mit Jesus gesetzten Neuanfangs in die Zuordnung beider Figuren eingetragen.[66]

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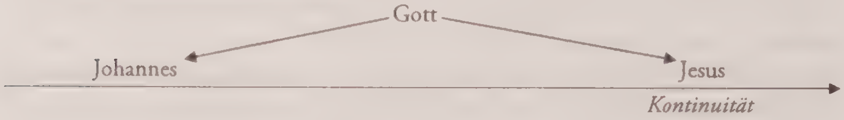
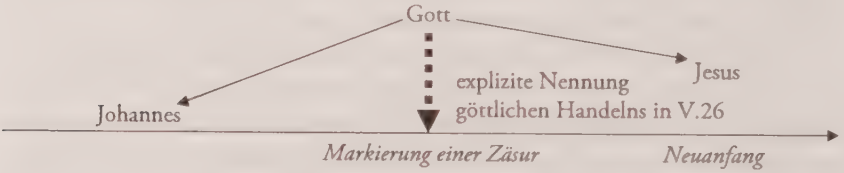
[65] Siehe die entsprechenden Stimmen in Abschnitt I.

[66] Dass die erzähltheoretische Unterscheidung von Geschichte und Erzählerbericht für die Beschreibung der Zuordnung von Johannes- und Jesusfigur auch jenseits der Fokussierung auf die theozentrische Orientierung weiterführend ist, zeigt sich besonders anschaulich in der kurzen Tauferzählung in Lk 3:21-22, in welcher ohne ausdrückliche Nennung des Täufers in Form des Genitivus absolutus Ἰησοῦ βαπτισθέντος in ganz geraffter Weise Jesu Taufe konstatiert wird. Ist auf der Ebene der Geschichte auch klar, dass es bei dieser Gelegenheit zu einer unmittelbaren Begegnung von Johannes- und Jesusfigur gekommen sein muss (Aspekt der Kontinuität), so ist auf der Ebene der Darstellung durch den Gebrauch

1. *Seite: Ebene des Was (Geschichte)*



2. *Seite: Ebene des Wie (Erzählerbericht)*



Hat man sich erst einmal damit vertraut gemacht, dass schon allein durch die theozentrische Orientierung, welche die Charakterzeichnung und Zuordnung der Johannes- und Jesusfigur wesentlich prägt, das Ringen um Kontinuität und Neuanfang in deren Verhältnisbestimmung eingetragen ist, kann abschließend der Bogen zu jener Aussage zurückgeschlagen werden, von welcher diese Überlegungen ausgegangen sind. In Lk 16:16 manifestiert sich Lukas' Versuch, ein Gleichgewicht zwischen den Aspekten von Zusammengehörigkeit und Zäsur herzustellen, in seinem Umgang mit dem Verb εὐαγγελίζω.[67] Durch den Gebrauch dieses Verbs (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίζεται) werden im Horizont der Aussage über das Frohbotschaften des Täufers in 3:18 (εὐηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν) Johannes- und Jesusfigur unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Kontinuität und Zusammengehörigkeit einander zugeordnet, da ihr Verkündigen jeweils als εὐαγγελίζω eingestuft wird. Dieser Aspekt ist aber nur eine Seite der Medaille und wird in 16:16 durch die Angabe des Verkündigungsinhaltes—ἡ βασιλεία

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der passivischen Formulierung βαπτισθείς ohne Nennung des Urhebers (etwa ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου) eine explizite Erwähnung des Täufers vermieden und der Fokus schon ganz auf Jesus eingestellt (Aspekt des Neuanfangs); auch Müller, *Johannes der Täufer*, 143-144 beobachtet, dass der Täufer bei der Taufe Jesu nicht mehr ausdrücklich erwähnt wird; allerdings wertet er diese Beobachtung einseitig als Indiz für die Überordnung Jesu über den Täufer aus (ebenda 144: "Johannes hat seine Aufgabe mit seiner Umkehrpredigt erfüllt. Die theologische Unterordnung unter Jesus drückt sich aus").

[67] Hier ist es also nicht die Unterscheidung der Ebenen von Geschichte und Erzählerbericht, bei der sich das Ringen um ein Austarieren der beiden Aspekte von Kontinuität und Neuanfang zeigt.

τοῦ θεοῦ—um deren Kehrseite ergänzt.[68] Auf dieser wird durch die Rede von der Jesus[69] vorbehaltenen Basileiaverkündigung die sachliche Trennung zwischen beiden Figuren dargeboten.

Kurzum: Lukas' Ringen um die Herstellung eines Gleichgewichtes zwischen den Aspekten von Kontinuität und Neuanfang ist dafür verantwortlich, dass eine *einseitige* Verortung der Täuferfigur, sei es in der Zeit von "Gesetz und Propheten" (so im Gefolge von Conzelmann), sei es in der messianischen Zeit (so die neuere Auslegung),[70] zu kurz greift. Stattdessen gilt es, das fragile Zusammenspiel beider Aspekte in der lukanischen Konzeption zu beachten.[71] Dieses prägt—wie ausführlich dargelegt—die lukanische Art, von Gott in Lk 1 zu reden, entscheidend und hat sich über den Weg, dass der so präsentierte Gott den Fluchtpunkt der Charakterisierung der Johannes- und Jesusfigur bildet, unweigerlich auch in deren Charakterzeichnung und Zuordnung niedergeschlagen.

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[68] Zu einseitig ist deswegen beispielsweise Green, *Luke*, 603 mit Anm. 317: "That the new epoch begins with John is clear from the parallel use of εὐαγγελίζομαι in v 16 and in 3:18: even before the onset of Jesus' public ministry, John was 'proclaiming the good news.' "

[69] Bekanntermaßen ist die Basileiaverkündigung im lukanischen Entwurf—anders als beispielsweise im MtEv—Jesus vorbehalten. Eine mit Mt 3:1-2 (In jenen Tagen trat Johannes der Täufer auf und verkündete in der Wüste von Judäa: ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν) vergleichbare Aussage findet sich bei Lukas nicht.

[70] Vgl. dazu die einschlägigen Stimmen aus Abschnitt I.

[71] Folglich erweist sich der in Abschnitt I registrierte "Schwebezustand" bei der Verortung der Johannesfigur in der Spannweite zwischen Zeitenwende und Übergang als der Sache nach gar nicht unangemessen. Um seine Angemessenheit aber wirklich nachvollziehbar zu machen, muss er—wie oben im Text geschehen—erklärt werden, was bis dato in der einschlägigen Literatur weitgehend unterblieben ist.

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Oracles, Myth, and Luke's Nativity Story

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Abstract

Luke 1:31; 2:8-20, 46-49 are illuminated by the myth of Ion as dramatised by Euripides. Apollo begot Ion on Creusa, who married Xuthus, a supernumerary parent for Ion, providing him with a kingdom. The shepherds recall the "royal foundling" myth; the manger recalls reproaches of the Old Israel—at once signs of birth and burial.

Keywords

Ezek 16; Ion; Isa 1:2-4; Luke 1:31; 2:8-20; 46-49; mythology; swaddling; shepherd

Preamble

Professors of theology and sceptics of every shade save Robertson[1] have consistently ignored a source for Luke's story-telling. It is too soon to determine his motives for the result, yet one must make a beginning. The key to his Nativity lies in the myth of *generation* by a deity, as illustrated by the story of Ion,[2] a myth which debouched into history in the fourth-third centuries BC. The myth's centre is an oracle. The fame of oracles in the ancient world is not doubted, Alexander the Great being an outstanding believer.[3] In Luke we find an artistic version of the oracle of God uttered by his accredited messenger Gabriel regarding two persons, namely the birth of the Baptist and the adventures of Jesus from his first public appearance (2:22) and as a boy in the Temple (2:41-49).

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[1] J.M. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology* (2nd ed.: London: Watts, 1936) 183, 186, 193, 199, 306.

[2] R. Stoneman, *The Ancient Oracles: Making the Gods Speak* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011) 12-13, 28.

[3] Stoneman, *Ancient*, introduction, 8-11, 106-107, 126-127.

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Luke knew that Greeks would recognise "Moses and the prophets" (1:69-70; 16:31; 24:27),[4] however obtained, as an equivalent to collections of oracles consulted by Jews for centuries. Even before Luke Christians regarded the scriptures as "oracles" (Rom 3:2; Acts 7:31-32; Heb 5:12).

An oracle is hardly esteemed if it does not eventuate in fact, and conformably Luke implies (23:43) that Gabriel told the truth when the glory at 2:14 was replicated in the homely meal at 24:30 (cf. 22:30). Salvation had indeed begun.[5]

An oracle answers an applicant,[6] and in Luke this takes place specifically (1:13). Jesus' acclamation at 19:38 (Ps 117:26 LXX) is such a plea; many want an end to suffering under foreign rule (itself due to collective sins) and there are watchers for the Messiah (Dan 9; Luke 2:25, 38; 23:51; Acts 10:4). Oracles are rarely fulfilled to the letter (Thucydides, *Hist.* 5.26.3-4); but Luke's story is fulfilled (1:1, 22, 45, 63; 22:22, 29, 37).[7] No doubt there was scepticism of oracles, though they might be embedded in stories,[8] responding to political and military questions (was the god with them?).[9] Therefore the fates of kings and leaders concern them[10] and predictions occur,[11] so that they facilitate plots,[12] often laying down *conditions* in their prophecies.[13] They offer opportunities for manipulation by politicians, their frauds and bribes.[14]

Surprisingly they may permit applicants to test the oracle more or less subtly (compare Judg 6:36-39).[15]

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4) Stoneman, *Ancient*, 113, 114, 194, 210; *Alexander the Great* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010) 7-8, 54-55, 151, 187. Note Rom 1:2.

5) "Salvation" (2:11) can be political (1:71; Xenophon, *Hell.* 3.3.4) or religious (19:10; 23:39, 43). There are ambiguities at 23:51 and 24:21; and 23:35 shows irony.

6) Luke 3:7-9, 10-14; 1:13, 25; Stoneman, *Ancient*, 19.

7) "Necessity" is ascertained from prophecy: 24:26, 44. Prediction is not seldom oracular: 1:13, 14-17, 20, 31, 37; 2:21; 3:16.

8) Stoneman, *Ancient*, 4, 13 (where oracles succeed).

9) Stoneman, *Ancient*, 2, 7 39, 48; Thucydides, *Hist.* 2.54.4; Plato, *Leg.* 9.871C-D; 11.921A.

10) Stoneman, *Ancient*, 8.

11) Stoneman, *Ancient*, 11. Compare Luke 1:15, 32.

12) Stoneman, *Ancient*, 11, 12.

13) Stoneman, *Ancient*, 7, 12, 24. Compare Luke 10:6; 21:24.

14) Stoneman, *Ancient*, 22, 37, 52; Plutarch, *Lys*. 25.2-3.

15) Stoneman, *Ancient*, 45-47, 53.

We shall refer to the myth of Ion.[16] It conforms largely to the well-known "royal-foundling, hidden-leader" pattern. Like other examples it contains the five elements of abandonment, discovery, adoption, revelation, and the consummation which implies reinstatement. Usually the foundling is discovered by one or more shepherds, goatherds or similar bucolic functionaries, a pattern to which *Ion* offers a partial exception.[17] If Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*[18] carried his audiences through that series we know the myth was long-lived. For *Ion* I use the Oxford Classical Texts series, *Euripidis fabulae*, Vol. 2 and the translation by Vellacott,[19] whose criticisms of Euripides' image of fifth century Athenian taste are irrelevant for us, as is his approval of young Ion's own charm. I shall summarize the story inserting line-numbers to assist verification of particulars.

Ion

The world-wide admiration for Euripides was notorious (Plutarch, *Nic.* 29). His *Ion* was the most widely known account of the mythical founder of the Ionian (chiefly Asian) colonies of Greeks (75, 661, 802, 1581-1588).[20] Apollo raped (11, 437-438, 444-447, 887-896, 941) a virgin called Creusa. One meeting is enough to start a pregnancy,[21] and Leda and Danae illustrate the proposition that rape was not invariable in such cases. Creusa was overwhelmed with shame (336, 868-869). In the cave (288, 949) of the rape she bore, without "complications" (1594-1597), a son whom she wrapped in material woven by herself and then placed in a cradle. Apollo, fearing the expected animals (348, 502-506, 951, 1492-1495), employed Hermes to take cradle, swaddling material (32, 918, 1351, 1598) and all to Delphi, where the priestess (properly the Pythia) found the boy and brought him up as an attendant (cf. 1 Sam 2:21) and eventually steward of the god's property (55-56). Having no known parents the boy took Apollo to be his real genetic father (51, 109-110,136-140, 1607-1608), the temple his home (53) and himself as Apollo's perpetual servant (151-153, 183, 309, 327). In fact Apollo eventually gave Ion to Xuthus (see below) (1534-1536, 1540, 1560-1561) for a limited purpose.

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[16] L.A. Halford-Stevens, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) 763. Herodotus, *Hist.* 7. 94; Plato, *Euthy*. 302C-D.

[17] Shepherd(s): Livy, *Hist.* 1.4-5; Annius quoted by Varro; Longus *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.35; Pausanias, 1.38.8; Apollodorus 2.7.4. For Pelias son of Tyro see Homer, *Od.* 11.257. Goatherd(s): Menander, *Epitrepontes* 173K26 (see P. Vellacott, *Theophrastus, The Characters; Menander, Plays and Fragments* (2nd ed.; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993) 119). Cattleherd(s): Euripides, *Iph. Aul.* 1284-1294; *Hel.* 29-30; Plutarch, *Rom.* 2.6; Herodotus 1.110-113; Diodorus Siculus, 2.4.4; Apollodorus 3.9.1. Swineherd: Plutarch, *Rom.* 6.1. Horse-keeper: Apollodorus 1.9.8 (Tyro's twins).

[18] Act 2, scene 3; Act 3, scene 3; Act 4, scene 5; Act 5, scene 2. *Cymbeline* Act 5, scene 5 (recognition).

[19] P. Vellacott, *Euripides: The Bacchae and Other Plays* (London: Penguin, 1973) 41-88. R. Graves, *The Greek Myths* (2 vols.; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960) 1:§44, 162-163; J. March, *The Penguin Book of Classical Myths* (London: Penguin, 2010) 18, 143, 234-236; Stoneman, *Ancient*, 12-13, 28.

[20] Apollodorus, 1.7.3; J.M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978) 24.

[21] Homer, *Od.* 11.249-250. Compare Plutarch, *Mor.* 718 A-B.

Creusa married Xuthus, like herself of royal descent. The pair, childless, came to consult two oracles (65-68, 369-545). Apollo induced Xuthus to believe Ion was a bastard of his (Xuthus') (70, 517-545, 554). Creusa recognised the swaddling as hers and accepted the lad as her son (1386, 1417-1421, cf. 70). Xuthus sponsored Ion's claim to a throne (1296, 1617-1618), and so became a supernumerary in the drama, his delusion remaining (537, 1602).

The emphasis on the swaddling is required here only for the recognition. But before we turn to Bethlehem we must look at biblical "reproach" material which makes sense of Luke's "swaddling strips," skilfully dovetailed with the ubiquitous Greek myth. Meanwhile the Ion myth had a comical sequel.

The Myth Enters History

The myth of Ion inspired a confidence trick designed by that rogue, Lysander. About 413 BC a woman of Pontus (Asia Minor) claimed to be pregnant by Apollo. Her son (called Silenus), obviously not divine himself (Cicero, *Nat. de.* 3.18), was groomed to claim at Delphi the right to take and read secret oracles which would enable Lysander to be chosen king of Sparta. The plot failed, but became famous (Plutarch, *Lys.* 26).

Swaddling (Ezek 16) and Mangers (Isa 1:2-3)

The procedure to care for a new-born child was notorious.[22] Ezek 16 shows all stages from the womb onwards omitted or neglected. Even the standard climax, the swaddling, was omitted: as the Septuagint puts it, "you were not swaddled with swaddling strips." So Yahweh saw Israel, with her dubious ancestry (16:3), neglected in this disgusting state. She had been *exposed* "in the face of the field." She would have died had not Yahweh (who did not bother about the swaddling) said the immortal words "in thy bloods live," i.e. live, grow up, and enable two major obligations of Judaism, circumcision and the Passover to be performed.[23] Her patron's motives are obvious to everyone. He "married" her as soon as she became "mature," her assent being taken for granted. She went on to play the harlot, and we can imagine Yahweh's rivals (e.g. the Egyptians) laughing. Ezekiel suggests the harlotries continued, though Luke's angels (see below) seem to have thought otherwise. The allegory may be gross, but it is not obscure.

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[22] Wis 7:3-6 cited above. The fact that "swaddling cloth" also meant "winding sheet" (for a corpse) is not irrelevant since that is what it would have been had the animals and birds

Swaddling proves maternal care. What of the manger? Isa 1:2-4 runs: "I have nourished and brought up children and they have rebelled against me; the ox knows his owner, and the ass his master's manger, but Israel does not know; my people do not consider. A sinful nation... Children that deal corruptly... they have despised the Holy One of Israel." Israel is worse than animals notorious for their intransigence and stupidity. The connection between Isa 1:3 and Luke 2:17 is confirmed by Prov 14:4. Mangers indeed suggest oxen (Euripides, *Ba.* 618). Intriguing information is available. Mourned by cattle, the wife of Job died by their manger (*T. Job.* 40.6-11; Job 39:9 MT, LXX, 11Q10:32). Cattle spared a helpless boy, the source of that myth being unknown.[24] Oxen were formerly loyal (*Sifre* §306.1).

Bethlehem

Artists have taken advantage of the fact that a byre open for the admission of cattle and shepherds, the mangers cut into the cave wall,[25] was virtually

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found him (Pausanias, 1.43, 7). And the rock-cut socket (Luke 23:53) prefigures the tomb (cf. Matt 2:11: myrrh).

[23] The reproach: M. Mansoor (ed.), *Bahya b. Joseph Ibn Paquda, The Book of Direction to the Duties of the Heart* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973) 189. The bloods (sic): S. Pines, *Maimonides, Guide of the Perplexed*, Bk 3:46 (2 vols.; Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1974) 2:585; W. Braude, *Pesiqta Rabbati* (2 vols.; New Haven & London; Yale University Press, 1968) 1:365. It is a commonplace.

[24] E.W. Burlinghame, *Buddhist Legends* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1921) 1:257-258.

[25] Origen, *Cels.* 1.51 (ca. AD 248). On "sockets" see Martin Hengel, *TWNT* 9:51-52; Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 78; Euripides, *Ba.* 509-510. Unattended free-standing wooden

open ground. Was the hotel inhospitable? An impending parturition would do more than annoy resident guests. No-one would know that Mary was about to share the boon of Sarah, a painless birth.[26] Even if that happened what of the new-born's cries? Queries as to Joseph's *marriage* would never occur to anyone in the hotel trade.

Ezek 16 has been cancelled. The levee with the shepherds was coupled with the royal-foundling pattern. So far as they are concerned (Luke 2:12, 16) he is a foundling. "Shepherds" suggests rulers,[27] shepherds like David.[28] "Son of David" (18:38-39; considered 20:41) fits this imagery. So Bethlehem too fits. For that place, the Messiah and shepherding go together. Matt 2:5-6 correctly cites Mic 5:1-3 as the latter's Aramaic paraphrase explains.

The story of Mary and Joseph, told from a Jewish standpoint, is alarming. At Luke 1:27 Mary was already betrothed, a contract, presumably with her father, existed; money had changed hands (however little) (Deut 20:7). Joseph might later take her, after the *ketubbah* contract had been signed and the customary blessings spoken, so making her his wife. That Mary, prior to the marriage, should assent to a pregnancy from an unknown quarter is almost incredible. Gabriel's promises (Luke 1:32-33) though he is a deputy (as it were) for the Pythia (imagining Apollo as God) (1:19, 26-30) and therefore hardly fallible (Dan 9:21-27), cannot annul Joseph's contract. Deut 22:23-24 prescribes stoning for both parties should a betrothed woman have consensual intercourse with a third party.[29] The claim that a betrothal carries with it all the legal consequences of a marriage[30] is misleading,[31] but if it were true it would not improve Mary's position.

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structures would make good firewood (as the shepherds would have noticed) in a territory short of trees. Loose wood would hardly remain 24 hours.

[26] Painless birth: Isa 66:7; Midrash rabbah Levit. §14; Lucas Brugensis (d. 1619); Lightfoot, *Harmony* (1644), in J. Lightfoot, *Whole Works* (13 vols.; London: Dove 1822) 4:197; Plautus, *Amphitryon* 1097-1099; Callimachus, *Hymn* 3.24-26; J.D.M. Derrett, *Studies in the New Testament* (6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1977-1995) 2:33-38.

[27] Isa 63:11; Jer 2:8; Zech 10:3; Nah 3:18; Mic 5:4.

[28] 2 Sam 7:8; Jer 3:15; 23:4; 31:10 (LXX 38:10); Ezek 34:14, 15, 23; 37:24 (cf. John 10:3, 4, 11; 21:15-17; Acts 20:28-29). Note Plato, *Resp.* 345A-E; 1 Sam 16:11-13, 19; Ps 78:70-72.

[29] Josephus, *c. Ap.* 2.201.

[30] C.B. Chavel (ed.), *Maimonides, The Commandments* (2 vols.; London and New York: Soncino, 1967) 2:312 n2.

[31] *m. Sot.* 4:1; Maimonides, *Code*, 4.1.10. §11. The written marriage contract does not make a marriage until the bride is led into the bridal chamber.

Luke hoped his audiences knew the fundamentals of Jewish marriages. Betrothal normally led to home-taking by the husband, at least if she was mature. Consummation would make him her master (as it were), but could be delayed. In arranged marriages the bride may require postponement of consummation,[32] and signs of pregnancy *could* appear in the interval. These could result from gross interference by a third party or inept attempts at intercourse by the husband. The question of virginity—a physical concept (was the hymen broken or not?)—could interest the bride's family, for the "tokens of virginity" (Deut 22:14-17) were an insurance against fraud by the husband. The latter, in this case Joseph, finding Mary pregnant whilst still a virgin could consult experts who would admit that, though rare, cases were known of insemination without the normal bleeding. One unpleasant individual boasted he could have intercourse with virgins without rupturing a hymen.[33] Joseph did not divorce Mary, as many in his situation might have done, and that brings us to the House of David fantasy.

It was a notorious piece of *haggada* that the Messiah (cf. Luke 2:38) would be born in the "House of David."[34] Now that could be achieved if a boy was born after his mother's marriage and home-taking but before consummation. Joseph did not order the baby to be exposed—as he might have done if he believed it was the fruit of criminal interference with his betrothed. So the shepherds could testify that Joseph had recognised Jesus as a member of his household and thus a genuine scion of David (Luke 1:32, 69; 2:4; cf. Matt 1:17).

Thus Xuthus and Joseph had much in common. Deluded Xuthus sponsored Ion for a real (if mythical) kingdom; Joseph sponsored his ostensible son Jesus so as to attain a hypothetical one (Luke 1:33; 22:29). In both cases the nominal fathers were supernumeraries on our stage.

We may return to Greek mythology. Greek virgins submitted (eventually?) to divine impregnation, accepting the consequences and *faut de mieux* expected shepherds, herdsmen, or the like to take up the infant if animals had not already made away with it. Joseph's astonishing complaisance would likewise fit a Greek tale; but the intricacies of Jewish matrimonial law would be beyond most Greeks. The angels' song is very Jewish. It concentrates on the satisfaction, even (in legal terms) approval which humans have at last earned by their cooperation.[35] Angels regard Mary's naiveté as praiseworthy (cf. Isa 62:4-5). As in Ion's case (341) the suspicion that a human father is responsible for Mary's condition is natural.[36] God's claim that Jesus is his "son" (Luke 2:32; 3:22; 9:35) is not to the point ("son" means faithful representative) and conflicts with the frank confession at Luke 3:23; cf. 1:33. On the other hand divine impregnation stands in the genealogy of any great leader, be he Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, or another.

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[32] On achieving which he should make an announcement (!) (John 3.29-30); Ps 19:6(5).

[33] *b. Hag.* 14b-15a; A.W. Streane, *A Translation of the Treatise Chagigah from the Babylonian Talmud* (Cambridge: University Press, 1891) 84.

[34] 2 Sam 7:16; 1 Kings 13:2; Zech 12:10; *Pss. Sol.* 17:21; Matt 1:20b; Luke 1:27; 12:4; *b. Sanh.* 97a-98b.

The Sequel

Ion's fate is handled at Delphi by Apollo and by his deputies, by the Pythia, authentic guardian of the history of the affair, and the goddess Athena. Jesus and his ostensible parents enter the Temple at Jerusalem and there meet Simeon, an elder capable of oracular utterance. Riddling prophecy is aimed at Mary (Joseph being simply blessed).[37] A prophetess, Anna, spoke unrecorded praise of Jesus to certain devotees of salvation. A parallel with Ion becomes visible in a strange episode. Jesus, at a Passover when he is only twelve (Luke 2:42-43), engages in debate with scholars in the same Temple and in spite of previous good behaviour (Luke 2:40) is rude to his parents contrary to Exod 20:12, so embarrassing as many scholars as remained on the spot. To Mary fell the task of complaining of his behaviour. His father, some said, might well beat a son of twelve,[38] but Luke thoughtfully prevaricates (3:23c). Jesus claims the Temple (the better interpretation of 2:49b) as his father's house (cf. Ps 27:4) and operates as an oracle himself (Luke 10:23-24).

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[35] Angels' doubts about the wisdom of Yahweh's creation of Adam and their awareness of his project's failures are well known to *haggada* (cf. Luke 10:21). One may note Gen 11:5-7. R.S. Kilpatrick, "The Greek Syntax of Luke 2:14," *NTS* 34 (3) (1988) 472-475, of much interest, does not touch on our matters.

[36] Plutarch, *Mor.* 145D; D.F. Strauss, *The Life of Jesus* (5th ed.; London: Sonnenschein, 1906) 141; G. Bostock, "Virgin Birth and Human Conception," *ExpT* 97(9) (1986) 260-263.

[37] The indebtedness of Luke 2:29-35 to Jewish ideas is exposed by J.D.M. Derrett, "*Antilegomenon, rhomphaia, dialogismoi* (Luke 2:34-35): The Hidden Context," *FN* 6 (1993) 207-218; Derrett, *Studies*, 6:69-75. Enigmatic words suit oracles: cf. Luke 3:17.

[38] Sons whose fathers were unknown were exempt from Exod 21:15. See the debate at *m. Yev* 2:5; *b. BB* 149a; Maimonides, *Code*, book 14 ("judges"), section 3 ("rebels") 5:9-11 (especially 9).

Ion never forsook Apollo as his father though Xuthus took him away from Delphi. Jesus urges that God's claim on him is superior to that of his apparent parents. They were in fact under no obligation to encourage his precocity, and his outburst is tactless as well as egotistical. Ion, Jesus' equal in double paternity, never had to make a choice between temple and palace. We are considerately told that Jesus was obedient to his parents as soon as they got home (Luke 2:51, cf. 40). But as they had not designed him for an intellectual occupation (note v. 44) his gross repudiation of loyalty to Mary and his brothers at Luke 8:20-21 was logical, since they neither heard the Word of God (his true Father) nor did it. Admittedly Ion never needed to disparage his respectable family: he simply outstripped them. We might ask what Ion might have gained if he had repudiated Creusa and Xuthus. A near sinecure for life? His scepticism of kingship is outspoken (621, 632). Jesus' choice entailed a frightful possibility[39] from which his claim God was his Father (2:49) did not protect him (Luke 9:26; 10:22; 23:46; John 5:17-18). Though his kingdom is perpetual (Dan 2:44; 7:14, 27; Luke 1:32-33; 22:29), the son of God (6:35; 9:35; 10:16; 22:2) is not a son of a god like Theseus (22:70).

Conclusion

Luke's awareness of Euripides' *Bacchae* at Acts 12:7; 16:26 is known and Acts 12:9 has been matched with Admetus' exclamation at Euripides' *Alcestis* (v. 1227). He was evidently at home in pagan literature and yet Israel's new leader bore God's satisfaction (Luke 3:22). Luke intends us to think he had Mary as his warrant for his basic facts (Luke 2:19, 51), his own oracle, as it were.

Perhaps Luke's motives may be inferred from his results. To preserve an oracle was a Greek practice, especially where it fitted a known event. The absurdity of a crucified person "ruling from the Cross"[40] was exquisite irony, and could have been proved by the faith of martyrs (Acts 7:56-60; 13:50; 14:19; 2 Cor 11:23-27). That perhaps is the point where pagan enquirers began: what was this king's *rule*, (Luke 23:37) and how to account for it? To and for Greeks Luke tells the tale, assuming Jesus' importance needed no proof. Pagan as well as Jewish hearers and admirers of Euripides' drama sense a kind of authentication from the ages, not an Asian fantasy but a constant challenge, and in that sense a preparation for the gospel. That is different from the church's method of "takeover" (adoption) of pagan themes, personalities (for example saints), and holy places.

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[39] Luke 9:22, 44; 18:31-33; especially 24:7.

[40] Isa 8:23-9:5 (9:1-6); Justin, *Dial.* 73; Barn 8:5. Did Luke know the tree symbol? See Deut 21:22-23 LXX (cf. Acts 5:30; 13:20; Gal 3:13; 1 Pet 2:24); J.B. Green, *The Death of Jesus* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988) 95 n327. Note Luke 23:38, 42-43.

The role of Joseph as bystander deserves closer investigation. He both *is* and *is not* (4:22) Jesus' father but he is certainly his patron, whatever his domicile, though he contributes nothing to the conception of the Second Adam (1 Cor 15: 22, 45, 47; compare 1:32, 35).[41] The church always needed patrons and he could be a suitable model. The notion that Joseph *was* the father of Jesus is a mere conjecture.[42]

Luke's motives can be inferred from his gospel. We can perhaps attribute to him a hierarchy of them. Doubtless he wanted to conciliate and recruit existing devotees of the Baptist.[43] But what is the significance of the divergences from the "exposed prince" pattern? Jesus is not technically "exposed" (to any immediate risk); the animals remain at a distance in spite of Ps 8:8(7); Joseph conveys no worldly kingdom and Mary is needed (a) to support Jesus' (Messianic: *Tg. Ps.* 8:5(4); 18(17)) authority, and (b) to verify *ex post facto* the myth of his origin. The history behind all this remains conjectural.

The gospel does not show Jesus teaching Greeks,[44] though he was acquainted with pagan customs.[45] Luke 1:5-2:52 are *sui generis* and hitherto of an origin both unknown and distinct.[46] The fact that the language is strongly Hebraic[47] need have no bearing on its conception. Luke's Nativity

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41) E. Stauffer, *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (4th edn.; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1948) 12, 98; Rom 1:3; T. Stramare, *Vangelo dei Misteri della Vita Nascosta* (Bornato: Sardini, 1998) 258-261.

42) J. Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: Clark, 1920) 268-269.

43) W.G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (London: SCM, 1966) 96; Luke 1:76; 5:33 (compare Mark 2:18); 7:19-29; 11:10, 16:16; 20:6.

44) H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960) 40-41, 172; C.F. Evans, *Saint Luke* (London: SCM, 1990) 28.

45) Matt 19:12c; A.E. Harvey, "Eunuchs for the Sake of the Kingdom," *HeyJ* 48 (2007) 1-17.

46) Conzelmann, *Theology*, 118 (some peculiar statements could be overlooked.).

47) Kümmel, *Introduction*, 95-96.

story is not legend as Dibelius thought[48]—it is entirely mythological, as we find at 23:6-12. And all the evangelists have found "homerisms" useful.[49]

Our myth as Luke leaves it unites Greek and Jewish Christians, so that neither enters the kingdom without the others' cultural history. A myth-free Nativity is a chimera: if one existed it would be no compliment to either culture.

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[48] M. Dibelius, "Jungfrauensohn und Krippenkind, Untersuchungen zur Geburtsgeschichte Jesu im Lukas-Evangelium" (Heidelberg: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1932); *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (2nd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1933) 120-121, 268-269. This went into a sixth edition in 1971, edited by G. Bornkamm.

[49] J.D.M. Derrett, "Homer in the New Testament," *ExpT* 121 (2009) 66-69.

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Paul's New Family in Thessalonica

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Abstract

The ongoing debate about the structure of the earliest Christian communities—an issue of Christian origins—continues to divide Pauline interpreters. While some (e.g. E. Schüssler Fiorenza) are of the view that Paul's communities were "egalitarian" at the outset only to become more rigid and organized with the passing of time, others (J.H. Elliott) argue that Paul's churches were more structured from their earliest inception. Still others have had a change of mind on this issue. In all of this, Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians has not been given due consideration. Against the social context of the period, Paul's relationships—predominantly described in familial terms—with this community is explored. Paul's parental (nursing-mother, 2:7; father, 2:11) relations towards his convert-children (2:7, 11) show his preference of situating himself above them. Moreover, the Thessalonians' relations to one another as siblings, often understood as imbued with egalitarianism, also demonstrate a similar degree of differentiation (1 Thess 5:12-15) within the community—some siblings are given to lead, to be respected and to admonish the rest. It is concluded that rather than viewing the community at Thessalonica as egalitarian in composition there is evidence here, in what is regarded by many to be Paul's earliest extant letter that some degree of structure was in place at the very beginning.

Keywords

Community; hierarchy; parents; children; siblings; egalitarian; Thessalonians

More often than not scholars have been more impressed by the emphasis on eschatology than ecclesiology in Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians. This is not surprising given that every chapter of this short missive ends with a reference to the return of Jesus Christ (1:10; 2:19; 3:13; 4:16; 5:23). In recent years, however, A.J. Malherbe among others has helped redress this imbalance by considering this epistle from the perspective of the latter, in particular the church as "family."[1] There are good reasons for so doing

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[1] A.J. Malherbe, "God's New Family in Thessalonica," *The Social World of the First Christians: Essays in Honor of Wayne A. Meeks* (eds. L.M. White and O.L. Yarbrough; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1995) 116-125.

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for, even though the expression οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ does not occur in the letter, the heavy concentration of kinship terminology is fertile territory for an ecclesial approach. For example, Malherbe especially focuses on the role of God as Father (1:1, 3; 3:11, 15) and the striking and unusual way in which the letter begins—Paul, in his view, employs the prepositional phrase ἐν θεῷ πατρί (1:1) to underscore the divine initiative of how this "assembly [was] *brought into being by God the Father.*"[2] This, together with the description of the Thessalonians as "sons" (5:5), has prompted him to conclude: "These passages show . . . the God of creation as calling the Gentiles into a new relationship with himself in which he would be their father and they his beloved children . . . [this is] . . . *God's* new family in Thessalonica."[3]

Whilst Malherbe has done much to rehabilitate the ecclesial focus in 1 Thessalonians, there is another way of conceptualizing the family language in this letter, for *Paul* also portrays himself as "father" (πατήρ, 2:11) *and* as "nursing-mother" (τροφός, 2:7)[4] to the Thessalonians whom he twice describes as *his* "children" (τέκνα, 2:7, 11). In fact, Paul in this letter seems to employ a stunning array of family metaphors vis-à-vis himself—even more than those used to describe God—for he later appears to invert the parent-child relationship by referring to himself as an "infant" (2:7) and an "orphan" (2:17).[5] Additionally, Paul repeatedly describes the Thessalonians as siblings (ἀδελφοί, e.g., 1:4; 2:1) no less than on nineteen occasions (or one in every four verses), which is the highest incidence in any Pauline letter. And, often overlooked, is the conclusion to the letter where Paul issues the order to the Thessalonians to "perform family"[6] and to "Greet all the brothers with a *holy kiss*" (5:26).

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[2] Malherbe understands the preposition functioning instrumentally—see A.J. Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 32B; New York: Doubleday, 2000) 99. Others, however, view the preposition in a locative manner—see for example, G.D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009) 15-16.

[3] Malherbe, "God's New Family in Thessalonica," 116 (emphasis added).

[4] The use of the term τροφός might suggest Paul is likening himself to a "wet nurse." The translation "nursing-mother," however, is better for a number of reasons: (1) the presence of the reflexive pronoun in the phrase τὰ ἑαυτῆς τέκνα (2:7, "her *own* children") highlights the fact that the female in question is none other than the biological mother of the offspring; (2) the term is attested in classical sources; (3) the neonatal and immature status of the nascent congregation at Thessalonica is justification for Paul's use of this term; and (4) Paul employs another parental term ("father," 2:11) in close juxtaposition. All of these support the fact that Paul has in mind a mother nursing her own offspring and not a wet nurse.

[5] The possibility of Paul (or his associates) assuming the roles of "infant" and "orphan" however, are very much disputed by scholars and will therefore not be the main focus in this paper—the former reading depends on how one views the variant in 2:7 (and punctuates the surrounding verses) which could also be understood as "gentle" and the latter may legitimately refer to the *Thessalonian* community (rather than Paul or his associates) as the "orphan." Paul's parental roles to his Thessalonian "children," on the other hand, are clear and are not in any doubt. For the possibility of Paul assuming the role of "infant" see

In this short study, I will focus on the above two relationships of Paul as parent and the Thessalonians as siblings because they are not only central to how the apostle regulates the affairs of this community but they are also worthy of further consideration in light of a related comment which Malherbe goes on to make. He further asserts that "the picture that emerges is not... hierarchical"[7] which takes us to the heart of a connected matter that continues to rumble on in New Testament studies, namely the composition or structure of Paul's communities. To be sure, Malherbe is not alone in arguing thus for E. Schüssler Fiorenza's view of early Christian origins has been highly influential and far-reaching. She has long contended there is no structure in either the Jesus movement or the Pauline communities for "there is no room for "fathers" in this "new family of God" that has replaced all the natural social ties of the patriarchal family."[8] Rather, what we have is a "discipleship of equals [which] is the community of brothers and sisters." Schüssler Fiorenza has concluded that this alleged egalitarian structure of a level-playing field for all Christians, quickly "degenerated" into the more rigid, structured and hierarchical communities, such as one finds in the later Pastoral Epistles.[9]

J.A.D. Weima, "But We Became Infants among You: The Case for ΝΗΠΙΟΙ in 1 Thess. 2:7," *NTS* 46 (2000) 547-564 and for "orphan" see J.B. Faulkenberry Miller "Infants and Orphans in 1 Thessalonians: A Discussion of ἀπορφανίζω and the Text-Critical Problem in 1 Thess. 2:7," unpub. paper at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Boston, 1999. For a shorter discussion of both see T.J. Burke, *Family Matters: A Socio-Historical Study of Kinship Metaphors in 1 Thessalonians* (JSNTS 247; London: T & T Clark, 2003) 154-157 and 157-160.

[6] M. Penn, "Performing Family: Ritual Kissing and the Construction of Early Christian Kinship," *JECS* 10 (2002) 175-202 (175). Penn rightly asks: "Why have so many works on the ancient family ignored one of the most widespread familial practices in the Greco-Roman world?" He concludes that "the kiss's performance is a way to define Christianity as family" (158).

[7] Malherbe, "God's New Family in Thessalonica," 121.

[8] E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *Bread Not Stone: The Challenge of Feminist Biblical Interpretation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984) 75.

[9] E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983) 180-183.

Not all are in agreement, however. J.H. Elliott and others have robustly argued that the pre-Pauline and the Pauline communities themselves were less egalitarian than one might think. Elliott's chief bone of contention is that the views of "egalitarians" founder on the rock of a *theoretical* model rather than having any solid foundation in the historical or social reality of the structure or formation of the early Christian church. There is Elliott asserts, "no historical instance of an egalitarian movement and no historical analogue for the situation Schüssler Fiorenza *imagines*,"[10] a methodological point we shall address as we proceed.[11]

The jury is still out on this issue and an impasse continues to exist,[12] however, this is an opportune time to revisit this debate for at least two main reasons: first, it is significant to note that in recent years some Pauline interpreters have had a change of mind and have come to a more nuanced view, concluding instead that Paul's communities are more structured than they had previously thought.[13] Additionally, whilst much work has been carried out in this area in regard to other Pauline letters (e.g. Corinthians), Paul's first letter to the Thessalonians has not been given due consideration and has often been overlooked in this debate.

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[10] J.H. Elliott, "The Jesus Movement was not Egalitarian but Family-Oriented," *BI* 11 (2003) 173-210 (204). emphasis added; *idem*, "Jesus was not an Egalitarian: A Critique of an Anachronistic and Idealist Theory," *BTB* 32 (2003) 75-91; K.E. Corley, "The Egalitarian Jesus: A Christian Myth of Origins," *Foundations and Facets Forum* NS 1.2 (1998) 291-325.

[11] For a study which argues both for hierarchy and equality, see T. Schmeller, *Hierarchie und Egalität: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung paulinischer Gemeinden und griechisch-römischer Vereine* (SBS 162; KBW: Stuttgart, 1995). Schmeller compares Paul's community at Corinth to a voluntary association where a number of similarities exist. He rightly sounds the caveat in regard to both that it is too simplistic and goes beyond the evidence to suggest that a hierarchy has been replaced by an egalitarian relationship of siblings (p. 94). In respect of the "equality" of the sibling relationship, see later in this essay. Moreover, Schmeller limits his study to the associations—about which a number of interpreters agree (e.g. P. Harland) that some familial language (e.g. siblings) was not very prevalent —and to Paul's first letter to the Corinthians which is not as early as first Thessalonians. As regards the paucity of sibling language in the associations, see P. Harland's demurring in *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities* (New York/London: T & T Clark, 2009) 80.

[12] See T.D. Still, "Organizational Structures and Relational Struggles among the Saints: The Establishment and Exercise of Authority in the Pauline Communities," *After the First Urban Christians: The Social-Scientific Study of Pauline Christianity Twenty-Five Years Later* (eds. T.D. Still and D.G. Horrell; London: T & T Clark International, 2009) 79-98 (89).

[13] Most notable is the clear shift in the language and position of A. Clarke who in an earlier monograph, *Serve the Community of the Church: Christians as Leaders and Ministers* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) never employs the terms "hierarchy" or "hierarchical." In a more recent book, *A Pauline Theology of Church Leadership* (LNTS 362; London: T & T Clark, 2008), however, Clarke freely and frequently uses these expressions—I counted at

As noted earlier, we will now consider Paul's role as parent and the Thessalonians' relations to one another as siblings by situating them in their socio-historical context.

Paul's Role as Parent to his Thessalonian Children

Asymmetry

Paul could have chosen to relate to the Thessalonians in a number of different ways—he might have assumed a role on the same level as his converts by referring to himself as a "friend" or a "fellow-believer," for example.[14] Paul, however, situates himself above the Thessalonians by describing himself as a parent, first as a "nursing-mother" (τροφός, 2:7) and second as a "father" (πατήρ, 2:11) to his Thessalonian "children" (τέκνα, 2:7, 11). What is striking—if not in the rest of the corpus Paulinum then certainly in this letter and within the space of a few verses—is how Paul exercises both

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least thirty-three occurrences of the former and twenty-two usages of the latter. Clarke, moreover, provides no reason for his change of mind but now rightly concludes: "Paul's portrait of the church communities with its leadership structure . . . was hierarchical" (*Pauline Theology*, 185).

[14] Paul repeatedly describes the Thessalonians as "brothers" which some interpreters believe puts Paul on the same level as his addresses. K. Ehrensperger, *Paul and the Dynamics of Power: Communication and Interaction in the Early Christian Movement* (London: T & T Clark, 2009) 126 n. 43, using R. Aasgaard, "*My Beloved Brothers and Sisters!": Christian Siblingship in Paul* (LEC1; London: T & T Clark, 2004) 285-303, in support states: "sibling language is preferred by Paul when speaking directly to his communities . . . he sees himself . . . as one within a group of siblings." Ehrensperger, however, has misconstrued Aasgaard for although Paul's use of the term "brother" demonstrates he is in solidarity with his converts, Aasgaard actually goes on to make the important distinction by concluding: "Paul assigns to them the sibling and the child role, whereas he primarily reserves the parent role for himself . . . *when Paul describes himself by way of family metaphors, he never employs the sibling metaphor*" ("*My Beloved*," 294, 293, emphasis added). Ehrensperger misses this subtle but important distinction that although the Thessalonians are *Paul's* siblings, it is a moot point as to whether *Paul* is the Thessalonians' brother. This has important implications for my discussion of 1 Thess 5:12-15 in the second part of this essay. See p. 279 and n. 30.

parental roles towards the Thessalonians. By assuming both responsibilities Paul's relationship towards these fledgling offspring is one of inequality, which was stereotypical of the parent-child relationship of the period. This perspective is well represented across a broad swath of Jewish and non-Jewish sources—Philo, for example, speaks for most ancient moralists when he writes: "For parents belong to the superior class . . . which comprises seniors, rulers, benefactors and masters, while children occupy the lower position with juniors" (*Spec. leg.* 2.226-227). Josephus too views the parent-child relationship as an integral part of a greater hierarchical framework since this is not only part of God's design but also his desire for society as a whole, a society in which parents are their children's elders and where "God is the most ancient of all" (*Ap.* 2.206; cf. Ps. Phocylides, *Sent.* 8; Aristotle, *Pol.* 1.4.2). Plutarch, the Greek rhetorician and close contemporary of the apostle Paul, also puts parents on a hierarchical scale, regarding them as second in rank to that of the gods: "Both Nature and the Law, which upholds Nature, have assigned to parents, after the gods, first and greatest honour" (Plutarch, *Frat. amor.* 4. 479F).

By describing himself as fulfilling both leadership roles of mother and father, Paul underscores the elevated position he wishes to adopt in relation to the Thessalonians. Thus, as regards the latter, it "makes clear that a hierarchical relationship existed between Paul and his converts";[15] the former, moreover, accords well with this inequitable relationship since "maternal imagery scarcely belongs in the egalitarian pile, for mothers do not treat their children as equals"[16] either.

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[15] B. Witherington, *1 and 2 Thessalonians: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006) 81 n. 87, 91 n 127, 98. C. Gerber, *Paulus und seine "Kinder": Studien zur Beziehungsmetaphorik der paulinischen Briefe* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005) 308, views Paul's paternal relationship towards the Thessalonians as a strongly-authoritarian and hierarchical one: "Die Beziehung *ist* . . . feste, hierarchische" (emphasis original). She concludes on Paul's role as "Father": "Ohne Zweifel setzt dieses Vater-Kinder-Verhältnis seine Autoritätsgefälle voraus, wie auch in der Antike ein typischer Vater kaum ohne Autorität vorstellbar war" (308). Paul's authority comes from his parental roles, and unlike 1 Cor 4:14-21 where such authority is being undermined in Thessalonians it is not; thus, I think Gerber's phrase "strongly authoritarian" is too strong an expression to describe Paul's relations to the Thessalonians. Neither does this negate Paul's affection and emotional attachment to his converts; see my comment in n. 28.

[16] B.R. Gaventa, *Our Mother St. Paul* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007) 13; Gerber, *Paulus und seine "Kinder,"* 305-308.

Authority

Closely associated with and as an extension of his elevated parental position is the authority which Paul can expect to exercise over this community.[17] This too was a typical assumption of the period as Philo states: "Parents have received authority over their offspring" (*Spec. leg.* 2.231, 233). Plutarch expresses similar platitudes when he writes how philosophy enables children "to reverence...and honour parents...and yield to those in authority" (*De lib.* 10). Aristotle states that the superiority of parents over children is basic to his understanding of this relationship in the sense that authority and subordination undergird the structure of the household where parents are over their offspring (*Pol.* 1.5.1-2).

In 1 Thess 2:7, Paul describes his maternal role where one reading of the variant is "gentle"[18] and it is generally agreed that a female parent did not exercise the same authority as a father within the domestic sphere. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the former was devoid of all authority; indeed, it is interesting how the poet Pseudo-Phocylides, for example, sounds the caveat to *both parents* for a more mollified and measured treatment of their off-spring, namely that they "should not be harsh with [their] children but gentle (ἤπιοι)"[19] (*Sent.* 208). So, even though Paul's authority as a mother here may be slightly diminished, B.R. Gaventa rightly notes that "Paul still presents himself as the authority,"[20] though perhaps to a more limited degree.

Regarding his paternal authority, Paul reminds the Thessalonians in 2:11-12 of how he lived among them: the two phrases "you are our witnesses, and God also" (2:11) and "you know" (2:11) are succeeded by the relative adverb "how" (ὡς) which introduces an indirect statement giving the content of the knowledge.[21] What the Thessalonians were especially aware of was how Paul as father had treated "each one of you" (ἕνα ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, 2:11), the latter underscoring the personal and individual nature of his paternal provision. This is further unpacked in the three participles that follow: παρακαλοῦντες, παραμυθούμενοι, and μαρτυρόμενοι. The first verb is commonly found in the Pauline writings, occurring several times in this letter (e.g., 2:12; 3:2, 7; 4:1, 10, 18; 5:11) and has a range of meanings from "command" ("urge, appeal, exhort, encourage") to "comfort" ("encourage, cheer, comfort").[22] The second παραμυθέομαι is less frequent and is found here and later in 5:14 (cf. John 11:19,31) and in extra biblical literature where it mostly describes affective connotations with the highly nuanced meanings of "advise, encourage, console, comfort, speak calming words to, appease, soothe."[23]

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[17] J.M.G. Barclay, "'There is Neither Young nor Old'? Early Christianity and Ancient Ideologies and Age Ideologies," *NTS* 53 (2007) 114-129, states: "*As father (or mother) of his churches, Paul assumes authority over them...this lies in his parentage*" (240) (emphasis added); see also D.G. Horrell, "'From ἀδελφοί to οἶκος θεοῦ': Social Transformation in Pauline Christianity," *JBL* 120 (2001) 293-311 (303). E.D. Schmidt, *Heilig ins Eschaton: Heiligung und Heiligkeit als eschatologische Konzeption im 1. Thessalonicherbrief* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010) 145, states regarding both parents: "Auch die Vater-Metapher (gering fügigerauch die der Mutter) kann bei Betonung einer ihrer Konnotationen Autorität und Hierarchie paränetisch in Anspruch genommen warden."

[18] Though the reading "gentle" has been challenged in recent years, it continues to divide interpreters and is still the preferred reading for some current Pauline interpreters (e.g. Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 80) and Bible translations (e.g., ESV).

[19] One cannot fail to note here, if the variant reading ἤπιοι is accepted, the overlap between Paul's language and that of Pseudo-Phocylides'.

[20] Roberts Gaventa, *Our Mother*, 14; Aasgaard, "*My Beloved!,*" 288.

The third verb μαρτυρόμαι, however, is a much stronger term and means "insist, implore"[24] and is syntactically positioned last in the list of verbs for maximum rhetorical effect. But this is not simply a rhetorical move on the part of Paul as though he were creating a hypothetical situation; rather, it is part and parcel of his self-understanding, evident by the way in which this verb also sits in immediate juxtaposition to the infinitival statement that follows, thus providing the purpose for his exhortations as father towards his Thessalonian children ("in order that you may walk worthily of the God who calls you into his kingdom and glory," εις τὸ περιπατεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείαν καὶ δόξαν). So, whilst the lexical evidence for the first two verbs may appear ambiguous, the third is not and this in addition to the presence of the paternal metaphor favours a more authoritative nuance.[25]

Paul's self-characterization as a father exhorting his children also implies a didactic responsibility on his part, which is not surprising given that his young and mostly Gentile converts (1:9-10) would need to be taught the distinctly Christian way of living. By assuming a paternal responsibility to teach the Thessalonians was a common obligation consonant with other writers of the period. Philo, for example, for whom the father was the primary provider of instruction in the family describes his responsibilities as follows: "to beget good intentions and noble worthy actions, and then to foster [his] offspring with the water of the truths which education and wisdom can supply" (*Speg. leg.* 2.29). Aristotle too describes how "paternal exhortations" (οἱ πατρικοὶ λόγοι) are an integral part of the moral education of children (*Eth. Nic.* 10. 9.15; cf. Cicero, *Att.* 6, 7; 15, 16).

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[21] See BDAG, s.v. ὡς, 5.

[22] See BDAG, s.v. παρακαλέω, 2, and 4.

[23] C. Spicq, *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament* (trans., J.D. Ernest; Peabody, Mass: Hendrikson, 1994) 3:30-35.

[24] BDAG, s.v. μαρτυρέω, 2.

[25] J.A.D. Weima, "Infants, Nursing Mother, and Father: Paul's Portrayal of a Pastor," *CTJ* 37 (2002) 202-229 (228).

Certainly, Paul also later in the letter states that the Thessalonians are "God taught" (θεοδίδακτοι, 4:9) but this does not negate the fact that he also assumed an educative function for earlier in chapter 4 and immediately after urging the Thessalonians to live lives in order to please God he states: "For you know what instructions (παραγγελίας) *we* gave you" (4:2). It is important to note in 4:9 how Paul does not say that "the Thessalonians need no one to 'teach' them, but that they need no one to 'write' to them."[26] More specifically, Paul elsewhere assumes a didactic role when in his letter to the church at Corinth, of which he was also the founding father, he calls on his "children" to imitate him (4:16; cf. 1 Thess 1:6). There too, Paul is unable to return to the community and so he sends Timothy, his emissary, whom the apostle says, "will remind you of my way of life in Christ Jesus, which agrees with what *I teach everywhere in every church*" (πανταχοῦ ἐν πάσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ διδάσκω, 1 Cor 4:17).

Paul's instructions and goal in 2:11-12, as noted earlier, are morally focused as evidenced by the purpose infinitive clause that follows and his use of the verb περιπατέω (v. 12) a favourite Pauline term, together with the adverbial phrase "worthy of God" (ἀξίως τοῦ θεου, v. 12), accentuating the ethical[27] thrust, and hence setting his converts conduct in direct relationship to God. But even though the latter may be so, Paul's paternal role is not out of the picture here for earlier he had set his own character and example before the Thessalonians by reminding them that "you are witnesses of how holy, righteous and blameless we were among you" (v. 10). The emphasis which Paul puts on his conduct here is nothing less than an invitation to imitate[28] him, a typical paternal assumption in antiquity.

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[26] S.E. Witmer, *Divine Instruction in Early Christianity* (WUNT 246; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008) 163.

[27] BDAG, s.v. περιπατέω, 2 α:"to conduct one's life, comport oneself, behave, live as habit of conduct."

[28] See E.A. Castelli, *Imitating Paul: A Discourse of Power* (Louisville: Fortress Press, 1991) who clearly demonstrates that imitation was expectation of the father-child relationship.

Isocrates' exhortation of Demonicus to emulate his father, Hipponicus, well illustrates this point : "I have produced a sample of the nature of Hipponicus after whom you should pattern your life as after an ensample, regarding his conduct as your law, and striving to imitate and emulate your father's virtue" (*Dem.* 4.11). Plutarch writes in similar manner: "Fathers... above all... make themselves a manifest example to their children, so that the latter looking at their father's lives as at a mirror, may be deterred from disgraceful deeds and words" (*De lib.* 20.14B). So, whilst Paul on the one level sets the Thessalonians' conduct in direct relationship to God, the one who calls them into his kingdom and glory, Paul's own instruction, exhortation, *and* personal example are all of a piece of his paternal authority. As a consequence, Paul can expect his convert-children—who owed their very spiritual life to him—to reciprocate by obeying him (cf. Philo, *Spec. leg.* 2. 236; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 9.2.7; Musonius Rufus, *frag.* 16.100.24; Epictetus, *Diss.* 2.10.7).

The Thessalonians' Relations to One Another as Siblings (5:12-15)

We turn to the second main description which Paul employs to describe the Thessalonians, that of siblings. As noted earlier, sibling relations dominate the landscape of this epistle and essentially function as a literary *inclusio* (cf. 1:4; 5:27). In most of the current research, however, sibling relations have been understood as imbued with notions of equality—J.S. Kloppenborg, for example, laments the fact that evidence for the alleged egalitarian structure of the early Christian movement has been mostly quarried from Jewish sources and suggests the need for "other comparisons... such as the Thessalonian Christians, among whom there is no such evidence of a Jewish component at all."[30] With this in mind, and in light of the fact that Paul's parental relationship towards the Thessalonians was one of inequality, is there any evidence in this letter to suggest there is also some degree of differentiation between the Thessalonians as siblings to one another? In considering this, we will again focus on the stereotypical

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Her view that Paul's claim to authority is not benign, however, provides little room for the deep affection that the apostle clearly demonstrates towards his converts. See T.J. Burke, "Pauline Paternity in 1 Thessalonians," *TynBul* 51 (2000) 59-80.

[30] J.S. Kloppenborg, "Egalitarianism in the Myth and Rhetoric of Pauline Churches," *Reimagining Christian Origins: A Colloquium Honoring Burton L. Mack* (eds. E.A. Castelli and H. Taussig; Valley Forge, Pa.; Trinity Press International, 1996) 247-263 (248).

assumptions associated with brotherly relations within the social context of the period. But before we do so, we briefly return to Paul.

(i) *Paul as Father, Once more?*

1 Thess 5:12-15 is located in the parenetic section of the letter where Paul continues to exhort the Thessalonians towards the distinctively Christian way of life (cf. 4:1ff). Even though, as we have seen, Paul employs parental metaphors and situates himself above the Thessalonians, his use of the term ἀδελφοί shows he is also in solidarity with his converts. Here on two occasions, he addresses the Thessalonians as siblings (vv. 12 and 14), the implications of which are that Paul is *their* brother. However, Paul is rather reluctant about this and actually stops shy of ever going as far as to say the latter. The reason for this is that Paul "never uses his most frequent designation for Christians, the sibling metaphor, *for himself...he never calls himself their sibling*."[30] Rather, as noted earlier, Paul is the Thessalonians' parent (mother and father) and they are *his* "children" and *his* "brothers." Such a distinction is clearly echoed by Aristotle for whom the "father is a full head and shoulders above" his children but who "is *not like an elder brother to his children*" (*Pol.* 1.12.3; cf. *Eth. Nic.* 8.11.2). In addition and in relation to this, even though Paul most frequently uses the vocative plural ἀδελφοί as a form of address in this letter (e.g., 2:1; 4:1; 5:1), there are occasions, such as here, where this use is more significant than others. Here, Paul employs sibling language (5:14) in conjunction with a request formula (παρακαλέω, 5:14) which suggests he is strongly urging the Thessalonians towards a particular course of action, thereby underscoring an element of authority in what he says. Thus, as he brings this letter to a conclusion, and given that he is no longer present with the Thessalonians,

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[30] Aasgaard, "*My Beloved Brothers and Sisters!*," 293. He goes on to rightly comment: "At first glance, it seems logical to infer that Paul...regards himself to be a brother to them. A closer look reveals that this is not so obvious, however." Tellingly, Aasgaard concludes: "It may of course be accidental that he never calls himself a brother in his letters, but the material seems too extensive for this to be the case, i.e., several letters written at different times and to very different addressees...Paul could on several occasions explicitly have depicted himself as a brother in order to further his view points. In Philemon, for instance, it would have been very natural for him to call himself a brother, considering his emphasis in the letter on sibling ship of all. Instead, he prefers to refer to himself as an old man and Onesimus as his child." See his comments earlier on 293 and 303. See n. 14 earlier in this essay. My only quibble with Aasgaard is that his work is restricted to siblings who by themselves do not comprise a "family" since he does not take proper cognizance of parents.

Paul is not speaking to them as their brother but, rather, as M.M. Mitchell rightly observes, he is providing "in 5:14-22 a final piece of *fatherly* exhortation."[51] Paul may be physically separated and at a distance from his converts but he is still able to exercise authority by directing and regulating the overall affairs of the community from his eminent vantage point as parent.

Turning more specifically to 1 Thess. 5:12-15, the issue of work is central to these verses, especially in regard to *why* some of the Thessalonians had stopped working. A detailed consideration of this issue is beyond the scope of this short paper, but a number of views have been advanced. Many interpreters are of the view that some of the Thessalonians had ceased working because of the imminent return of Christ[52] while others posit a more "noble" reason, namely that that they had done so in order to be free to preach the gospel and engage in evangelism.[53] Still others argue that Paul is seeking to address a situation where some had become overly dependent on the charity of others via a patron-client relationship.[54] These approaches cannot be discounted; however, as we have consistently argued in this paper, Paul's exhortations are more meaningfully understood against the common social expectations of family members of the period, particularly with reference to sibling relations.

(ii) *Seniority among Siblings: Some Brothers are to Lead the Rest (vv. 12b, 14)*

Traditionally, commentators have understood Paul's use of the term ἀδελφοί in vv. 12 and 14 to be addressing the entire Thessalonian community.[35] To be sure, there is no change in the nomenclature used in these verses to describe the members (in vv. 12 and 14 it remains ἀδελφοί) but there is good reason to see a shift in addressee. In v. 12a Paul addresses the "ordinary/led brothers"[36] whereas in v. 14 (and v. 12b τοὺς κοπιῶντας κτλ.) he speaks to those who "lead" but who are also addressed as "brothers."[37] This is so because, as noted above, all the members of the community are described by Paul as siblings and there are no others who could be addressed as something or anything other than "brother." Thus, if in v. 12a Paul addresses the "ordinary-led brothers" in regard to how they are to relate to the "leading brothers" (v. 12b), he then turns specifically to the latter in v. 14 with the strong exhortation for them to exercise their responsibilities towards the rest of the brotherhood (vv. 14-15). This asymmetrical relationship among the siblings, moreover, is supported grammatically by the emphatic use of the single article in v. 12b which controls all three participles (τοὺς κοπιῶντας . . . καὶ προϊσταμένους . . . νουθετοῦντας),[38] the second of which has been variously translated and can mean "be concerned about, care for, give aid"[39] or "be at the head, lead, rule, direct."[40] Contextually, the latter is better given as we have seen there is a distinction between the siblings and it is the leading siblings who are expected to give the lead.

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[51] M.M. Mitchell, "1 and 2 Thessalonians," *The Cambridge Companion to St Paul* (ed. James D.G. Dunn; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 58. See also I.H. Jones, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians* (Peterborough: Epworth Press, 2005) 28, who states in regard to Paul: "In 1 Thess. 5:14 some of the *father's* tasks are to be exercised within the community."

[52] G. Agrell, Work *Toil and Sustenance: An Examination of the View of Work in the New Testament, Taking into Consideration Views Found in Old Testament, Intertestamental and Early Rabbinic Writings* (trans. S. Westerholm and G. Agrell; Lund: Ohlssons, 1976) 122-123. Paul, however, does not appear to explicitly link idleness with eschatology in the letter.

[53] J.M.G. Barclay, "Conflict in Thessalonica," *CBQ* 55 (1993) 512-530 (522).

[54] C.R. Nicholl, *From Hope to Despair: Situating 1 & 2 Thessalonians* (SNTSMS, 126; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 157ff.

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[35] E.g., E. Best, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* (London: A & C Black, 1977) 228.

[36] E.D. Freed, *The Morality of Paul's Converts* (London: Oakville, CT: Equinox Pub., 2005) 64, rightly sees a distinction between the brothers when he writes: "With respect to the various groups of believers, the "brothers" addressed in 1 Thess. 5:12-13 are all members of the brotherhood except the leaders, who preside over them (*proistēmi*) . . . who are also brothers." P.R. Trebilco, *Self-Designations and Group Identity in the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 35, also writes in respect of 1 Thess 5:12-13: "There is some structure in the community—some ἀδελφοί have a leadership role, others are led—but they are all ἀδελφοί."

[37] Chrysostom writes of vv. 14-15: "Here he addresses those who have the rule" (ed. P. Schaff; *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* vol. 13 [Peabody, Ma.: Hendrickson, 1995] 367). Freed, *Morality*, 65, also notes: "the δέ in 1 Thess. 5:14 *marks a transition to another group*, those who are *the leaders* of the brothers mentioned in 1 Thess. 5:12" (emphasis added). These leaders, as Freed notes, are also "brothers"; see n. 36.

[38] The example of the Granville Sharpe Rule here signifies a single article with multiple substantives (in this case participles) connected by καί where the second (and third) substantive refers to the *same* person/s (i.e. the leading siblings); see D.B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996) 270-290.

[39] BDAG, s.v. προΐστημι, 2.

[40] BDAG, s.v. προΐστημι, 1.

Indeed, many interpreters now conclude that the triple participial phrase governed by the single article denotes a particular group of individuals—even though it is rarely noted that Paul is addressing *siblings*[41]—who are responsible for the oversight of the community, a view well represented by R.A. Campbell who concludes on 5:12: "Paul points to a group who were active in teaching, leading, and correcting their fellow members, and calls for recognition of them.... from a very early stage in its life, perhaps within a matter of weeks, there were those who were leaders in the church."[42]

To be sure, this does not preclude the mutual responsibilities within the community whereby the siblings are to *exhort one another*, evident by the double exhortation which frame these verses (παρακαλεῖτε ἀλλήλους, 4:18; 5:11), but there is good reason for us to proceed on the basis that there is some differentiation among the siblings in the church at Thessalonica, a point E.D. Schmidt rightly notes: "Damit sind bestimmte hierarchische Differentierungen innerhalb der Bruderbande nach Alter (und sozialem status) nicht aussgeschlossen."[43]

All this accords well with the normal social expectations of siblings of the period where Plutarch, for example, in his treatise Περὶ φιλαδελφίας repeatedly describes some siblings as "superior" (ὑπερέχειν, *Frat. amor.*

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[41] An exception is Trebilco, *Self-Designations and Group Identity*, 35 who comments: "In 1 Thess. 5:12-13 . . . 'those who labour among you, and have charge over you in the Lord' are clearly leaders. It seems likely that some ἀδελφοί were failing to show proper respect to these leaders (v. 13a), and they were to acknowledge the leaders' roles in the community. Yet clearly these leaders, to whom respect is due, are *included* among the ἀδελφοί throughout the letter when Paul uses this term of the whole community" (emphasis original).

[42] R.A. Campbell, *The Elders: Seniority within Earliest Christianity* (SNTW; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994) 121-122; Horrell, "From ἀδελφοί to οἶκος θεοῦ," 303, comments instructively on this: "What seems clear . . . is that the frequent use of ἀδελφός language reflects both an established designation for the members of the Christian assemblies and *Paul's efforts to ensure relationships* ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ *are structured . . . distinctions can be, and are, made among the ἀδελφοί* (cf. Gal. 6:6; *1 Thess. 5:12*)" (emphasis added); L.T. Johnson, "Paul's Ecclesiology," (ed. Dunn, *St. Paul*) 208, comments under the general heading of "Organization in the Local Church": "The undisputed letters provide . . . significant evidence that such simple structure was present also in Pauline churches from the beginning. Paul can speak of those in the Thessalonian church—presumably in existence for a very short time—who preside over others and exhort them (1 Thess. 5:12)." See also K.P. Donfried, *Paul, Thessalonica and Early Christianity* (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 2002) 155; R. Gehring, *House Church and Mission: The Importance of Household Structures in Early Christianity* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2004) 198.

[43] Schmidt, *Heilig ins Eschaton*, 165. Campbell, *The Elders*, 135, even goes as far as to state that "ἀδελφοί is . . . Paul's preferred vocabulary for leadership."

12.484) and others as "inferior" (ὁ λειπόμενος, *Frat. amor.* 14.485C), even though they are to guard against these inequalities. Plutarch also makes clear in respect of sibling relations that "it is impossible for them to be on equal footing in all respects" (*Frat. amor.* 12.484C). Significantly, Plutarch is especially cognizant of the fact that "the older should be solicitous about the younger and should lead him" (*Frat. amor.* 16.487B). In short, a similar kind of asymmetry that exists between Paul as parent and his Thessalonian offspring is also evident in the Thessalonians relations to one another as siblings.[44]

(iii) *Brothers who Lead are to be Respected (v. 13a)*

Having noted a distinction between the brothers in regard to local leadership in the Thessalonian community, a second normal social expectation is in evidence in v. 13a. At the beginning of this verse the καί is resumptive and is further instruction to the "ordinary-led brothers" addressed in v. 12a vis-à-vis their attitude to those brothers who lead—the former are ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ. Whilst the verb ἡγεῖσθαι usually means "to count" or "to deem" here it has a particular nuance and carries the "the sense [of] *esteem, respect*."[45] Moreover, it is qualified both by the adverb ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ and the personal pronoun αὐτούς—"a triple Pauline intensive"[46]—giving the sense "to respect very highly." Why Paul should call on the entire brotherhood to "respect" the leading brothers is not immediately clear and raises the question of whether and to what extent Paul is addressing a real problem(s) in the community. Although Paul is for the most part pleased with the measure of progress the Thessalonians have been making since they turned from idols to God (1:9), there appear to be a number of "deficiencies"[47] which he addresses, matters that have to do with sexual morality (4:3-8) and work (4:9-12). Indeed Paul's desire to come again[48] to the Thessalonians in order "to supply what is lacking in your faith" (3:10) needs to be taken seriously and is persuasive of the fact that there are matters that need to be put in order within the community.

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[44] Donfried, *Paul,* 155, rightly observes in respect of vv. 12-13: "From these verses it is apparent that there was leadership in this Thessalonian church...Paul served as...authoritative leader to this new family...and *it is essential that these functions continue in his absence*" (emphasis added). I do not think Paul is describing an "office" (i.e., "elder") here as it is too early for this; *contra* G.K. Beale, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (IVPNTC; Inter Varsity Press, 2004) 160. Rather than describing a formal, fixed or appointed leadership position as such, Paul is probably describing one that is on the cusp of or "tending toward office"; see A.L. Chapple, "Local Leadership in the Pauline Churches" (Ph.D. diss. Durham, 1984) 207.

[45] BDAG, s.v. ἡγέομαι, 2.

[46] G.G. Findlay, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982) 123.

Integral to this discussion is Paul's use of the term ἄτακτοι (5:14) which can mean "to be out of step, going one's own way, disorderly, insubordinate."[49] The word is used in this sense to describe "indiscipline" and "disorderliness" (cf. 3 Macc. 1:19; Josephus, *War* 2.517), but if the problem which Paul is addressing has to do with "work," as many commentators believe it is, it is not inconceivable how such behaviour, especially within a small community like that at Thessalonica where there may have been an unwillingness on the part of some siblings to cooperate with others, could easily manifest itself in idleness or an unwillingness to work.[50] There is other evidence, however, to show that the word ἄτακτοι can also be construed as "idlers" (cf. *P. Oxy*. 275, 725),[51] and the context also supports such a view, for Paul had earlier addressed this matter in 4:9-12 where some brothers were refusing to work and whom he exhorted "to work with your own hands...and be dependent on no one"(τὰ ἴδια καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι ταῖς (ἰδίαις) χερσὶν ὑμῶν... καὶ μηδενὸς χρείαν ἔχητε, vv. 11-12).[52] This failure on the part of some to work is accentuated when it is set alongside the industrious labours of the leading brothers (v. 12b,"those who work hard among you,"τοὺς κοπιῶντας ἐν ὑμῖν; v. 13b, "their work,"τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν). This, together with the sudden shift from the infinitive to the imperative mood ("Be at peace," εἰρηνεύετε, v. 13b), coupled with the reflexive expression ("among yourselves," ἐν ἑαυτοῖς) might at first glance seem inconsequential, but conveys an internal problem that Paul regards as being necessary to address.[53] Paul's call for those siblings who had stopped working to "respect" the leading brothers could be related to the former's disdain for authority but his instruction accords better with the stereotypical attitudes of sibling relations of the period. More specifically, a younger sibling was charged with the responsibility "to honour and emulate and follow the older" brother (*Frat. amor.* 16.487C). Within the brotherhood, then, there were certain brothers "whose status and 'work' make them worthy of particular respect and obedience (5:12–13)."[54] This hierarchy of honour or respect for these leading brothers was to be demonstrated "in love" (ἐν ἀγάπῃ, v. 13) and φιλαδελφία was also a commonly held assumption among siblings at the time (e.g., *Frat. amor.* 16.487E), a matter which Paul had earlier addressed in the letter (cf. 4:9).

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[47] G.D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1994) 51.

[48] In light of my opening remarks to this essay, one could argue that this letter is almost as much about *Paul's second coming* (cf. 2:18; 3:10, 11) to the Thessalonians as it is about the second coming of the Son (1:10). In this regard, L. McKinnish Bridges, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (Georgia, Mass.: Smyth and Helwys, 2008) 119, rightly observes: "Paul's words are... not a millennial charter for eager sky watchers. Paul's word are written to create sense of presence, apostolic *parousia* (Paul's coming), as he describes the *parousia* (the coming) of Jesus Christ."

[49] BDAG, s.v. ἄτακτος, 1.

[50] B.R. Gaventa, *First and Second Thessalonians* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998) 82.

[51] G. Milligan, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians: The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes* (Minneapolis: Klock and Klock, 1908) 153-154. Although Fee, *Thessalonians*, 209, comments that the reading "idlers" "does not have a lexical leg to stand on" he nevertheless goes on to concede that "the translation 'idlers'... correctly points to an aspect of those who are in view here."

[52] The problem of work and the "idlers" (ἀτάκτως, 2 Thess 3:6) appears to be unresolved by the time 2 Thessalonians is written. For a detailed discussion of the possibility of Paul as author of 2 Thessalonians, see I.H. Marshall, *1 and 2 Thessalonians* (NCB; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) 28-45.

(iv) *Leading Brothers are Expected to Admonish the Rest (v. 14)*

In light of the problem of division facing the community, Paul strongly urges the leading brothers to take the necessary action to curb such behaviour. He specifically issues the order for them to "admonish those who are idle" (νουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους, v. 14a), a responsibility of which he had earlier reminded them (νουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς, v. 12c). Here again Paul's instructions resonate with the period of time where Plutarch, his near contemporary, states: "It is fitting that the older [brother]...should... admonish [νουθετέω] [the younger]" (*Frat. amor.* 16.487B). Siblings, moreover, played a key role in the household, which was a basic production unit, and were thus expected to work hard and provide for their father's household, something Paul himself had done and about which he had reminded the Thessalonians of earlier in the letter (2:9; cf. 2 Thess 3:7-8).[55] The behaviour of those brothers who had stopped working was potentially divisive and harmful to the public reputation of the church family at Thessalonica, notwithstanding Paul's own character and good name. Moreover, such conduct is also at variance with how brothers were supposed to conduct themselves, according to Plutarch who writes: "the concord of brothers both family and household [οἶκος] are sound and flourish...like a harmonious choir, [they] neither...say, nor think, anything discordant" (*Frat. amor.* 2.479A). Failure to heed the advice and admonishment of the leading brothers was not only potentially deleterious to the whole community but was also tantamount to refusing to obey Paul their father.

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[53] J.A.D. Weima, *Neglected Endings: The Significance of the Pauline Letter Closings* (JSNT 101; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 185, has shown convincingly how the closing peace benediction (5:23) recapitulates major concerns earlier in the letter (e.g., 5:13b). Weima states: "A careful reading of the letter body of 1 Thessalonians... does reveal that the church experienced a problem of division." Though he does not see the significance of the sibling language, Weima nevertheless rightly concludes that those who had stopped working led to "division... between the church's leaders and certain 'idlers'" (185).

[54] S.C. Barton, "Eschatology and the Emotions in Early Christianity," *JBL* 130 (2011) 571-591 (590). Trebilco, *Self-Designations and Group Identity*, 35-37, also points out: "Paul... uses... language about one group *respecting* and *esteeming*, or submitting to particular ἀδελφοί who have charge over or admonish the first group..." (36) (emphasis added).

Conclusion and Implications

Situating Paul's relations to the Thessalonians against the prevailing social norms of family relations of the period has enabled us to see that as father and nursing-mother towards his convert-children the apostle regards himself as being at the apex of the familial pyramid. To be sure, God is also described as *pater* in this letter but this should not be seen to be at variance with Paul's role, for just as, for example in the area of instruction "what Paul taught...was God's own teaching and word (see 1 Thess. 2.2-9),"[56] so Paul's paternal role vis-à-vis the Thessalonian church-family is consonant with God's in whose mission he is engaged. And whilst Paul may appear to invert his parental responsibilities by describing himself as an "infant" (2:7) and "orphan" (2:17), such roles remain contentious and do not have the general consensus of scholarly opinion. Even if they are valid roles, they do not deconstruct the fact that Paul writes this letter primarily as an adult parent and not as a child.

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[55] Why Paul in his first letter does not tell the Thessalonians to follow his paternal example—he does mention it in 2 Thess 3:7—of hard work is unclear. Perhaps, as their father, he expected them to imbibe his worthy practice without having to command them.

[56] Witherington, *Thessalonians*, 120.

More contentious among interpreters is the relationship between the Thessalonians themselves as siblings which we noted need not necessarily be understood as "egalitarian." In this regard and as he provides one last piece of advice to the Thessalonian siblings, Paul writes as one who is in solidarity with them but who nevertheless is their father,[57] and although absent is still able to exercise his influence in the regulation of the internal affairs in the community. More significantly, and contrary to some commonly held views today, the asymmetrical relationship which existed between Paul and the Thessalonians was also seen to be in evidence in the Thessalonians' relations to one another as siblings—some brothers were expected to lead, to be respected and to admonish the rest.

The implications of such findings are profound and thoroughgoing as regards the question of Christian origins in general and the composition of the early Christian communities in particular are concerned. In conclusion, rather than thinking that such communities were initially "egalitarian" in structure and became more rigid or hierarchical through time, on the strength of the evidence which we have presented, and in what is regarded by most scholars as the earliest extant letter written by Paul, some degree of structure was in existence from their earliest inception.[58]

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[57] Clarke, *Pauline Theology*, 141, does not see Paul as the only "father" in the letter and writes: "Paul's co-writers, Timothy and Silas, are included in the analogy." But along with other interpreters, and on the basis of the heavy preponderance of 1st person plural verbs in this letter of which ἐγενήθημεν (v. 10) is one of many, the verb here (and others elsewhere in the letter, e.g., 2:18; 3:6), it could be argued, is not a real but an epistolary plural; see Malherbe, *Thessalonians*, 86-87; V.P. Furnish, *1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2007) 30-31.

[58] Campbell, *The Elders*, 122, summarizes 5:12-15 as follows: "This justifies the conclusion that some form of routinization is present from the start of the church."

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P.Oxy. 2383 (P^{69}) One More Time

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Abstract

In this article, I respond to recent criticisms of my proposed reconstruction of P^{69} and conclude that the fragmentary evidence is simply too sparse to support the weight of Claire Clivaz's claims of a Marcionite edition. The paleography of the fragment is further scrutinized and the remaining questions concerning the text of this important fragment are raised and discussed.

Keywords

P.Oxy. 2383; P69; Luke 21:41-48, 58-61; Marcionites; Angel and Agony; Lukan Prayer on Mount of Olives

In a recent article, Claire Clivaz offers what amounts to a critique of an article that I had previously written on the subject of P.Oxy. 2383.[1] Certainly the issue of P.Oxy. 2383 has been of great importance to Clivaz's overall argument of a Marcionite edition of Luke 22:42-44.[2] In several instances, Clivaz offers a rebuke, complaining that, "Actually, the damage could be greater than the improvement, particularly concerning the discussion of the evidence of Luke 22:43-44," and "My hope is that in the years to come the interesting P^{69} will attract the careful attention that it deserves."[3] Such criticisms are unjustly leveled, in my opinion, and I think

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[1] Thomas A. Wayment, "A New Transcription of P.Oxy. 2383 (P69)," *NovT* 50 (2008) 351-357; Claire Clivaz, "Some Remarks on Thomas A. Wayment, 'A New Transcription of P.Oxy. 2383 (P^{69}),' " *NovT* 52 (2010) 83-87.

[2] Claire Clivaz, "The Angel and the Sweat Like 'Drops of Blood' (Lk 22:43-44): P^{69} and f^{13}," *HTR* 98 (2005) 419-440; idem, *L'ange et la sueur de sange (Lc 22, 43-44) ou comment on pourrait bien encore écrire l'histoire* (Biblical Tools and Studies 7; Leuven: Peeters, 2010).

[3] Clivaz, "Some Remarks," 83, 87.

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that it is important to look at this important textual artifact one more time in light of such heavy-handed reproof.

First, I offered what amounts to a simple edition of the fragment with notes to explain the presence of textual variants and peculiarities. The purpose of the article was not to produce a commentary on the importance of this fragment for the larger questions addressed by Clivaz and others, but rather simply to focus on a number of new readings that were made possible through the use of multi-spectral images, and at least one of them now seems obvious in the color photographs available online through the Oxyrhynchus papyri website. The article itself follows standard formatting and presentation of the publication of papyri or new editions of papyri.[4]

Second, Clivaz dramatically states that my own faith tradition led me to a reach a certain conclusion, which I never cited nor alluded to in the original article. It is a fact that the fragment P^{69} actually contradicts my own faith tradition and in a stunning twist of irony, Clivaz quotes from a circular sent out to donors and others who are interested that attempted to explain the value of my work when it did not appear to have any relevant meaning. In my opinion, it is an unfair criticism to imply religious bias when that bias would actually argue the opposite of what is present.[5]

Third, and most importantly, Clivaz does not argue against my reconstruction of the fragment, which was the purpose of the article to begin with. In light of this discussion, let me here reiterate the text of the fragment and what questions remain concerning the artifact itself.

εις πειρασμον] κ̣[α]ι̣ α̣[υτος απεσ- Luke 22:41
πασθη απ αυτων ωσ]ει λιθου β̣ο̣λ̣η̣[ν
και θεις τα γονατα προσ]η̣υχετ̣ο̣
και αναστας απο] τ̣η̣[ς προσευχης Luke 22:45
ελθων προς τους] μ̣αθητας κοι-
μωμενους απο τη]ς λυπης [κ]αι Luke 22:46
ειπεν αυτοις] τ̣ι καθευδε-
τε ανασταντες πρ]ο̣σ̣ευχεσθε
ινα μη εισελθητε εις πει]ρ̣ασμ̣ο̣ν

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[4] Clivaz, "Some Remarks," 86 n. 22. Clivaz argues that "the article ends abruptly, without conclusion or summary of the results." This follows the practice of offering an edition of the papyrus and misses the purpose of the article.

[5] Clivaz, "Some Remarks," 86-87.

10 ετι δε αυτου λαλουντος ι]δ̣ου̣ Luke 22:47
οχλος και ο λεγομενος] Ιουδ̣α̣ς
εις των ιβ προηρχετο] α̣υ̣τ̣ους
και εγγισας εφιλησ]εν̣ τ̣ον Ι̅η̅ν̅ Luke 22:48
Ιουδα φι]λ̣η̣[ματι

Comments:

The first line preserves only the slightest traces of ink, and could legitimately be rendered in a number of ways. In my first edition, I restored them only with great hesitancy. Clivaz offers no alternative, and judging by the length of the line, the three letters suggested still appear to fit the traces of ink and render the line in a way that does not rely on any scribal error or variant reading. With the second line, the text of Luke 22:41 is more secure, and can be restored *exempli gratia* of NA^{27}. Ironically, the most disputed line appears to be line 4, for which there appears only a single horizontal bar spanning what looks to be the length of two different letters, perhaps even a line ending with epsilon or sigma.

Following Turner's suggestion, an error as a result of homoeoteleuton cannot be ruled out decisively based on what amounts to only the slightest traces of ink. Although I cannot prove his suggestion, I concur with the suggestion that Luke 22:42-44 were probably not present in the exemplar used by the scribe of P.Oxy. 2383 or in the fragment itself.[6] Turner's reasoning on this point is still possible, despite the correction I offered to his edition. He states, "It is assumed that the scribe's eye traveled from προσηύχετο v. 41 to προσευχῆς v. 45. Such an omission by homoeoteleuton is plausible only if the interval jumped is not too great. Assuming the exemplar also had lines of *c.* 25 letters and did *not* contain vv. 43, 44, these two words could have occurred at the ends of lines four lines apart" (emphasis in original).[7]

After accepting the proposed text, Clivaz goes on to state with some certainty that an omission of Luke 22:42-45a by homoeoteleuton can be "definitively put aside."[8] This certainty, is, however, somewhat premature because it is based only on three secure letters of l. 3 and faint traces of two letters in l.4. Without restoring the text using NA[27], the papyrus reads confidently "[προσ]η̣υχετ̣ο̣[9] … vertical stroke … μ̣αθητας." Therefore, the first secure word from Luke 22:45 is "disciples"! This hardly inspires confidence of what actually happened in the lines preceding Luke 22:45, or in the exact nature of the wording of Luke 22:41 that seems to be present in ll.1-3. I do, however, propose that it is very unlikely for this papyrus to have had any portion of Luke 22:42-44, unless of course it was written or noted in a marginal note.

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[6] E.G. Turner, "2383. Gospel According to St. Luke XXII," in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXIV* (ed. E. Lobel et al.; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1957) 3.

[7] Turner, "2383," 3. It is certain that P.Oxy. 2383 attests the omission of Luke 22:42-44, but it is uncertain whether the exemplar did so as well.

[8] Clivaz, "Some Remarks," 84.

Despite Clivaz's claim that Turner was "very hesitant in reconstructing καθεύδοντας κοιμώμενους," Turner only dotted one letter indicating any hesitancy and attempted to account for the unusual reading in his notes. The addition of the new reading in l.5 is important because it is the first secure reference to Luke 22:45. It seems that Clivaz has attempted to undermine any contribution of my original article.[10] As Clivaz rightly observes, the real importance of this fragment is what happened precisely with Luke 22:42-44. Based on the evidence, it seems that Turner's discussion of the exemplar is still pertinent, and it may be that vv. 42-44 were omitted there as well, although this simply pushes the problem back further. Clivaz's assertion that this "attests to a *third* version … for the Lukan prayer on the Mount of Olives" (emphasis in original) is indeed possible and P[69] may be the only witness to this hypothetical third version that developed perhaps in Marcionite circles.[11] At the same time, however, the evidence for this third version is fairly slim, and one would like to see some discussion of how this fragment preserves the only Marcionite influenced text from Oxyrhynchus and how the removal of Luke 22:42 began to be coupled with the removal of Luke 22:43-44 because they appear to exhibit two different concerns: Jesus' request for the removal of the cup suggesting Jesus was forced to obey the Demiurge *and* the perceived mortal weakness of Jesus. I am inclined to think that T. Baarda, who discusses Julian's harangue of Christians precisely over these verses, may also plausibly explain that Christian embarrassment was a factor in the discussion.[12]

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9) Turner, "2383," 2 was even more uncertain on this reading, marking it [προσ]η̣υ̣χε̣τ̣ο̣ thus suggesting that only a single letter was secure!

10) Clivaz, "Some Remarks," 84.

11) Clivaz, "The Angel and the Sweat," 429-432.

12) T. Baarda, "Luke 22:42-47a, The Emperor Julian as a Witness to the Text of Luke," *NovT* 30 (1988) 289-296. Baarda draws the conclusion that Christians had a difficult time answering the criticisms against Luke 22:42-47 and thus giving them motive to alter this passage. Hilary (*De Trin.* 10.40-42) also offers evidence that embarrassment was a question

Pertinent to the discussion is the date and provenance of this fragment. From my examination of the fragment, the scribal hand should be dated to the third century, with P.Oxy. 4405 as an early example of the hand and P.Oxy. 4500 as a late example. Its closest parallels are to P.Oxy. 4448, 4499, and 1782. In addition to the paleography of the fragment, the scribe also noted the beginning of v. 47 in the margin using a semicircle. It is unclear why only this verse is noted, forcing us to consider the possibility that the notation may indicate something else entirely, such as a stichometric indication. Underscoring these questions is also the assertion by K. Aland that the scribe was quite free in his rendering and intentionally removed the verses as Clivaz accepts.[13] But with so little text can one really make such sweeping assumptions concerning its accuracy and the scribe's intentional removal of offending verses?[14]

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surrounding the sweat like blood and Jesus' plea to take away the cup because they portrayed Jesus as weak. Although he is aware that the verses in Luke 22 are in dispute, he argues that heretics should not be encouraged by the cup and the sweat like blood.

[13] K. Aland and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (1st ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987) 100, but altered in *The Text of the New Testament* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) 100; Clivaz, "The Angel and the Sweat," 425-427.

[14] An important concern in the discussion of the scribal attitude are ll.9-10 of the reverse side. I reproduce the reverse side here for comparative purposes. See Clivaz, "The Angel and the Sweat," 426-427.

	αυ[τ]ον ε[φη και συ εξ αυτων ει	Luke 22:58
	ο δε ειπεν [ανε ουκ ειμι και δι-	Luke 22:59
	αστασης ωσ[ει ωρας αλλος ισχυ-	
	ριζετο λεγω[ν επ αληθειας και	
5	ουτος ην μ[ετ αυτου και γαρ Γα-	
	λ[ι]λαιος εστ[ιν ειπεν δε ο Πετρος	Luke 22:60
	α[ν]ε ουκ οι[δα ο λεγεις και ετι	
	αυτου λαλου[ντος παραχρημα	
	εφωνησεν [αλεκτωρ και στρα-	Luke 22:61
10	φεις ο Πετ[ρος ενεβλεψεν αυ-	
	τω τοτε [υπεμνησθη ο Πετρος	
	του ρημ[ατος του κυ ως ειπεν	
	αυτω π[ριν αλεκτορα φωνησαι ση-	
	μ[ερον	

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Book Reviews

J.K. Elliott, *New Testament Textual Criticism: The Application of Thoroughgoing Principles—Essays on Manuscripts and Textual Variation*, NovTSup 137 (Leiden: Brill, 2010) pp. xv + 661. ISBN: 978-90-04-18952-2. €184.00/$259.00.

The scholarly work of Keith Elliott covers various aspects of New Testament research, but perhaps along with his work on the apocryphal writings relating to the New Testament, his major academic achievements have been in the area of textual criticism. This volume brings together fifty seven essays pertaining to that fascinating sub-discipline. Within that branch of New Testament studies, Elliott has marked himself out as the major proponent of the approach known as "thoroughgoing eclecticism". While most of the essays do not directly discuss that topic, his renown as the leading contemporary practitioner of this method justifies the inclusion of a reference to this approach in the title of the volume. In fact, both the introductory comments and the third chapter are highly articulate presentations of that method. On the opening page of the introduction, a corrective rings out as a clarion call to all who misunderstand the approach. Elliott writes, "[t]horoughgoing eclectic critics are often misrepresented as having little interest in manuscripts, codicology or palaeography.... In practice I have been concerned with the age and character of manuscripts as well as their distinctive readings" (p. 1). Then, as if any further proof were required, chapter after chapter (especially in part two) discuss unique manuscript features, such as their singular readings, the textual character of individual manuscripts, and an assessment of the importance of selected manuscripts of the New Testament.

The volume is divided into four major sections. Part one looks at methodological issues. Apart from the discussion of thoroughgoing eclecticism in chapter three, the opening two chapters are first-rate introductions to the discipline of textual criticism that are accessible both to non-specialists, but also have much of value for fellow text-critics. Part two turns to discussion of features of manuscripts. Here there are seven major studies, as well as chapter eleven which assembles four shorter studies that all elucidate various papyri discovered at Oxyrhynchus. Part three combines studies on specific textual questions, divided into three important subsections. The first two chapters in the opening subsection assemble various shorter studies. Chapter twelve draws together seven studies that were influenced by G.D. Kilpatrick, Elliott's doctoral supervisor in Oxford, often developing embryonic ideas or providing stronger arguments for some of Kilpatrick's undeveloped suggestions. Chapter thirteen, likewise, combines a series of shorter studies, with each of the six sections analyzing a specific textual variant. Next follow seven longer studies engaging complex text critical

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problems such as the longer ending of Mark, the text of Acts, and the form of the concluding doxology in Romans. The second subsection highlights the too often overlooked relationship between text criticism and exegetical decisions pertaining to the interpretation of the New Testament writings. Here the opening chapter follows the pattern of combining shorter studies, with the next two larger scale studies probing the textual issues that attend the parable of the two sons, and Paul's teaching on marriage in 1 Corinthians. The final subsection in part three brings together four incisive papers that arise from some of the unique problems that are a result of the parallel accounts contained in the Synoptic Gospels—such as the phenomenon of assimilation, and the relationship between printed synopses, text criticism, and proposed solutions to the synoptic problem. Finally part four draws together Elliott's writings on recent critical editions of the Greek text of the New Testament. Although Elliott modestly entitles part four, "Reviews of Recent Critical Editions," this in many ways downplays the incisive methodological reflections and assessments of the most recent cutting-edge attempts to apply the rapid advances in textual criticism to the task of producing critical texts. As one reads these reviews perceptive insights and reflections are found on every page, and one has the privileged feeling of walking alongside a scholar who is master of his discipline as he assesses prospects and pitfalls in the discipline. The four projects that are assessed in this section are the *Editio Critica Maior*, the United Bibles Societies' Fourth Edition and Nestle-Aland 27, the International Greek New Testament Project's volumes on Luke, and the *Marc Multilingue* Project.

Unlike many volumes of collected papers, this is not a random assemblage of a scholar's work. Careful thought and planning have gone into the arrangement of material, and this results in a volume that leads readers on a journey through a complex and rapidly developing discipline. The combination of shorter papers into single chapters was a wise decision that not only produces thematic coherence, but more importantly allows readers to see multifaceted aspects of related topics emerge in a manner that reinforces key methodological or theoretical perspectives. Furthermore, Elliott has taken the opportunity in this volume to bring several of the articles up-to-date by the addition of a post-scriptum. The result is that the chapters interact with the latest research relating to the subject matter they cover. However, above all this volume offers the vintage and superlative scholarship of Keith Elliott on textual criticism in an easily accessible format, with many supplementary features such as a comprehensive bibliography and indices that assist ready reference to the topics discussed. This is an exceptionally fine volume, which will repay careful and repeated study.

Paul Foster

Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, Ruben Zimmermann (eds.), *Jenseits von Indikativ und Imperativ: Kontexte und Normen neutestamentlicher Ethik / Context and Norms of New Testament Ethics I.* WUNT 238 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009) xiii + 386 pp. Cloth. ISBN 978-3-16-149997-5. 99 €

Der vorliegende Sammelband präsentiert die Beiträge eines DFG Rundgesprächs zum Thema „Begründungszusammenhänge neutestamentlicher Ethik", das im September 2007 stattfand. Ziel dieses Rundgesprächs „war vor allem, das jahrzehntelang bestimmende sogenannte Indikativ-Imperativ-Modell zu problematisieren und gleichzeitig alternative Begründungszusammenhänge ntl. Ethik aufzuzeigen" (Vorwort). Dabei war zum einen von Bedeutung, auch Kollegen aus dem Ausland mit einzubeziehen, da sich das Indikativ-Imperativ-Modell vor allem in der deutschsprachigen Forschung durch den prägenden Einfluss der lutherischen Theologie, den Einfluss R. Bultmanns und die Konzentration der ntl. Ethik auf das *Corpus Paulinum* durchgesetzt hat (vgl. dazu K. Hammann, *Rudolf Bultmann: Eine Biographie*. 2. Aufl.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009, 168-78). Zum anderen sind Kollegen aus den Nachbardisziplinen der ntl. Wissenschaft (aus den Fachbereichen Altes Testament, Judaistik, Altphilologie und Philosophie) beteiligt.

Die „Einführung" (1-5) durch die Herausgeber umreißt knapp das Entstehen des Indikativ-Imperativ-Paradigmas und fasst die neueren kritischen Anfragen durch K. Backhaus, U. Schnelle, F. Blischke, D. Horrell, H. Löhr und R. Zimmermann zusammen. Zimmermann etwa geht davon aus, dass dieses verbreitete Modell „ein Forschungskonstrukt sei, das dem Textbefund widerspricht. Das Schema suggeriere eine zeitliche oder logische Abfolge, es sei reduktionistisch und könne die Vielfalt und Dynamik der pln. Ethik nicht erfassen. Theologisch führe das Modell in erhebliche Aporien und missachte überdies die breite Anlehnung des Apostels an das allgemeine, konventionelle Ethos" (3). Die Herausgeber schlagen vor, die Handlungsbegründungen in ntl. Schriften anhand von acht Kategorien zu erfassen:

1. Sprachform: In welcher sprachlichen Gestalt begegnet die ethische Aussage?
2. Normen: Welche leitenden Normen und Handlungsmaximen werden genannt?
3. Traditionsgeschichte: In welchem traditions- und zeitgeschichtlichem Zusammenhang stehen diese Normen?
4. Wertelogik: Welche Gewichtung der Normen, welche Wertehierarchie ist im Text erkennbar?
5. Begründungsform: Nach welcher ethischen Argumentationsweise erfolgt das ethische Urteil?
6. Ethischer Urteilsträger: Wer ist ethisches Subjekt bzw. ethischer Entscheidungsträger?
7. Gelebter Ethos: Welchem konkreten Ethos korrespondiert oder widerspricht das ethische Urteil?
8. Geltungsbereich/Adressaten: Welche Nah- oder Fernhorizonte des ethischen Urteils sind im Blick? (4).

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Dieses Modell will unterschiedliche Zugänge zur Ethik in heuristischer Absicht vernetzen, aber keine lineare Schrittfolge vorgeben. Gleichwohl stehen die einzelnen Aspekte in einem unmittelbaren Zusammenhang. Ferner stellen die Herausgeber die einzelnen Beiträge des Bandes detailliert vor (5-15; die Beiträge selbst bieten keine Zusammenfassungen in Deutsch und/oder Englisch).

Der *erste Teil* beleuchtet *Neutestamentliche Ethik im Dialog mit Ethiken im Vor- und Umfeld des Neuen Testaments* (AT, Frühjudentum und griechische Philosophie) und enthält: M. Forschner, „Das Selbst- und Weltverhältnis des Weisen: Über die stoische Begründung des Guten und Wertvollen" (19-37); H. Löhr, „Elemente eudämonistischer Ethik im Neuen Testament?" (39-55); M. Lang, „Lebenskunst und Ethos: Beobachtungen zu Plutarch, Seneca, Philo von Alexandrien und dem 1. Petrusbrief" (57-76); E. Otto, „Narrative Begründungen von Ethos in der Ethik des Alten und Neuen Testaments" (77-96); E. Reinmuth, „Das Alter würdigen: Antike Anerkennungsdiskurse und Neues Testament" (97-116) und C. Horn, „Der Zeitbegriff der antiken Moralphilosophie und das Zeitverständnis des Neuen Testaments" (117-134).

Teil zwei gilt den speziellen Begründungsstrukturen der Ethik bei Paulus: U. Schnelle, „Paulus und Epiktet—zwei ethische Modelle" (137-158); M. Vogel, „Ob Tugend lehrbar sei: Stimmen und Gegenstimmen im hellenistischen Judentum mit einem Ausblick auf Paulus" (159-176); C. Landmesser, „Begründungsstrukturen paulinischer Ethik" (177-196); D. G. Horrell, "Particular Identity and Common Ethics: Reflections on the Foundations and Content of Pauline Ethics in 1 Corinthians 5" (197-212) und F. W. Horn, „Die Darstellung und Begründung der Ethik des Apostels Paulus in der *new perspective*" (213-231).

Die Beiträge des *dritten Teils* untersuchen Begründungsstrukturen in den Evangelien, im Jakobusbrief und in der Alten Kirche: R. Zimmermann, „Die Ethico-Ästhetik der Gleichnisse Jesu: Ethik durch literarische Ästhetik am Beispiel der Parabeln im MtEv" (235-265); T. Engberg-Pedersen, "Giving and Doing: The Philosophical Coherence of the Sermon on the Plain" (267-287); R. Hirsch-Luipold, „Prinzipiell-theologische Ethik in der johanneischen Literatur" (289-307); M. Konradt, „Werke als Handlungsdimension des Glaubens: Erwägungen zum Verhältnis von Theologie und Ethik im Jakobusbrief" (309-327); K.-W. Niebuhr, „Ethik und Anthropologie nach dem Jakobusbrief: Eine Skizze" (329-346) und U. Volp, „Beobachtungen zur antiken Kritik an den Begründungszusammenhängen christlicher Ethik" (347-365).

Die Beiträge verbindet das Anliegen, „die Begründungszusammenhänge einer ‚impliziten Ethik' ntl. Schriften jenseits des simplifizierenden Rasters von Indikativ und Imperativ erschließen [zu] wollen" (5). Und weiter:

> Bei der Konzentration auf Begründungszusammenhänge ntl. Ethik wird die derzeit in der Forschung vernachlässigte Frage nach den hinter den materialtethischen Debatten und kontextuellen Äußerungen sichtbar werdenden Wertesystemen und deren argumentativer Legitimation zentral gewichtet. Werden auf diese Weise Handlungsnormen und Begründungsmuster ntl. Ethik systematisch und differenziert erfasst, kann die Frage, ob und wie die biblische Normenbegründung für gegenwärtige ethische Probleme anschlussfähig ist, sachgerechter hermeneutisch reflektiert werden (5).

Die Beiträge weisen überzeugend auf bestehende Aporien hin, spiegeln den gegenwärtigen, internationalen Forschungsstand zur ntl. Ethik und bieten methodisch (implizite Ethik) wie auch inhaltlich erfrischende Perspektiven. Das Alte Testament erscheint nur in einem Beitrag (E. Otto); auch das Frühjudentum erscheint nur knapp (M. Lang, M. Vogel, auch bei Horn, 223-25). Das lk. Doppelwerk (etwa mit seiner ausgeprägten Besitzethik), die beiden Petrusbriefe, aber auch die Johannesbriefe und Johannesoffenbarung haben mehr zu bieten, als hier deutlich wird. Neben der Bedeutung des Alten Testaments für die pln. Ethik und den verschiedenen Begründungen der pln. Kollektenaktion wäre auch eine Analyse der christologisch bestimmten Entsprechungsethik weiterführend.

Der Sammelband eröffnet eine Reihe von Studien unter dem Rahmenthema *Kontexte und Normen neutestamentlicher Ethik*, die den Begründungszusammenhängen ntl. Ethik unter verschiedenen Perspektiven gilt. Der erste Band läßt weitere Bände mit Spannung erwarten.

Dass es neben dem Indikativ-Imperativ-Modell ntl. Ethik sowohl in der deutschen als auch in der internationalen Forschung gute Alternativen gab und gibt, zeigte schon der von B. S. Rosner herausgegebene Sammelband *Understanding Paul's Ethics: Twentieth Century Approaches* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1995).

Christoph Stenschke

Gerd Lüdemann, *Die gröbste Fälschung des Neuen Testaments: Der zweite Thessalonicherbrief* (Springe: zu Klampen, 2010) 96 pp. ISBN 978-3-86674-090-7 €12,80

L. unterscheidet in seiner kleinen Studie zur neutestamentlichen Pseudepigraphie zwischen groben literarischen Fälschungen, die nur an einigen Stellen einen falschen Verfasser vortäuschen (Jak, Jud, 1 Petr), sehr groben literarischen Fälschungen, in denen die pseudepigraphe Täuschung einen breiteren Raum einnimmt (Kol, Eph, 2 Petr, 1-2 Tim, Tit), und gröbsten literarischen Fälschungen. In diese dritte Kategorie gehört der 2. Thessalonicherbrief, der einen echten Paulusbrief als literarische Fälschung diffamieren und ersetzen wollte.

In einem ersten Hauptteil fasst L. den Forschungsstand zur antiken Pseudepigraphie und literarischen Fälschung zusammen (15-22). Anhand einer Auswahl zentraler Quellentexte weist L. überzeugend nach, dass Schriften unter falschem Namen in der Antike weitestgehend als literarische Fälschungen gemeint und verstanden wurden, und bezeichnet gegenteilige Auffassungen als „geistliche Schönfärberei" (5).

Anschließend unterzieht L. historische Einwände gegen die Täuschungsabsicht neutestamentlicher Pseudepigraphen einer historischen Kritik (22-36): Pseudepigraphie mit Täuschungsabsicht war bereits im frühesten Christentum möglich (gegen Ph. Vielhauer und K. Aland). Schon die Antike kannte geistiges Eigentum (gegen A. Lindemann). Der Mitverfasser eines Paulusbriefes wurde nach antikem Verständnis zum Fälscher, wenn er nach dem Tod des Apostels einen Brief unter seinem Namen verfasste (gegen G. Theissen).

Genauso wendet sich L. gegen theologische Rechtfertigungen neutestamentlicher Pseudepigraphie: Eine literarische Fälschung kann kein guter und wahrhaftiger Zeuge des Evangeliums sein, „es sei denn, Theologen setzten die Regeln der Moral und der intellektuellen Redlichkeit außer Kraft" (gegen A. Lindemann). Das paulinische und reformatorische *sola gratia* gilt zwar dem Fälscher, kann aber nicht die Kanonizität der von ihm gefälschten Schrift rechtfertigen (gegen P. Pokorný). Die moralische Kategorie des Betruges darf nicht im Namen der Theologie außer Betracht gelassen werden (gegen U. Schnelle). Wer literarisches Lügen für eine theologische Wahrheit rechtfertigt, muss den literarischen Fälschungen im Dienste anderer theologischer Wahrheiten dasselbe Recht einräumen und entzieht sich dem wissenschaftlichen Diskurs (gegen R. Zimmermann). M.E. lässt sich gegen diese im ersten Hauptteil vorgetragenen Argumente L.s kaum etwas einwenden.

Als Überleitung (37-50) zu seinem zweiten, echtheitskritischen Hauptteil identifiziert L. im Neuen Testament in aller Kürze neun literarische Fälschungen (Kol, Eph, 1-2 Tim, Tit, Jak, 1-2 Petr, Jud). Danach bespricht er wesentlich ausführlicher die Einleitungsfragen zum 2. Thessalonicherbrief, den er anschließend vollständig kommentiert, um ihn in der Summe als „gröbste Fälschung im Neuen Testament" zu erweisen (51-85). L. ist der Auffassung, dass der Fälscher des 2. Thessalonicherbriefs den 1. Thessalonicherbrief nicht nur kommentiert bzw. korrigiert, sondern als Fälschung bezeichnet hat (2 Thess 2,2) und ersetzen wollte.

L.s echtheitskritisches Hauptargument ist bekannt (53-54, 70-74): Während Paulus erwartet hat, dass der Tag des Herrn noch zu seinen Lebzeiten eintreten kann oder wird (1 Thess 4,13-18), weist der 2. Thessalonicherbrief die These zurück, dass „der Tag des Herrn nah" ist (2 Thess 2,2). Und während der Tag im einen Brief plötzlich

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kommt, wie der Dieb in der Nacht (1 Thess 5,1-11), wird im anderen betont, dass er erst im Anschluss an bestimmte Vorzeichen eintreten wird (2,3-10).

Allerdings handelt es sich bei diesen Unterschieden m.E. nicht um echte Gegensätze. Die in 2 Thess 2,2 zurückgewiesene Parole lautet nicht, der Tag des Herrn sei „nah", sondern er sei „da". Die Aussagen, der Tag sei „nah" und der Tag sei noch „nicht da", schließen sich nicht gegenseitig aus. Zweitens werden Vorzeichen der Parusie auch in den synoptischen Endzeitreden Jesu angekündigt (Mt 24,1-28 par), obwohl die Parusie im selben Zusammenhang als plötzliches Ereignis bezeichnet wird (Mt 24,32-25,13).Wenn dieses Nebeneinander dem Autor oder Redaktor der synoptischen Endzeitrede plausibel erschien, kann auch Paulus beide Aussagen miteinander verbunden haben, zumal beide Thessalonicherbriefe reichlich aus den synoptischen Endzeitreden geschöpft haben.

Sollten die Einwände gegen die Echtheit des 2. Thessalonicherbriefs tatsächlich im Wesentlichen auf einer Forcierung situationsbedingter Aussagen beruhen, enthielte das Neue Testament doch keine „gröbste Fälschung". Die These, dass die Verfasser frühchristlicher Pseudepigraphen die christliche Botschaft mit dem Mittel der heiligen Lüge verbreiteten, weil in ihren Augen der fromme Zweck die unlauteren Mittel heiligte, entspricht m.E. jedoch voll und ganz dem antiken Quellenbefund.

Armin D. Baum

Holly J. Carey, *Jesus' Cry from the Cross: Towards a First-Century Understanding of the Intertextual Relationship between Psalm 22 and the Narrative of Mark's Gospel*, LNTS 398 (London: T and T Clark International, 2009), xv + 221 pp., ISBN 978-0-567-01858-8. $130.00.

In recent years there have been a number of studies on the use of the Old Testament in Mark's passion narrative. What makes Holly Carey's contribution distinctive is her concentration on the citation from Ps 22:2 at Mark 15:34 and her focus on current issues in intertextuality and reader-response theory. Adopting a narrative-critical approach, Carey studies the citation from Ps 22:2 not only in relation to the immediate context of Mark's passion narrative, but how Mark 15:34 functions in the whole narrative of Mark's gospel.

To make her case Carey confronts two current issues in the study of intertextuality. The first is reader competence. Carey claims that at the heart of her work is a desire "to see the text 'through the eyes,' or hear the text 'through the ears' of the first century readers" of the gospel of Mark (23). She argues for a level of competence on the part of the "implied readers" sufficient to understand and interpret Mark's use of Psalm 22. This competence, she claims, "has only to be located in the implied *reader*, not in the average first century Christian" (24), many of whom were illiterate. These first "readers" she locates, with the majority of scholars, in the early Roman church.

The other major issue confronting intertextual studies with a narrative-critical focus is whether Mark, or the other New Testament writers cited scripture atomistically or contextually. Reviewing the previous discussions of the use of Psalm 22 in Mark's passion narrative (6-22) Carey argues strongly for a contextual reading of the Psalm in Mark's passion/resurrection narrative (PRN) and that Mark's earliest "implied" readers would have known the paslm, would have heard the echo, and would have had their understanding of Jesus' death and resurrection shaped by it.

To make her case, Carey presents several lines of argument. In Chapter 3 she notes the importance of Resurrection in Mark's gospel, thus indicating a morphological fit between the theme of humiliation/exhaltation in both Psalm 22 and the gospel. She reviews Mark's use of scripture in Chapter 4, and shows that often Mark's citation of scripture is contextual (especially the combination of Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11 in Mark 11:17). Turning to the socio-cultural context of Mark's gospel (Chapter 5) Carey demonstrates that "the motif of the Righteous Sufferer was indeed a widespread tradition in Jewish literature before and during the first century" (124) and that language from Psalm 22 was sometimes used to express this theme (Wisdom 2-5 and the Teacher of Righteousness at Qumran). A review of the Righteous Sufferer theme in Mark (Chapter 6) and the meaning and function of Psalm 22 in Mark's PRN (Chapter 7) further strengthen her contention that Mark's "implied readers" would have understood the narrative of Jesus' death and Resurrection in terms of the story of Psalm 22.

Carey's focus on one verse (Mark 15:34) in its larger narrative context enables her to be thorough in her engagement of the issues raised in interpreting the verse. However, several important studies have been passed over. This is especially true with regard

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to the significant textual variation in the verse. The reading of Codex D, the Latin k and a few others, "why have you reproached me," which she admits could "alter the significance and meaning of the passage" (151), she dismisses as having very little support. She does not mention Harnack's view that this is the original reading, nor C.H. Turner's argument that since no scribe would have invented this reading, and that the change to the normal text is amply accounted for by assimilation to the LXX of Ps 22:2 or to Matt 27:46, "reproached" must be what Mark wrote in 15:34. Now Bart Ehrman has proposed a motive for its invention (anti-separationist corruption by proto-Orthodox scribes) but Ehrman's work is similarly not mentioned.

In addition, Carey's treatment of the possible echo of Ps 69:22 at Mark 15:36 downplays the potential influence of this Psalm on Mark's passion narrative. Psalm 69 was also considered a "Psalm of the Righteous Sufferer," was used widely in New Testament passion apologetic (Lindars argued that it made the largest contribution) and its key word, *reproach* (ὀνειδίζω) is a key word in Mark 15: everybody reproaches Jesus. Moreover, Psalm 69 follows the same pattern of humiliation/exaltation as Psalm 22. The function of Psalm 69 in Mark 15 should have received more attention. Although it is not foregrounded as is Psalm 22, it is nonetheless important.

Another possible oversight might be Carey's lack of references to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Carey's index mentions only Heb 12:17. The citation of Ps 22:22 at Heb 2:12 and the probable allusion to the Psalm in Heb 5:7-8 (and at 2:9, if we take the alternative reading *apart from God*) may have a bearing on the broader context in which Mark's "implied readers" would have understood the reference to Psalm 22 in his PRN.

This is an impressive study of Psalm 22 in Mark, not least because it provokes such textual questions. Carey's contribution to the study of Mark, and of the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament should not be ignored by anyone who wishes to give serious attention to the Gospel.

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Book Notes

Continuing Series

1. Hans Dieter Betz *et al.* (eds.), *Religion Past and Present: Encyclopaedia of Theology and Religion* 8 *Mai-Nas* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) cix + 718 pp. ISBN 9004146921 € 249; 9 *Nat-Pes* (Leiden: Brill, 2011) cix + 750 pp. ISBN 9004146938 € 249.

These latest two volumes in the steady publication of this series are to be welcomed. Throughout, we have good translations that bring predominantly German scholarship on a wide range of literary, geographical and social themes as well as moral topics to a greater readership. Sparse illustrations and maps are included. In the current volumes articles relevant to the New Testament include essays on Mark, Matthew and Paul. Entries on Mary, monasticism, mission, martyr, Marcion and Manichaeism may be of especial interest to readers of *NovT* but general articles (e.g. on orthodoxy, the papacy and natural sciences) and helpful snapshots of religion in a number of countries (here, Mesopotamia, Mongolia, New Zealand and Nigeria, for example) and cities (mostly in Germany) reveal perceptive journalistic insights. Much in the 100 preliminary pages continues to be repeated in each volume, which is extravagant. The volumes encourage serendipitous and casual browsing. By contrast, I do wonder how regularly any readers may deliberately choose to turn to *RPP* as their preferred reference tool to see what (if anything) it may say on such topics as "Oath," "The One," "Peace," or "Motivation."

2. Brigitte Egger and Jochen Derlien (eds.), *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World.* Volume 21: *Index, Lists and Tables.* English edition compiled by Duncan Alexander Smart (Leiden: Brill, 2010) vii + 592 pp. ISBN 9004184725. €266.

"Book Notes" has reviewed the twenty volumes of *Brill's New Pauly (Antiquity* and *Classical Tradition)* and two of the supplementary volumes over recent years. (There are two more to come.) Now we have a valuable index to the *Antiquity* set (volumes 1-15). Such an index is essential even for an encyclopaedia whose main entries are arranged alphabetically. Here sub-headings and major themes are included, and all are arranged comprehensively under wise and sensible sub-sections—Index of Subjects, Index of Persons, a Geographical Concordance and even an index to the many maps. Beneath these sub-sections come further headings. The Subject Index has twenty-nine headings of which nos. 17 "Religion," 18 "Christianity" and 19 "Judaism" may be regular ports of call for readers of this journal. Section 18 is then further subdivided into eight further sections e.g. "Art and architecture," "Literature and Language." The Index of

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Persons is organised under fifteen major sections; again, Christianity and Judaism are among these headings. The whole is helpful and is logically displayed. There are also frequent cross-references to related themes in other sections, as well as to the index of the five volumes of *Brill's New Pauly: Classical Tradition.*

But this is no "mere" index; half of this volume is given to lists and tables; these are important reference tools, even independent of the encyclopaedia. For instance, there are extensive reference lists of law codes in the Ancient Near East and in Egypt; treatises (e.g. Mesopotamian, Hittite and a selection of Graeco-Roman) and tables such as one on differing computations of time (a mind-boggling area where one needs as much help as possible!) and data on rulers (complementing one of the *Supplement* volumes), eclipses, calendars. These are accompanied by exemplary bibliographical references. The lists have been compiled by seventeen contributors (not all of their names occur in the Index of Authors to the *Antiquity* series).

The subject editors and this volume's editors, as well as the English-language compiler, are deserving of our highest praise for accomplishing their demanding task of producing an index to such a high degree of accuracy and completeness. This volume is an essential addition to the series.

3. Heidi J. Hornik and Mikeal C. Parsons, *Illuminating Luke* 3: *The Passion and Resurrection Narratives in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting* (New York and London: T&T Clark, 2008) xv + 178 pp. ISBN 0567026965 £29.99/ $49.95.

This is the final book in the series; the earlier volumes have been noticed in earlier "Book Notes." Here we cover four paintings ranging from Fra Angelico's *Agony in the Garden* of the 15th century, through Vasari's *The Way to Calvary*, Stradano's *Crucifixion*, and Caravaggio's famous *Supper at Emmaus* of the 17th century. Each depicts a scene peculiar to Luke. As in the earlier volumes, each chapter discusses the Biblical story including earlier interpretations, the life of the artist and an analysis of the chosen painting before some concluding hermeneutical reflections (which in the case of *The Way to Calvary* is, surprisingly, a sermon by Pope John Paul II, and concludes with an invocation to prayer!). These aspects of reception history are interesting; an artist's interpretation can enhance our readings of the underlying texts. Luke's agony in 22:43-44 is a textually disputed passage, but, obviously Beato Angelico's text included these verses, as, of course do the texts of the patristic interpreters given on pp. 16ff. In their discussion of *The Supper at Emmaus* our authors refer to the reading of D at Lk 24:34 which seems to reinforce their identification of Cleopas" companion as Peter. (We recall that Codex Bezae was available at Trent in the 16th century.) Hornik and Parsons are to be congratulated for their handsome and innovative volumes.

4. James H. Charlesworth *et al.* (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls* 7: *Temple Scroll and Related Documents* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck and Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011) xxvii + 414 pp. ISBN 3161497551 €109.

This is the seventh of the projected twelve volumes in this Princeton series; it deals with the famous Temple Scroll, the longest preserved composition among the scrolls

(11Q19) as well as 11Q20, 11Q21 and also 4Q365a and 4Q524. Although these are related and are used to concoct a Composite Text (pp. 266-405) because they can help in the reconstructions of incomplete texts, the editors are scrupulous in asserting that these texts cannot be seen as direct sources or copies of the others. Their inter-relationhips and relative datings are controversial matters but each text has its own history and all five may be read as "witnesses" to an original Temple Scroll, a rewritten Bible—in this case a restatement of Deuteronomy (the Massoretic text of which is also harnessed to aid in the reconstruction of the scrolls). *Inter alia* the texts tell of an idealised temple, its regulations and sanctity, and its ritual calendar and purity, topics all dear to the Qumran sectarians. As usual, the introductory matter to each text is painstakingly written and cautiously expressed. The Hebrew text and the facing translations into English contain meticulous footnotes explaining reasons for (often speculative) reconstructions; those are sometimes, but certainly not invariably, following Qimron or Yadin. The editors claim to have improved the readings of the texts. The parallels between these scrolls" use of scripture and the Massoretic Biblical text are especially important so it is particularly significant to have pointed out to us in the marginalia differences and similarities that include the LXX, Samaritan Torah as well as Targumim, the Peshitta and Latin Vulgate. Charlesworth and his co-workers are, again, deserving of our praise for maintaining their high standards throughout. (On pp. 177-178 read Paul,… *la mer morte*!)

5. Friedhelm Mann (ed.), *Lexicon Gregorianum* 8 ῥάβδος- σώφρων (Leiden: Brill, 2011) xii + 490 pp. ISBN 9004167018 €299.

Among the entries here are two lengthy items of especial interest to readers of this journal: those dealing with σῶμα and σάρξ with their cognates. These yield many definitions, all carefully sifted into different categories. σάρξ can run to subsection F17h (γ) or G2bγ(κκ), and σάρξ to CII bγ(ββ), such are the intricate and carefully organised subsections of meaning. Σοφία, σοφός, σωτήρ, σωτηρία, σωτήριος, not surprisingly, have many references in Gregory's works. Appendixes include some *addenda* and *corrigenda* to earlier volumes (a mere four pages' worth!) although we are promised a full round-up of all such matter in volume 9, which may well be the final volume in the set.

Encyclopaedias

1. J.D. Douglas and Merrill C. Tenney revised by Moisés Silva (eds.), *Zondervan Illustrated Bible Dictionary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011) xii + 1571 pp. ISBN 0310229834 $29.99.

This is a revision of the original 1987 *Dictionary*, and is based on the five-volume *Zondervan Encyclopedia of the Bible*. Moisés Silva has been involved in the latter and is thus an ideal choice to have overseen the current revised *Dictionary*. The cover refers to its large number of international contributors but their names are not divulged.

There are some 7200 entries. As one would expect, there are entries on all Biblical books (including the Old Testament apocrypha), characters and place names. Because of an esteem for the KJV its spelling of proper names and vocabulary appears (often as a cross-reference) e.g. "ciel" "graff." The same applies to distinctive spellings in TNIV, such as Kun, Kozhi. Why should these two be privileged? A few—but by no means all—New Testament apocryphal books or gnostic texts are to be found.

Some items are collected under composite headings such as weights and measures, occupations and professions, music, plants, birds, minerals, dress, animals; and most individual entries there reappear in alphabetical sequence with a cross-reference but not all, e.g. stater is not found in the alphabetical run. Theological terms like "justification," "inspiration" occur, inevitably but not overbearingly from an evangelical standpoint. The entry "interpretation" is one that takes a distinctly contemporary slant; "miracles" seems aimed at a modern preacher. Occasionally, value judgements are to be found, e.g. on the Crusades, or on Jerusalem. "Prophet" gets 13 columns; "God" 3. Inevitably, there are entries on matters applying to events post-first century AD, such as modern translations, versions, and entries like "Muratorian Fragment," "palimpsests." Critical scholarship gives entries on gospel harmonies or alleged sources such as Q, J and D. Some individual manuscripts are included e.g. S for the LXX text in Codex Sinaiticus (but not aleph for the New Testament part).

The book contains 76 maps, and 470 full-colour illustrations, many credited to J. Martin. The astoundingly low cost of this *Dictionary* is commendable and should ensure a large ownership of this helpful and, generally, comprehensive tool.

2. John Anthony McGuckin (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Eastern Orthodox Christianity* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011) xxviii + 833 pp. in two volumes ISBN 1405185394 £235/ $400.

There are excellent and informative articles here on the history and current state of the different and often divided orthodox churches. Some of these are grouped, such as "Orthodoxy in Africa" which concentrates on Ethiopia. (Eritrea is barely mentioned and Coptic Orthodoxy, bizarrely, merits a separate entry). Romania and Sinai are given particularly sympathetic entries; the Russian church less so. Oriental Orthodoxy and Eastern Catholics (Uniates) also appear as composite entries. The biographies of several saints appear, but there is no entry "saint" or "sainthood." I looked in vain for an entry "martyr(dom)." Orthodox theology appears mainly in an appendix of over 120 pages in which its principal dogmatic documents are set out, including creeds, definitions and orations. (Devotional works have been deliberately excluded; the editor announces that he has edited for publication elsewhere a collection of orthodox prayers.) There are no appended notes or commentary in this appendix. Despite these foundational works" appearing in a sparkled-up translation, much in them is dense; I wonder how many outsiders, let along adherents to Orthodoxy, find them easily explicable. Possibly some of the theological entries in the encyclopaedia may help but that is not self-evident. Certainly the encyclopaedia proper has entries on matters such as "prayer," "eschatology" (a disappointedly short piece), "holy spirit" and "holy trinity," although the last entry implies that orthodox teaching is not settled over such a fundamental aspect of its teachings. Although the dogmatic texts seem not to allow further elaborations, on other matters shown here in the articles on "war," "women," "wealth," an ongoing debate continues and possible change within worldwide orthodoxy envisioned (if unity is ever achievable from such a fissiparous communion).

There are monochrome illustrations throughout, many taken from the editor's own snapshot album. There are five icons, styled "contemporary," by Eileen McGuckin, the webpage for whose icon-making studio is given below each, and four of them grace the books' covers. One is an icon of Matthew where he is reading an idiosyncratic text of Isaiah, and writing what looks like a non-Byzantine text of Matt 1:22 onto a codex.

John McGuckin is an eloquent and well-informed editor and writer of a (disproportionately) large number of the articles. The index credits him with some 82 references, considerably more than Christ or the Mother of God. Other contributors, often of only entry apiece, are from the USA. There is much here to inform, fascinate and teach; once again, serendipity is to be encouraged. It seems gratuitous that the encyclopaedia is in two volumes especially as the dictionary reviewed above contains 1,570 pages in a larger format and opens easily as a single book. These two volumes are excessively expensive; by contrast we note the cost of the Zondervan *Dictionary*!

Apocrypha

1. Simon Claude Mimouni, *Les traditions anciennes sur la Dormition et l'"Assomption de Marie: Études littéraires, historiques et doctrinales* (Leiden: Brill, 2011) xxxix + 382 pp. ISBN 9004187467 €140. (= *Supplements* to *Vigiliae Christianae* 104).

Brill and the editors of *Vigiliae Christianae*, among whom is Bart Ehrman, are to be commended for publishing a volume of essays in French. Mimouni's thirteen chapters here were originally published between 1992 and 2007; some silent corrections have been made but the original pagination has not been preserved in the margins of the reprintings. The collection contains another set of important articles by a leading researcher on aspects of texts pertaining to the end of Mary. (An earlier volume is Mimouni's *Dormition et assumption de Marie: Histoire des traditions anciennes* (Paris, 1995)). In both books Mimouni takes care to separate early stories about Mary's death from the later, developed accounts of her translation to heaven. Here, as well as in the provenance of the stories and in their datings he attributes to the surviving documents, he differs from S.J. Shoemaker whose own researches into these bodies of material were published in 2002 and are heavily criticised in many of the later articles in this recent book. Enrico Norelli, another key researcher in the area, is also taken to task by Mimouni here. The opening three articles are valuable historical surveys (from 1993-96) of the then state of research into the literary accounts of the life and apocalypses of the virgin. Many other articles are on specific themes (e.g. the *Hypomnesticon* (misspelled on p. ix) of Joseph of Tiberias in ch. 9, or the feast of the dormition in Byzantine Syria in ch. 6) but one, chapter 13, deals with the Protevangelium as a whole and another, on the figure of Mary in the Middle Ages, in ch. 12, has a broader appeal. Several articles contain useful background lists, e.g. pp. 72f. on publications of texts on the dormition and assumption, or pp. 221ff., a provisional list of the mss. of the Dormition of Ps-John. There is a valuable introduction to the whole collection in which Mimouni assesses his own contributions (in the third person!). Mimouni has been at the forefront of work on these early texts about Mary; it is good that his writings in a variety of publications now have a wider distribution. A few names remain wrongly spelled, having missed the silent corrections: p. 84 O'Carroll; p. 124 Connolly; p. 233 Virgin (!) in Budge's book-title (cf. p. 107 note 124 which omits the word from the same title); p. 229 Stacpoole; Rivière *passim.*

2. Timothy P. Henderson, *The Gospel of Peter and Early Christian Apologetics* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) x + 258 pp. ISBN 3161507298 €64 paperback (= *WUNT 2, 301).*

This thesis claims that the Gospel of Peter was composed in the second century as a rewritten version of the accounts in the first-century Gospels because of objections that had been raised by Christians and Jews about the foundational story. It is thus a secondary, dependent Gospel. The signs like the earthquake, darkness and veil-tearing now become portents of judgement; Jesus' securely guarded body is buried; there is an increased emphasis on the reality of the resurrection event and there is now no doubting. The earlier accounts had clearly been retold and modified from an apologetic viewpoint *inter alia* to place blame for the death of Jesus clearly on Jewish shoulders. Its composition by "Peter" was intended to give the account an internal authorisation. These are the main thrusts of the monograph; it is well-written and presents a plausible motive for the composition. Each chapter includes the relevant Greek text of the Gospel of Peter helpfully printed alongside the parallels in the four canonical accounts. Although Paul Foster's introduction and commentary to GPeter is included in Henderson's bibliography, it was published too late for Henderson to have used it in the writing of his dissertation. Nevertheless, Foster's book (in Brill's *TENT* series) ought to accompany any reading of Henderson's work.

Textual Criticism

1. Christfried Böttrich, *Der Jahrhundertfund: Entdeckung und Geschichte des Codex Sinaiticus* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2011) 192 pp. ISBN 3374025862 €19.90.

Among the many books and articles to have been written on this famous manuscript, Böttrich's is particularly welcome, especially in the wake of his *Tischendorf Lesebuch* of 1999 from the same publisher and his *Bibliographie Konstantin von Tischendorf* of the same year. This Leipzig scholar (now working in Greifswald) is currently involved in writing the history of the transfer of the bulk of the manuscript in the 19th century in connexion with the Codex Sinaiticus Project's recent digitization of the manuscript and the newly published facsimile edition. Here though Böttrich takes us through the tale of the manuscript from its discovery in 1844, when it seems to have been dismembered and unappreciated in St Catherine's, to the present day and the various publications of its surviving folios. The book is well illustrated; many pictures had previously appeared in the *Lesebuch*. Böttrich is not concerned with the codicology of the manuscript or its distinctive text or its scribes and correctors. His is a history of the discoveries and he tells the story carefully and with panache. The book is well produced, although occasional typos, usually involving notes in English, remain uncorrected (deficiency n. 21; desires n. 242; Russell p. 165; then n. 362; greatest n. 159; Elliott p. 175; p. 183 reconditioned) but these are minutiae. This is a well-researched history and a good read!

2. Robert B. Stewart (ed.), *The Reliability of the New Testament: Bart D. Ehrman and Daniel B. Wallace in Dialogue* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 29011) xix + 220 pp. ISBN 0800697730.

Robert Stewart from New Orleans Baptist Seminary chairs the periodic Greer-Heard dialogues. Its 2008 session comprised presentations on the reliability or otherwise of the text of the New Testament by, respectively, Daniel Wallace and Bart Ehrman. Their often colloquial lectures given here verbatim and the ensuing questions are set out together with audience reaction. These form the basis of this book, but alongside them are allied articles by horses of differing colours: Michael Holmes, Craig Evans, Martin Heide, Dale Martin, David Parker, William Warren and Sylvie Raquel. Through these essays readers have access to several contemporary decisions on and attitudes to New Testament textual criticism, the principles and practice of which are becoming more widely appreciated nowadays than a generation ago when the discipline seemed to many to be in the doldrums. The "popular," and often colloquial, approach here addresses a non-specialist audience, interested in Biblical authority, the achieving of an original text, the motive for change in manuscripts and the resolution of textual variation. (Greek is found only sparingly—and wrongly in that final sigmas are printed as zetas!) Reliability and confidence are the two words that dominate this collection; these are the mantras of some users of the Biblical text although they are not necessarily the words to the fore of current practitioners of textual criticism.

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The So-Called *Passivum Divinum* in Mark's Gospel

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Abstract
Looking at a number of passive verbs that have been labeled divine passives in Markan scholarship, this essay will demonstrate that Mark does not always record passives to score theological points about divine activity. At times, while the passive voice assumes that God is the initiator, the action is in fact carried out by other agency, while other times passive forms can have intransitive meaning without any implication of another agent involved. Passive verbs are also employed to emphasize certain actions and to suppress the identity of the responsible agents when they are irrelevant in the unfolding narrative. In the miracle tradition there is little indication of divine passives in operation, and the passive voice is used to express Jesus' actions.

Keywords
divine passive; passive voice; agency; Mark; miracles; christology

Introduction

Ever since the publication of Jeremias' *New Testament Theology* that laid the groundwork of the so-called *passivum divinum*,[1] Markan scholarship continues to speak about the passive voice as a circumlocution for divine activity with much confidence. Initially, Jeremias' inventory included twenty one examples of divine passives in Mark (2:5, 9, 20; 3:28; 4:11, 12,

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[1] According to Jeremias, the *passivum divinum* emphasizes divine agency without directly stating that God is the actor. His work followed the less popular work of Dalman who considered the divine passive as a discreet way of speaking about God and argued that this grammatical category is employed in order to avoid recording God's name. See Joachim Jeremias, *New Testament Theology: The Proclamation of Jesus* (NTL; London: SCM, 1971) 1:9-14; Gustaf Dalman, *The Words of Jesus: Considered in the Light of Post-biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902) 224-226. For a history of interpretation of the divine passive, see Marius Reiser, *Jesus and Judgment: The Eschatological Proclamation in its Jewish Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997) 266-270.

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24 (x2), 25 (x2); 8:12, 17; 9:31, 45, 47, 49; 10:40; 12:10; 13:11, 13; 14:41), Donahue noted thirty (1:15, 42; 2:5, 20, 27; 3:5, 28; 4:11-12, 24-25; 5:29; 6:2, 14, 16, 53, 56; 7:34; 8:12, 9:2, 31, 47; 10:33, 40; 12:10; 13:11, 13; 14:27-28; 16:6), Danove identified twenty three (1:10, 15; 2:20; 3:28; 4:10,12; 4:24 (x2), 25 (x2); 5:7; 6:2; 8:12; 10:38 (x2), 39 (x2); 10:40; 13:4, 11; 14:49; 15:28, 38), while Malbon adopted Danove's list with few modifications (1:15, 42; 2:5, 20, 27; 3:5, 28; 4:11, 24; 5:29; 6:2, 14, 16, 52, 56; 7:34; 8:12; 9:2, 31, 42, 46, 47; 12:10; 10:33, 40; 13:11, 13; 14:27, 28; 16:6).[2] The problem, however, is that passive verbs are not always self-explanatory and self-interpreting, and before one can determine whether a passive verb is a *passivum divinum*, other contextual parameters, grammatical and literary-stylistic options need to be considered.[3] Regrettably, this is too often overlooked in Markan scholarship and a short history of interpretation of Mark 2:5 shows how often following Jeremias, interpreters took the passive of ἀφίημι in the phrase τέκνον, ἀφίενταί σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι as a divine passive without a serious consideration of its context.

For Jeremias the passive in Mark 2:5 represents a veiled indication that God is the agent of forgiveness, and as a result, Jesus simply announces that God has forgiven the sinner.[4] Casey, Gnilka, Lane, Mali, Pesch, and Schweizer are similarly convinced that Mark's use of the passive here implies that God is the agent of forgiveness,[5] while for Malbon the theological implication goes a step even further—the passive is a device through which Jesus deflects attention and honor from himself to God.[6]

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[2] See Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, 9-14; John R. Donahue, "A Neglected Factor in the Theology of Mark," *JBL* 101 (1982) 563-594 (566 n. 15); P. Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis in the Gospel of Mark: Applications of a Case Frame Analysis and Lexicon* (JSNTSup 218; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001) 121-124; and *The Rhetoric of the Characterization of God, Jesus, and Jesus' Disciples in the Gospel of Mark* (JSNTSup 290; New York: T & T Clark, 2005) 30; Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *Mark's Jesus: Characterization as Narrative Christology* (Waco, Tex: Baylor University Press, 2009) 184-185.

[3] Davone provides the following methodological guidelines for the identification of divine passives: 1) a word that appears in the text requires completion by another word or phrase for its correct grammatical usage; 2) that required complement is not present in the text; 3) collateral information, as specified in the discussion of explicit reference indicates that God is an appropriate referent of that character designed by the missing complement. As an example, he argues that the first creation story (Gen 1:1-2:3) provides collateral information indicating that God, who established the firmament, is an appropriate agent of the sky's rending in Mark 1:10 (cf. the passive "the heavens being rent"). See Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis*, 121-122. This methodology, however, is not always appropriate. For instance, while 2 Kings 5:7 provides collateral information that only God can heal leprosy, it does not imply that God is the agent of the healing of the leper in Mark 1:41 (cf. the passive "he was made clean"). The nature of the request, "If you will, you can make me clean," Jesus' response "I will; be clean," and the result "immediately the leprosy left him," all suggest that Jesus performed the miracle.

Others, more considerate of the context, are quite puzzled about the use of the passive here and remain hesitant in drawing a conclusion. For example, Donahue and Harrington confirm their uncertainty when they say, "The Greek can be a divine passive; that is, the sins are forgiven [by God]. So it is not clear here whether Jesus actually forgives the sins or acts as an agent of divine forgiveness."[7] Still, for Collins, the passive voice forces her to generate contradictory statements. On the one hand, she argues that this use of the verb suggests that God forgives the sins of the paralytic,[8] but on the other hand and in light of the immediate context affirms that, "Jesus is inappropriately acting as God's agent or even arrogating divine power to himself."[9] In like manner, Sanders takes the verb as a *passivum divinum* and as a result cannot arrive at a satisfactory explanation of the following context where the scribes charge Jesus of blasphemy (2:7).[10]

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[4] This is reflected in the following paraphrase, "My son there is one who forgives you your sins"; see Jeremias, *New Testament*, 9-11.

[5] See Maurice Casey, *The Solution to the "Son of Man" Problem* (LNTS; London: T & T Clark, 2007) 152. See Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Charge of Blasphemy in Mark 14.64," *JSNT* 26/4 (2004) 379-401 (397); William L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974) 94 n. 9; Joachim Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* I (EKK; Zürich: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978) 99; Joseph F. Mali, *The Christian Gospel and its Jewish Roots: A Redaction-critical Study of Mark 2:21-22 in Context* (SBL; New York: Peter Lang, 2009) 48; Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark: A Commentary on the Gospel* (London: S.P.C.K, 1971) 61; Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* I, (*HTKNT*; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1976-77) 156. Also, E.P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London: SCM, 1990) 61; Paul-Gerhard Klumbies, *Der Mythos bei Markus* (*BZNW*; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2001) 162.

[6] See Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 184-185. If this is the case, one wonders why do the Jewish scribes charge Jesus of blasphemy against God (2:7), and why does Jesus draw attention to himself when he says that "the Son of Man has authority on the earth to forgive sins" (2:10).

[7] Note that initially Donahue labeled the verb as a divine passive in his earlier article. See Donahue, "A Neglected Factor," 566 n. 15; and John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* (SP 2; Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 2002) 94. A similar uncertainty comes across in Witherington's comment, "the passive voice of the verb allows one to conclude that the sins are forgiven either by God or by Jesus." See Ben Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2001) 115; Christian Grappe, *Le Royaume de Dieu: Avant, avec et après Jésus* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2001) 202.

[8] "Jesus' use of the passive voice implies that it is God who forgives the man's sins" (Collins, "The Charge of Blasphemy," 397).

This interpretative overview of Mark 2:5 points to the shared assumption in Markan scholarship that passive verbs without a stated agent highlight God's activity. But does the passive voice in Mark's narrative always imply that God is the agent of the verb in question, and could it be that Mark uses it to describe the actions of Jesus or of other characters? Does Mark record passives only to score theological points about divine activity, or does he also use them for stylistic reasons? The present essay explores these questions by looking in context at a selective number of often labeled "divine passives" in Mark. For the sake of clarity, the discussion will be classified under four headings: 1) passives with divine delegation and human agency; 2) passives with uncertain or irrelevant agency; 3) passives with Jesus as the agent; and 4) finally an example of a divine passive.

1. Passives with Divine Delegation and Human Agency

1.1 *The Fate of John the Baptist (1:14) and of Jesus (9:31; 10:33; 14:21; 14:41)*

> Now after John was delivered up (παραδοθῆναι), Jesus came into Galilee, proclaiming the gospel of God.

In the summary of Jesus' message (1:14-15) as Mark shifts from the ministry of John the Baptist and centers on Jesus, does the passive of παραδίδωμι suggest divine agency? Does it point to "God's control of John's life and ministry,"[11] as many interpreters argue? Taken in isolation, this passive can indeed indicate that God himself is the agent of the verb. However, the difficulty of attributing the action to God is that such conclusion would stand in tension with other passive uses of παραδίδωμι from Mark's passion predictions. Consider the following examples:

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[9] Ibid.

[10] See Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 61-63.

[11] See Robert H. Stein, *Mark* (BECNT; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008) 71. The verb is a divine passive also for Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 101; Robert A. Guelich, *Mark* (WBC; Dallas: Word Books, 1989) 42; Cosimo Pagliara, *La figura di Elia nel Vangelo di Marco: Aspetti semantici e funzionali* (TG 97; Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2003) 222.

> The Son of Man is going to be delivered into the hands of men (παραδίδοται 9:31).
> The Son of Man will be delivered over to the chief priests (παραδοθήσεται 10:33).
> But woe to that man by whom the Son of Man is delivered over (παραδίδοται 14:21).
> The Son of Man is delivered over into the hands of sinners (παραδίδοται 14:41).[12]

The use of the passive in these sayings leaves open the identity of the agent(s)—on a theological level they can invoke the idea of a divine plan unfolding in which God is actively involved in the passion of Jesus; nevertheless, on a narrative level, it is primarily Judah who betrays Jesus. As early as chapter 3 where Mark catalogues the twelve disciples, the reader learns that it is "Judas Iscariot, who betrayed him" (παρέδωκεν 3:19). As the narrative unfolds there is nothing to suggest that Judas will amend his initial characterization from 3:19. In fact, through the use of παραδίδωμι, the narrative continues to identify Judas as the one who actively seeks to deliver Jesus up (14:10, 11), and he is twice described as the "betrayer" (παραδιδούς 14:42, 44).[13] In addition, the fulfilling of God's sovereign plan includes more agents: just as Judas delivers Jesus to the Jewish authorities (14:10, 11), the chief priests deliver Jesus to Pilate (παραδίδωμι 15:1, 10), and Pilate delivers Jesus up to the Roman soldiers (παραδίδωμι 15:15).

With these considerations is mind, it is probably incorrect to say that in the sayings quoted above (9:31; 10:33, 14:21 and 14:41) the passive of παραδίδωμι is a divine passive. Even though the verb has been interpreted as such, its use throughout the narrative with Judas, the Jewish authorities and Pilate as subjects, should prevent one from labeling it a divine passive. Of course, it is possible to affirm that the action of delivering Jesus over somehow originates with God,[14] while the human agents perform the action directly under God's delegation. In this theological sense, God is like a director in a grand play in which he writes the script, chooses the characters, sets the stage and calls out "Action!" Nevertheless, as Mark's narrative identifies specific human agents as subjects of παραδίδωμι, God, the director, retreats from the camera range and allows the actors to act on their own. For this reason then, in the passion predictions God is more a director than an actor.

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[12] Surprisingly Jeremias lists 9:31 as a divine passive and does not include 10:33, 14:21 or 14:41; while Donahue only lists 10:33. The passive in 10:33 is "passif divin" also for Étienne Trocmé, *L'Évangile selon Saint Marc* (CNT 2; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2000) 249.

[13] Surprisingly Dschulnigg lists παραδίδοται in 9:31 as a divine passive even though he is well aware that later the narrative identifies one of the Twelve as the agent of this action (cf. 14:20-21). See, Peter Dschulnigg, *Das Markusevangelium* (ThHK NT 2; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007) 141.

[14] See 8:31-33 where the rejection, suffering and death of the Son of Man are considered "things of God." Also, 14:36.

Similarly, in the case of John's arrest (1:14), the passive leaves open the identity of the agent(s). On the one hand, it is God who wills or allows the handing over, yet on the other hand, Herod and other human agent(s) are involved in his arrest (cf. 6:17). Notice, however, that unlike Jesus' handing over whose betrayer has been identified as early as 3:19, in the case of John's arrest the identity of the agent(s) is only made explicit in 6:17. The significance of this observation for our study cannot be missed: it leaves open the possibility that the passive in 1:14 is motivated by the narrator's need to suppress the identity of the agent because Herod is only introduced later in chapter 6. If this is the case, then the verb is unquestionably not a divine passive, but a means of depicting an event independently of a responsible agent who in the context at hand is most likely irrelevant.[15]

1.2 *The Time Is Fulfilled (1:15)*

> The time is fulfilled (πεπλήρωται), and the kingdom of God is near; repent and believe in the gospel.[16]

Mark 1:15 must rank among the most important verses in Mark as it concludes the prologue, introduces and summarizes Jesus' public ministry. No one questions that the passive verb πεπλήρωται emphasizes that God has brought to fulfillment this long expected decisive time in history, that He himself predicted it would occur (cf. Mic 2:12-13; Isa 44:1-8; Isa 60:22), yet one must bear in mind that Mark does not present Jesus simply as an eschatological messenger. Treated in isolation, Mark 1:15 could give the wrong impression that Jesus came just to proclaim that the time is fulfilled;

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[15] For this reason the passive in 1:14 could also be placed under heading two: ambiguous passives with uncertain or irrelevant agency.

[16] The verb πεπλήρωται is labeled as divine passive by Donahue, "A Neglected Factor," 566 n. 15; Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis*, 124; Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 185; Stein, *Mark*, 73; Guelich, *Mark*, 46; Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on his Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 65; and Walter Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (THKNT 2; Dritte Auflage; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968) 50.

however, when set in context, the verse emphasizes that this time in history is being fulfilled through Jesus. Two contextual markers reinforce this idea. First, this is already obvious in the prophetic echo of the prologue, "prepare the way for the Lord (κυρίου), make his paths straight" (1:3). Here, the term κύριος which is used in the LXX to refer to the tetragrammaton (Isa 40:3 LXX) is applied to Jesus in order to point out that God's salvation is taking place with the coming of Jesus. Second, the proclamation that "the time is fulfilled" (1:15) in fact fulfills John's expectation in 1:7 that his ministry will be followed by the coming of "one who is stronger," namely Jesus (Isa 40:10 LXX). For these reasons, Mark 1:15 indicates that God is at work in bringing this time to fulfillment but in the person and through the ministry of Jesus. On the one hand, the motif of fulfillment is theocentric because God, the delegator of Jesus, is the one who initiates it, yet on the other hand, it is also Christocentric, because it is precisely the coming of Jesus that brings its fulfillment. In other words, through the passive of πληρόω, Mark not only discerns a chain of causality, leading back to God as the originator of the fulfillment, but also points to the person and work of Jesus. Then this statement provides fairly strong evidence that a passive can imply much more than simply a divine action—it can simultaneously point to a separate agent.

1.3 *The Request for a Sign (8:11-12)*

> (11) The Pharisees came and began to argue with him, seeking from him a sign from heaven to test him. (12) And he sighed deeply in his spirit and said, 'Why does this generation seek a sign? Truly, I say to you, no sign will be given to this generation (δοθήσεται).'[17]

In the confrontation of Jesus with the hostile Pharisees, who request a sign in order to both argue with him and validate his authority (8:11), Jesus responds to their challenge with the following: "Truly, I say to you, no sign will be given to this generation (δοθήσεται 8:12)." Is the passive of δίδωμι a divine passive? On the basis that the sign is requested from heaven, one can certainly draw the implication that the Pharisees are expecting a sign from God. Nevertheless, since the request for a sign is addressed to Jesus

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[17] Here δοθήσεται is a divine passive for Donahue, "A Neglected Factor," 566 n. 15; Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis*, 123; Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 185; and Simon Légasse, *L'Evangile de Marc* (2 vols.; LD 5; Paris: Cerf, 1997) 1:476.

(8:11), and Jesus gives a confident response that such a sign will not be given (8:12), the use of the passive again is much more complex: it expresses an action of God that Jesus refuses to display. It is not so much that God will not give a sign through Jesus, as much as it is that Jesus refuses to display God's power in him.[18] After all, following Jesus' pronouncement (8:12), the narrator presents Jesus walking away, indicating that he purposefully departed from the presence of the Pharisees instead of fulfilling their appeal (8:13). Thus here the use of the passive is explicitly Christological and displays the unique relationship between the actions of Jesus and of God—it has the potential of showing God's eschatological action in and through Jesus.

2. Passives with Uncertain or Irrelevant Agency

2.1 *The Raising of John the Baptist and of Jesus (6:16; 16:6)*

> When Herod heard of it, he said, 'John, whom I beheaded, has risen (ἠγέρθη 6:16).'
>
> And he said to them, 'Do not be alarmed. You seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He has risen! he is not here (ἠγέρθη 16:6).'[19]

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[18] Therefore, Donahue and Harrington, Marcus, Gnilka, and Stein are mistaken to suggest that δοθήσεται is a divine passive. See Donahue and Harrington, *Mark*, 248; Joel Marcus, *Mark 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 27; New York: Doubleday, 2000) 501; Gnilka, *Markus*, 306; Stein, *Mark*, 375. Delorme insists that Jesus did not request a σημεῖον from οὐρανός, because the οὐρανός did not give it to him, and thus Jesus' role is simply that of an interpreter and developer of the mode of divine action: "Le rôle réservé à Jésus est celui d'interprète et de révélateur de ce qui se passe. Il n'est pas ici dans la position d'un thaumaturge qui refuserait d'intervenir. Il se prononce avec l'assurance d'un prophète qui connait la mode d'agir divin." On the contrary, the emphasis in this pericope is on Jesus' own refusal to display God's power in him. See, Delorme, Jean, "Pas de signe pour cette génération (Mc 8:12): Une sémiotique implicite dans le Second évangile," in *Reading Communities Reading Scripture: Essays in Honor of Daniel Patte* (ed. Gary A. Phillips and Nicole Wilkinson Duran; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 2002) 98-110 (105).

[19] The verb ἠγέρθη is listed as a divine passive in 6:16 and 16:6 by Donahue, "A Neglected Factor," 566 n. 15; and Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 184-185. The passive in 16:6 is also labeled divine passive by Morna D. Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Mark* (BNTC 2; London: A & C Black, 1991) 385; Jean Paul Heil, *The Transfiguration of Jesus: Narrative Meaning and Function of Mark 9:2-8, Matt 17:1-8 and Luke 9:28-36* (AnBib 144; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2000) 197.

When Mark narrates the misunderstanding of king Herod that Jesus is John the Baptist raised from the dead, he uses a passive verb to express John's theoretical resurrection (6:16 also vs. 14). Is ἠγέρθη a passive specifically used by Mark to highlight divine agency? A positive answer does not appear impossible, yet one must bear in mind that it would be extremely odd for a pagan tetrarch to have made the claim that Israel's God raised someone from the dead. It is also possible that the passive verb is intransitive in meaning and without any indication of divine agency: "John, whom I beheaded, rose." A similar example is found in 16:6 where Mark records the resurrection of Jesus through the use of the same verb, the aorist passive ἠγέρθη. There is an uncertainty here as well. On the one hand, the passive form can be rendered intransitively "He rose," or "He has risen" as in the ESV and NIV, but on the other hand, it can be translated as in the NRSV or NET, "he has been raised"—implying that God is the agent.[20] Other occurrences of the aorist passive ἠγέρθη in the New Testament display a variety of uses.[21] In Luke 24:34, for example, the aorist intransitive passive ὤφθη that follows ἠγέρθη supports an intransitive meaning of ἠγέρθη: "The Lord *rose*, and *appeared* to Simon."[22] In Rom 6:4, however, the resurrection of Jesus is brought about by the glory of God: "Christ *was raised* (ἠγέρθη) from the dead by the glory of the Father." In the case of ἠγέρθη in Mark 6:6 and 16:6, the reader faces an interpretative dilemma because there is no contextual basis for favoring one option over the other. A final conclusive decision is therefore difficult.

Still, there is another dimension that the passive in Mark 6:16 and 16:6 could convey instead. It could be a literary device that conceals the responsibility for the action in order to highlight the action—a means of "deleting" the actor to lay emphasis on the action. Note that the heart of the matter in 6:14-16 is John's resurrection and not the agent responsible for it. The issue at stake is that John, whose own head was served on a platter (6:16, 28) is now alive, and this in turn sets the stage for narrating the story of John's death (6:17-29). So whether the agent of the resurrection is God or John himself is irrelevant in the story.

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[20] Many foreign translations render ἠγέρθη intransitively: Italian (NR); French (LSG, NEG); Spanish (RVR); and German (SCH).

[21] The third singular aorist passive indicative ἠγέρθη appears 18 times in the NT: Mark 2:12; 6:16; 16:6; Matt 8:15, 9:25, 14:2; 27:64; 28:6; 28:7; Luke 7:16; 9:7; 24:6, 34; John 2:22; 11:29; Acts 9:8; Rom 4:25; 6:4. For a general discussion of its use, see, Kendall Daniel and Collins Gerald, "Christ's Resurrection and the Aorist Passive of 'ΕΓΕΙΡΩ," *Greg* 74 (1993) 725-735.

[22] The clearest example of an aorist passive ἠγέρθη with an intransitive meaning is found in Acts 9:8 "Saul *rose* from the ground," or "As Saul picked himself up off the ground" (cf. NLT). The same is true for the future passive form of the verb in Mark 13:8 "For nation will rise against nation"; or in 13:22 "For false messiahs and false prophets will rise."

The same could be said of Mark 16:6. The verb ἠγέρθη is found on the lips of the young man as a means of calming the frightened women who discover the empty tomb (16:5). The concern is, "What happened to the body?" and not, "Who raised Jesus?" So the passive voice is used because it emphasizes the action whose doer is irrelevant in the present context: "Do not be alarmed. You seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. *He is alive*! He is not here." One of the main functions of the passive voice is agent defocusing, and interpreters need to consider this function seriously.

3. Passives with Jesus as the Agent

3.1 *The Healing of the Leper (1:40-42)*

> (40) And a leper came to him, imploring him, and kneeling said to him, 'If you will, you can make me clean.' (41) Moved with pity, he (Jesus) stretched out his hand and touched him and said to him, 'I will; be clean (καθαρίσθητι).' (42) And immediately the leprosy left him, and he was made clean (ἐκαθαρίσθη).[23]

In the healing of the leper (1:40-50), the concern is whether the passive verb ἐκαθαρίσθη (1:42) is a divine passive. Does the passive voice suggest that God is the agent of the miracle, or does it emphasize that Jesus is the miracle worker with healing power? With 1:41-42 the situation is less complex, as the textual evidence leans towards understanding Jesus as the agent of the miracle. Two particular elements are noteworthy. First, the leper's previous plea, "If you want, you are able to make me clean" (θέλω; καθαρίζω 1:40), is conditioned not on Jesus' ability to make him clean, but on his willingness, which suggests that the leper believed in Jesus' own healing power. Second, Jesus' positive affirmation, "I will" (1:41), and the passive imperative command, "Be clean!" (1:41), which correspond with the two elements in the leper's request (θέλω; καθαρίζω), indicate that Jesus accomplished the miracle by his own word—the cleansing was fulfilled at the moment of speaking. This is then followed by the narrator's description of what happened through the command of Jesus, namely that "the leprosy left him and he was made clean" (καθαρίζω 1:42).[24]

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[23] Donahue lists ἐκαθαρίσθη as a divine passive. See "A Neglected Factor," 566 n. 15.

In 1:41-42, then the verb καθαρίζω is used to point to a three-step progression: (1) the request of the leper to be cleansed by Jesus, "If you will, you can make me clean" (καθαρίσαι 1:40), is followed by (2) Jesus' response which includes the performative command, "Be clean" (καθαρίσθητι 1:41), and (3) the narrator's confirmation of what came true at the moment of Jesus' utterance, "and he was made clean" (ἐκαθαρίσθη 1:42). As a result, it can be seen that the passive verb in this pericope is used to describe an action performed by Jesus. Of course, the passive is motivated by the narrator's intention to draw attention to the action, but the actor is still contextually implicit.

3.2 *Forgiveness of the Paralytic (2:5)*

> And when Jesus saw their faith, he said to the paralytic, 'Son, your sins are forgiven (ἀφίενται).'

The problem surrounding the passive of ἀφίημι in 2:5 has already been pointed out in the introduction. It cannot be denied that by itself the passive phrase could point to divine agency; after all, forgiveness in Judaism and in Mark come from God (11:25), and the passive of ἀφίημι in 3:28 and 4:12 could very well be a divine passive. At the same time, when read in isolation of its context, the passive in 2:5 could simply be a means of describing the forgiving act independently of a responsible agent. Nevertheless, these two interpretative possibilities are eliminated when the passive is read in context. Consider the following chart which seeks to explain Mark's narrative development centered on the performative power of Jesus' words:

The following five observations suggest that the passive phrase in 2:5 is understood by both the scribes and Jesus to represent Jesus' performative speech act. First, the verb λέγω represents the key element that holds the narrative together, as the emphasis is placed on what is being said. Jesus starts by addressing the paralytic, "He said to the paralytic" (λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ 2:5), and the antagonists respond with the concern, "Why

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[24] This episode parallels the healing of Naaman in 2 Kgdms 5:13-15 (LXX). There, however, unlike the episode in Mark where the cleansing occurs through Jesus' performative command, ἐκαθαρίσθη could be a divine passive.

Speech Act I Jesus to the paralytic	2:5 […] **λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ** […]	ἀφίενταί σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι
Objection of the Scribes	2:7 τί οὗτος οὕτως **λαλεῖ** […]	
Comparison Jesus to the Scribes **Speech Act I Vs. Speech Act II**	2:9 […] **εἰπεῖν τῷ παραλυτικῷ** **ἢ εἰπεῖν**	ἀφίενταί σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ἔγειρε καὶ ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ περιπάτει
Speech Act II Jesus to the paralytic	2:11 σοὶ **λέγω**	ἔγειρε ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ ὕπαγε […]
Result of Speech Act II & Validation of Speech Act I	2:12	[…] ἠγέρθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἄρας τὸν κράβαττον ἐξῆλθεν…

does this man speak like that?" (τί οὗτος οὕτως λαλεῖ 2:7). Then, Jesus replies by rhetorically putting forth a comparison between what is easier, "To say to the paralytic 'your sins are forgiven' or to say 'Rise, take up your bed and walk.'" (εἰπεῖν τῷ παραλυτικῷ…ἢ εἰπεῖν…2:9). At last, Jesus addresses the paralytic for the second time, "To you I say" (σοὶ λέγω 2:11).

Second, the objection of the scribes, τί οὗτος οὕτως λαλεῖ (2:7) is exclusively related to Jesus' authoritative words of forgiveness (2:5). If the passive ἀφίημι is a divine passive and Jesus simply announced God's forgiveness, acknowledging Him as its source, why did the scribes counter with a rebuke that God is the only One who can grant forgiveness? The theory proposed by Dunn that Jesus usurped the role of God "which God had assigned to priest and cult,"[25] or by Sanders that the scribes' objection was related to pronouncing forgiveness in the absence of confession,[26] does not stand scrutiny. Both theories miss Mark's critical monotheistic formula (εἷς ὁ θεός) whose effect here, like elsewhere in Jewish literature, is precisely to highlight God's oneness—to put God in a class of his own, as

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25) James Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways between Christianity and Judaism and their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 2006) 60-61.

26) Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 61-63.

alone forgiver.[27] Such a concern for the oneness and uniqueness of God only makes sense if the scribes took Jesus' statement as a performative utterance through which he threatened the oneness of God, and compromised Jewish monotheism.

Third, following the charge of blasphemy, Jesus did not attempt to clarify his statement by explaining that the scribes misunderstood the *modus operandi* of forgiveness. He did not defend himself by saying, "I am not guilty of blasphemy because by declaring that the paralytic's sins have been forgiven by God, I acknowledged him as the source of forgiveness!" Rather, he spoke openly that he himself possesses the unique authority to forgive (2:10). This again strongly implies that for Jesus, as for the scribes, the passive statement in 2:5 was performative.

Fourth, the close equivalence between Jesus' second command to the paralytic in 2:11 (three consecutive imperative verbs: ἐγείρω, αἴρω, ὑπάγω) and its fulfillment in 2:12 (three consecutive verbs: ἐγείρω, αἴρω, ἐξέρχομαι) suggests that Jesus accomplished the healing through his performative utterance. In other words, when Jesus says, "Rise, pick up your bed, and go home" (2:11), he does not merely utter empty words. Instead, his words are performative because they produce a visible outcome—the paralytic stands up and walks.

Lastly, in verse 9, three imperative verbs (ἐγείρω, αἴρω, περιπατέω) that correspond to Jesus' performative command in 2:11 (ἐγείρω, αἴρω, ὑπάγω) and its fulfillment in 2:12 (ἐγείρω, αἴρω, ἐξέρχομαι)[28] are set in parallel with the passive of ἀφίημι. Here, the comparison between the two say-

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27) In Judaism the εἷς (ὁ) θεός topos is most often used in the context of idolatry when Israel's God has been deprived of his due honor, robbed of his attributes, authority or supremacy over the universe. Space does not permit a full discussion of εἷς (ὁ) θεός in Judaism here, but it suffices to mention one Philonic text that has never been considered before in relation to Mark 2:1-12. Its importance is due to the combination of the concept of blasphemy with the oneness of God. When Gaius blasphemed God by assuming a nature and a privilege unique to Him, his blasphemy was rejected by the Jews on the basis of the "one God" topos: "that there was but *One God*, their Father and the Creator of the world" (*Embassy* 114-115; 367-368). If the Jewish scribes subscribed to a definition of blasphemy like that in *Embassy to Gaius*, then, the essence of their objection was related to Jesus forgiving the paralytic which they understood as threatening the oneness of God. Also, see Philo, *Decal.* 61-65.

28) The repetition of ἐγείρω and αἴρω in 2:9, 11, and 12 does not appear to be accidental. A parallelism is probably intended in spite of the change from περιπατέω (2:9) to ὑπάγω (2:11) and then to ἐξέρχομαι (2:12); περιπατέω, ὑπάγω and ἐξέρχομαι are all verbs of motion without a major difference in meaning.

ings, "Your sins are forgiven," and, "Rise, take up your bed and walk," is illuminating because it highlights that both of them are meant to be taken as performative utterances. This is clearly understood by the fact that the verb λέγω controls both sayings—in other words, the text does not distinguish whether one or the other involves doing instead of saying. It is not a matter whether, it is easier to say something, in comparison to do something, but whether to say something is easier than saying something else. With this in mind, and granted that to say, "Rise, take up your bed and walk," represents a speech act, a performative utterance that produces a visible effect (cf. 2:12), it must be that to say "Your sins are forgiven" is a speech act as well. If this is not the case, Jesus' puzzling question does not make much sense. The comparison is robbed of its force and does not work if one involves saying and the other doing, if one is a declaration of forgiveness that God has forgiven the sinner, and the other a performative utterance that produces healing.

It seems therefore that a divine passive interpretation of Mark 2:5 fails to account for the context in which Jesus is the responsible agent.

3.3 *The Healing of the Man with a Withered Hand (3:5)*

> And he looked around at them with anger, grieved at their hardness of heart, and said to the man, 'Stretch out your hand.' He stretched it out, and his hand was restored (ἀπεκατεστάθη).[29]

In the healing of the man with a withered hand (3:1-6), Jesus' command, "Stretch out (ἔκτεινον) your hand," is followed by the man's response, "He stretched it out" (ἐξέτεινεν). Then, the narrator describes the outcome with the passive of ἀποκαθίστημι, "and his hand was restored" (3:5). Again, there is little to no indication in the narrative that here ἀπεκατεστάθη is a divine passive. On the contrary, three particular elements point to Jesus as the agent of the passive verb.

First, since prior to Jesus' command the Pharisees watch Jesus closely seeking to accuse him of performing a miracle on the Sabbath (3:2), Jesus' ability to heal is taken for granted: the question is not whether Jesus has the power to heal, but whether he would heal on the Sabbath. In other words, since Jesus is expected to perform a miracle, this provides particularly helpful evidence that Mark's reader is encouraged to understand Jesus as the agent of ἀπεκατεστάθη.

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[29] Donahue's divine passive inventory includes this reference. See "A Neglected Factor," 566 n. 15; and Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 184.

Second, the emphasis of the text is placed on Jesus' imperative command, which is then followed by the man's stretching out his hand. One possibility is to suggest that ἀπεκατεστάθη is intransitive in that the hand was restored not as a result of Jesus' command but by the very act of stretching it out: "As he held it out, it became restored" (cf. CJB translation).[30] However, on the grounds that the man was asked to do what seemed to be impossible for a man with a "withered" hand (Mark 3:1), this position is questionable. This becomes evident when comparing Mark 3:1-6 with 1 Kings 13:1-10 where one learns that Jeroboam's hand became dry to the point of being immobilized, "his hand that he stretched out against him withered, and he could not return it to himself" (1 Kings 13:4 LXX).[31] When Jeroboam asked God's prophet to intercede to God on his behalf, he asked for a specific effect, "Entreat the face of the Lord your God, and let my hand return to me" (13:6a). The following paragraph describes the same effect, "And the man of God entreated the face of the Lord, and he returned the king's hand to him, and it became as it was before" (13:6b). This suggests that a withered hand is a paralyzed hand incapable of motion,[32] and that the man described in Mark 3:1, like Jeroboam, was suffering from a muscular dysfunction. It is therefore probably correct to affirm that the healing did not result from the man's hand motion, but rather it was purely verbal—Jesus' words empowered him to stretch it out reshaped the man's hand.[33]

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[30] Also, NLT.

[31] Casey draws a similar parallel and considers the possibility that Mark's source had the Jeroboam incident in mind. See Maurice Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel* (SNTSMS 102; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 179. Also, cf. *T. Sim.* 2:11-14, where Simeon begs God for the restoration of his "withered hand."

[32] The term ξηραίνω appears several times in Mark, with meaning ranging from "dried up" (in reference to blood in 5:29, see also Josephus, *J.W.* 5.409 and *T. Levi* 4.1 where springs/waters are *dried up*), and "withered" (in reference to the fig tree Mark 11:20-21; see also, Philo, *Spec. Laws* 2.153 where the trees and "everything that springtime produced in the height of its glory is *withered*"). In the present pericope the phrase ἐξηραμμένην ἔχων τὴν χεῖρα seems to imply a paralyzed hand.

[33] This conclusion corresponds with the one reached by many commentators that the healing is accomplished by Jesus' command. See Adela Yarbo Collins, *Mark: A Commentary on the Gospel of Mark* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007) 210; Guelich, *Mark*, 136; Larry W. Hurtado, *Mark* (NIBC 2; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1989) 35; Hooker, *Mark*, 106-107; Lane, *Mark*, 124; Stein, *Mark*, 156. Robbins suggests that Jesus' statement, "be

Finally, one can dismiss as groundless the contention that ἀπεκατεστάθη is a divine passive, on the basis that following the miracle, the Pharisees began to plot Jesus' death (3:6). The Pharisees used the miracle as an opportunity to arrange to have Jesus killed, but this only makes sense if they understood Jesus to be the agent of ἀπεκατεστάθη. It is clear, then, that in 3:5 Jesus is the agent of the passive verb.

3.4 *The Healing of the Woman with a Hemorrhage (5:27-29)*

> (27) She had heard the reports about Jesus and came up behind him in the crowd and touched his garment. [...] (29) And immediately the flow of blood dried up, and she felt in her body that she was healed of her disease (ἴαται).[34]

The story of the healing of the woman with a hemorrhage ends with a statement where the use of ἰάομαι is suggested to represent a divine passive: "And immediately the flow of blood dried up, and she felt in her body that she was healed of her disease (ἴαται 5:29)." On the one hand, the shift of the narrative from the description that the woman was healed, to Jesus' response, "Who touched my clothes?"(5:30), can suggest that it was the will of God and not of Jesus that brought healing.[35] However, on the other hand, this position is beyond the emphasis of the textual markers in this narrative. The previous phrase ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν (5:30), does not suggest an automatic overflow of power from the divine source of God, but rather from Jesus. The emphasis is on Jesus' δύναμις as a supernatural force within him that removes the defilement. Indeed, one can confidently affirm that Jesus' δύναμις to perform miracles comes from the Spirit (cf. 1:9-11; 3:28-30), yet this does not mean that Jesus acts as a marionette—which is to affirm that his miracles are not his, and that the Father controls his power. Even though he is utterly dependent on the will

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healed of your disease" (5:34), actually affects the healing. See Vernon K. Robbins, "The Woman who Touched Jesus' Garment: Socio-rhetorical Analysis of the Synoptic Accounts," *NTS* 33 (1987) 502-515 (507).

[34] This is a divine passive for Donahue, "A Neglected Factor," 566 n. 15; and Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 184-185.

[35] Lane is one among many scholars who argues that the Father is in control of this δύναμις here, since "the healing of the woman occurred through God's free and gracious decision to bestow upon her the power which was active in Jesus" (*Mark*, 193). Also, Susan Haber, "A Woman's Touch: Feminist Encounters with the Hemorrhaging Woman in Mark 5:24-34," *JSNT* 26/2 (2003) 171-192 (185).

of God, Jesus is a character who moves on his own, acting as an agent whose own inherent or self-generated power brings healing.

Still, the difference should of course not be overstressed, since after all, Mark assigns Jesus' work as embodying the climax of God's purposes on earth, and thus the power of Jesus is the power of God. A good example that highlights this relationship is found in 5:19-20 where Jesus commands the former demoniac from Gerasene to "Tell them how much the Lord has done for you" (ὁ κύριος 5:19). The narrator than tells how the man went out with the news of "how much Jesus had done for him" (ὁ Ἰησοῦς 5:20). Clearly, the justexposition between Jesus' charge and the cured demoniac's response brings forth Mark's Christological agenda that what Jesus did for the demoniac, God did for him.

Certainly then, the issue of Jesus' actions is much more complex than normally described—on the one hand as in the case of 5:29, one must refrain from robbing Jesus of the power that he himself possesses, yet on the other hand, considering 5:19-20 it is reasonable to affirm that when Jesus acts, God acts since according to Mark the two are closely linked.

3.5 *General Healing (6:56)*

> They laid the sick in the marketplaces and implored him that they might touch even the fringe of his garment. And as many as touched it were made well (ἐσῴζοντο).[36]

As a way of summarizing Jesus' work in Galilee before he withdrew to other regions, Mark records that many implored Jesus to touch the fringe of his garment with the result that "as many as touched it were made well" (ἐσῴζοντο). In this particular case, it is unlikely that the passive of σῴζω points to God as the agent of the verb. Rather, as in 5:29, the accent falls on Jesus' inherent healing power: the people treat him as a miracle worker whose power is released through the simple touch of his cloak. Thus, the passive ἐσῴζοντο most likely highlights Jesus' healing.

3.6 *The Healing of the Deaf-Mute (7:32-35)*

> (32) And they brought to him a man who was deaf and had a speech impediment, and they begged him to lay his hand on him. (33) And taking him aside from the crowd

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[36] The verb is a divine passive for Donahue, "A Neglected Factor," 566 n. 15; and Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 184.

> privately, he put his fingers into his ears, and after spitting touched his tongue. (34) And looking up to heaven, he sighed and said to him, ‘Ephphatha,’ that is, ‘Be opened.’ (35) And his ears were opened (ἠνοίγησαν), his tongue was released (ἐλύθη), and he spoke plainly.

Another example of a passive verb used in Mark's miracle tradition is found in the healing of the deaf-mute which is described as follows: “And his ears were opened (ἠνοίγησαν), his tongue was released (ἐλύθη), and he spoke plainly” (7:35). Does the passive use of the verbs ἀνοίγω and λύω indicate that God is the agent of this healing? Here, the situation is slightly more complex because before pronouncing the passive imperative, “Be opened,” Jesus looks up to heaven (7:34), which can suggest a request of God's power, or an acknowledgement of God's power at work in him.[37] Nevertheless, this still does not imply that ἠνοίγησαν and ἐλύθη are divine passives, because a number of elements in the text again point to Jesus as the one who performs the miracle.

First, the combination of the verbs describing the actions of Jesus: putting his fingers into his ears, spitting, and touching the man's tongue (7:33-34), points very strongly to the conclusion that Jesus himself was healing the deaf-mute. Moreover, the imperative διανοίχθητι whose effect was instantaneous—both deafness and dumbness were instantly cured, suggests that Jesus' word of command had a performative force.

The last element that casts considerable doubt that ἠνοίγησαν and ἐλύθη are divine passives is that the narrative ends with the amazement of the crowd expressed in the following response: “He has done all things well. He even makes the deaf hear and the mute speak.” This again reinforces the idea that Jesus is the agent of the passive verbs.

4. Passive with God as the Agent[38]

4.1 *It Has Been Prepared (10:37-40)*

> (37) And they said to him, ‘Grant us to sit, one at your right hand and one at your left, in your glory.’ [...] (39) [...] And Jesus said to them, (40) ‘To sit at my right or at my left is not mine to give, but it is for those for whom it has been prepared (ἡτοίμασται).’

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[37] For Marcus even “Ephphatha” (7:34b) is a divine passive. See Marcus, *Mark 1-8*, 479.

[38] Space does not allow offering more than one example of divine passives here, but the guidelines on the final page could assist in this regard.

When John and James inquire about the positions of honor in the future kingdom, Jesus responds that he cannot grant these privileges with the following words: "To sit at my right hand or at my left is not mine to grant, but it is for those for whom it has been prepared (ἡτοίμασται 10:40)." The question is again whether ἡτοίμασται points to God as the agent of the verb, and in this particular case the evidence in support of this understanding is twofold. First, considering Mark's portrait of Jesus as the "stronger one" (1:7), it is unlikely that anyone else besides God would be able to grant something that Jesus cannot—thus God is the most likely candidate.[39] The second evidence which suggests that ἡτοίμασται is a divine passive, is the textual tradition which inserts ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου after ἡτοίμασται, making God the agent of the verb.[40] Without question the original reading did not contain these words, as they were probably suggested by the context and introduced by assimilation with the Matthean parallel which similarly adds ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου to complete the implied logic (20:23); however, this textual tradition serves to point that God was understood by some scribes to be the agent of the verb. Then, the point of this verse is simple: through the passive of ἑτοιμάζω and the negative phrase οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι, Mark emphasizes that Jesus, unlike God, does not possess the authority to assign such honorific positions.[41]

5. Observations on Mark's Use of the Passive

The above study attempts to provide some clarification regarding the way Mark's narrative intends his readers to understand the passive use of verbs. First, by tracing Mark's use of passive verbs in their context, it was shown that the passive voice is at times employed to speak of divine originated actions that are brought out by human characters. In many cases the passive voice assumes that like a director behind the scenes, God is the originator or initiator, but the context shows that in fact the action is carried out by human agency. Such is the case in Jesus' passion where the verb παραδίδωμι is used throughout the narrative to point both to divine delegation and human agency (9:31; 10:33; 14:21; 14:10-11, 41-44; 15:1, 10). In the case of the passive of πληρόω in 1:15, its context invites Mark's readers to look at Jesus' own presence on earth as a fulfillment of God's eschatological plan. In other words, here, the passive implies a close link between God's involvement in this pivotal time in history, and the life and ministry of Jesus.

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[39] Also, see 13:32.

[40] The NA^{27} lists the following MSS: א$^{*.2}$ (Θ) f^{1} 1241 *pc* a r^{1vid} sy^{hmg} bo^{ms}.

[41] In fact, the reader later learns that the Son of Man himself is granted a position of honor from the Father as he will be seated at his right hand (14:62).

Second, this essay shows that there is no widespread agreement on many of the so-called divine passives in Mark. In particular, as reflected in the different translations of 16:6, there is a marked divide between an intransitive or transitive meaning for the aorist passive of ἐγείρω. In this case, (and possibly in many other instances) Mark might have used the passive voice to suppress the actor because it was relatively unimportant for the significance of the event, with the result that emphasis was placed on what happened rather than on who performed the action. In other words, a passive verb can suppress the identity of the responsible agent in order to point to and underline an action.

Third, it appears that in the Markan miracle tradition there is little indication of divine passives in operation, as the focus in these texts is placed on Jesus' personal touch or commands (1:42; 3:5; 5:29; 6:56; 7:35). From the examples surveyed herein, in three particular cases, the passive verbs are performative (καθαρίσθητι 1:41; διανοίχθητι 7:34; ἀφίενται 2:5), while in the remaining examples they represent a shift in the narrative to express what was accomplished by Jesus' touch or commands. It is also a matter of style—in the miracle tradition when the passive is used, the agency (Jesus) is known from the context and it is therefore unnecessary to state it. When Jesus completes a miracle it is pointless to add a prepositional phrase to state his agency since this is automatically implied in the context.

Lastly, Mark's narrative records passives where there is no human agency involved, but divine activity alone. Such is the case of 10:40 in which Jesus himself is excluded from having the authority to assign the honorable seats in the eschatological kingdom.

As this essay looked only at a selective number of passives in Mark, the following guidelines that evolved from the above discussion could be used as a guide in identifying other divine passives:

1. How does the verb function in the context and in the narrative as a whole? Are other agents involved in carrying out this particular action? If yes, this passive is not a divine passive. On a theological level, however, God may still be thought as the initiator or originator of the action.

2. Can the passive verb in question have an active intransitive meaning, and has it been used with this meaning elsewhere? If yes, this verb might or might not be a divine passive.
3. Is the passive used as a description of what already happened through an agent's action? If yes, then the passive is employed because the agent is so obvious in the context that it is unnecessary to be restated again. In this case, the passive verb is not a divine passive.
4. Is the passive verb a way to conceal the responsibility for the action because naming the responsible agent is irrelevant in the context at hand? If yes, this could be a divine passive, but not necessarily so. It could simply be a means of describing and highlighting an event/action independently of a responsible agent.

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Pisidian Antioch in Acts 13

The Denouement of the South Galatian Hypothesis*

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Abstract
According to Acts 13, after Barnabas and Paul confront the Jewish magician Bar-Jesus on Cyprus and successfully win the allegiance of Roman proconsul, Sergius Paulus, the fellow travelers visit Pisidian Antioch. On the Sabbath in Pisidian Antioch, Paul gives his first and only speech to Jews in Acts (13:16b-41). William M. Ramsay, subscribing to the "province" or "Southern Galatian" hypothesis, understands the addressees of Paul's Letter to the Galatians to be those converted in response to this speech. Ramsay goes so far as to draw connections between the speech and Paul's Letter to the Galatians. In contrast, H.D. Betz argues that Galatians was written to Gentiles in Northern Galatia. Betz sees no proof of the historicity of the Acts account and finds no compelling reason, therefore, to associate it with Paul's Letter to the Galatians. A prolegomenon for both Ramsay and Betz is the purpose of Acts. Kirsopp Lake once asked whether it was "an accident that he ["Luke"] describes Paul's first dealings with the Romans, the Corinthians, the Ephesians, and the Thessalonians," noting that "Galatia was the remaining church which Paul founded and wrote to." This essay argues that both Ramsay and Betz are in a sense correct. Paul's visit to Pisidian Antioch in Acts 13 provides grounds for Paul's foundation of the Galatic churches, irrespective of the historicity of its presentation in Acts. Further, it argues that such a stopover has a distinct narrative advantage; namely, it affords an attractively Romanesque stopover early in Paul's travels for this Roman-born, Roman-named, Rome-bound missionary.

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[*] I would like to thank Carl Holladay of Emory University for the opportunity to tour Turkey with a group of Emory faculty and students for three weeks in January 2009 and for the assignment to explore Pisidian Antioch for that trip. That assignment gave rise to the present study. This essay narrowly confines its topic to the purpose of Pisidian Antioch in Acts. It does not take up either the Northern vs. Southern Galatia Hypotheses or the addressees of Galatians *per se*. It will, however, in its conclusion resolve the Northern *versus* Southern Galatian debate by canceling the historical viability of the Southern Hypothesis. The Greek text of the New Testament is cited according to NA^{27}. The essay refers to the author of Acts as 'Luke' for the sake of convenience and without prejudice as to the identity of the author. I also wish to thank the anonymous reviewers at *Novum Testamentum* and Trevor W. Thompson for helpful corrections and critique.

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Acts of the Apostles; Epistle to the Galatians; North/South Galatian hypothesis; Pisidian Antioch

> So any historiography is an act of optimism, assuming that the past can be tamed into some sort of order.[1]

I. Introduction

According to Acts 13, immediately after Barnabas and Paul confront the Jewish magician Bar-Jesus or Elymas in Paphos on Cyprus and successfully win the allegiance of the Roman proconsul Sergius Paulus (an event which follows their commissioning in *Syrian* Antioch), the fellow travelers visit *Pisidian* Antioch.[2] On the Sabbath day in Pisidian Antioch, the two men enter a synagogue. Following the reading of the law and the prophets, they are invited to exhort the crowd—both Jews and "god-fearers" (v. 16b). At this time, Paul gives his first and only speech to Jews in Acts (13:16b-41). William Ramsay, subscribing to the "province" or "South Galatian" hypothesis, understands the addressees of Paul's Letter to the Galatians to be those who converted in response to this speech (and the other unnarrated speeches to God-fearers and Gentiles noted in v. 48). Ramsay even sees connections between this speech and the letter to the Galatians.[3] Hans Dieter Betz, however, argues that Galatians was written to Gentiles in Northern Galatia.[4] Although he acknowledges that no evidence supports the existence of such Anatolian churches, Betz sees no proof of the historicity of Acts (for Galatia or elsewhere). He finds, therefore, no compelling reason to associate Galatians with Acts 13-14.[5] For Betz, the recipients of Paul's rhetorical missive are *unknown.*

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[1] Christopher Pelling, "Epilogue," in *The Limits of Historiography: Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts* (ed. Christina S. Kraus; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 351.

[2] Commentaries consulted for this study include: C.K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (2 vols.; ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994); F. Bovon, *Luke 1* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002); F.F. Bruce, *The Book of the Acts* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, rev. ed., 1988); A.C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes on Selected Passages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933); H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. J. Limburg, A.T. Kraabel, and D.H. Juel; ed. E.J. Epp with C.A. Matthews; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), German: *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1972); J.A. Fitzmyer, *Acts of the Apostles* (AB 31; New York: Doubleday, 1998); *The Beginnings of Christianity* (5 vols.; ed. F.J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake; London: Macmillan, 1920-1933; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979); E. Haenchen, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1st ed. [= 10th ed.] 1956; 5th ed. [= 14th ed] 1965; idem, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (trans. B. Noble and G. Shinn under supervision of H. Anderson, with trans. rev. by R. McL. Wilson from the 14th German ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971); J. Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (KEK; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); K. Lake and H.J. Cadbury, *The Acts of the Apostles: English Translation and Commentary* and *Additional Notes to the Commentary*, in *Beginnings*, vols. 4-5 (London: Macmillan, 1933; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979); A. Loisy, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1920; Paris: F. Rieder, 1925; Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1973); G. Lüdemann, *Early Christianity according to the Traditions in Acts: A Commentary* (trans. John Bowden; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989); German: *Das frühe Christentum nach den Traditionen der Apostelgeschichte: Ein Kommentar* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987]); R. Pervo, *Acts* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009); R. Pesch, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (EKKNT V/1, V/2; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986); R.B. Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Methuen & Co., 1901).

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[3] *The Cities of St. Paul: Their Influence on His Life and Thought* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1979 [^{1}1907]) 299-314.

[4] See n. 5 below. Udo Schnelle summarizes the *status quaestionis*: "On the whole the arguments for the north Galatian hypothesis are stronger. In particular, the absence of the addressees in Gal. 1.21, the Lucan statement about Paul's work in 'the region of…Galatia' and the address in Gal. 3.1, along with the well thought out arrangement of the letter as a whole, speak against the south Galatian theory" (*The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings* [trans. E.M. Boring; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998] 97; German Original: *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994]). In a helpful footnote, further endorsing the Northern Hypothesis, Schnelle adds: "The positions of individual exegetes on the north vs. south Galatian theories are listed by Rohde, *Galaterbrief* 6-7. Cf. for the north Galatian theory see Betz, *Galatians* 3-5; further Ulrich Wickert, "Kleinasien," *TRE* 19 (1990) 244-265, here 251: 'The north Galatian theory is to be decisively preferred.' He says nothing about the theological reason at work in those who prefer the south Galatian theory (U. Schnelle, *The History and Theology of the New Testament Writings* [trans. M.E. Boring; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998] 97 n. 266; Wickert as cited by Schnelle).

[5] Betz writes, "The letter is addressed to 'the churches in Galatia' (1:2; cf. 3:1). The location of this area called Galatia has been discussed extensively but without definitive result. Most likely the location is central Anatolia, where wandering Celtic tribes settled after 278/277 B.C.E. (the 'North Galatian' or 'territory hypothesis'). Less likely is the 'South Galatian' or 'province hypothesis,' which assumes that Paul meant the Roman *provincia Galatia*, established in 25 B.C.E. Yet the information contained in Galatians and Acts cannot be harmonized. Acts 13-14 does not mention Galatia as [*sic*] all. In 16:8 and 18:23, a 'Galatian country' is mentioned, but no mission is described. Also, the inhabitants of Pisidia and Lycaonia were not called 'Galatians.' Whether the itineraries of Acts are historically reliable in that they report all of Paul's campaigns accurately is another unsolved problem. Although no archaeological traces seem to be left, central Anatolia is the most

One important prolegomenon for both Ramsay and Betz is the purpose of Acts. Why was Acts written? To accurately inform, playfully entertain, deviously mislead, strenuously attack, or vigorously defend? With respect to the purpose of Acts, Kirsopp Lake asks the following question:

> Is it an accident that he ["Luke"] describes Paul's first dealings with the Romans, the Corinthians, the Ephesians, and the Thessalonians? If it be not, it is possibly justifiable to go a step further, and emphasize the fact that *Galatia is the remaining church which Paul founded and wrote to*. If Luke knew this and *had any interest in the foundation of the Pauline churches*, he may have noted that the narrative, as it was in his sources, gave no place after xvi.6 for the foundation of the Galatian churches. Possibly he thought that it belonged to the period just before Paul went to Europe, for which his two main sources gave him no information. Moreover it is not impossible that he was right.[6]

This statement raises the questions of, not only whether the so-called first journey—Paul's visits to Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe—was constructed as the foundation narrative behind the letter to the Galatians,[7] but whether Acts' overall purpose was to narrate the foundation

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likely location of the churches of Galatia (see Betz, *Galatians* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979] 1-5)" ("Galatians, Epistle to the," *ABD* 2:872). However, in the *ABD* article immediately prior to Betz's entitled, "Galatia," Stephen Mitchell argues: "The most authoritative champion of the South Galatian Theory was the great explorer of Asia Minor, W.M. Ramsay, and although the North Galatian Theory still finds many supporters, his work should long ago have put the matter beyond dispute" (*ABD* 2:870-872 at 2:871). Also, in response to Betz, Mitchell argues: "The book of Acts relates that he [Paul] passed through a region called Phrygia and the Galatic country after leaving Derbe and Lystra, as a stage in a journey that led through Mysia to Troas (Acts 16:6). This cannot have been Galatia, which lay some 200 km NE of any natural route between Lystra and Mysia in NW Asia Minor. The phrase is naturally understood as denoting the country of Phrygia Paroreius which lay on either side of Sultan Dag, the mountain range that divided Pisidian Antioch from Iconium, an area that was ethnically Phrygian but which was divided between the Roman provinces of Asia and Galatia" (*ABD* 2:871). With regard Acts 18:22-23, Mitchell writes: "Again, this route can only have intersected the first one in the region of Phrygia Paroreius, not conceivably in N Galatia, which would have involved a huge detour for any traveller between Syrian Antioch and Ephesus" (*ABD* 2:871). Furthermore, "the region of Galatia" in Acts 16:8 and 18:23 is likely to refer back to the churches founded in Acts 13-14. See also G. Walter Hansen, "Galatia," in *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting* (ed. D. Gill, C. Gempf; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1994) 377-396.

6) Kirsopp Lake, "XVIII: Paul's Route to Asia Minor," 5.224-246 in *Beginnings of Christianity*; here 5:239.

7) Lake's statement begs the question of why "Luke" would cause Paul to found churches in Galatia at all without knowledge of the letter to this region. The evidence for such a

of churches addressed by Paul's extant letters,[8] irrespective of the content of these letters[9]—perhaps in light of *competing claims*.[10] Although Richard Pervo argues that the author of Acts knows and relies on a select early second-century corpus of Paul's letters (disputed and undisputed), he remains guarded on this point.[11] Pervo acknowledges "a strong correlation between places either addressed or spoken about in surviving Pauline letters and the sites that receive detailed and specific discussion in Acts,"[12] but allows that "these data will fit more than one explanation and offer no proof of Luke's use of Paul's letters."[13] He adds only that: "Luke shows more interest in (and knowledge about) the places to which Paul addressed (extant) letters than does the Apostle himself."[14] Pervo, then, argues on other grounds

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mission comes of course from the extant letters, but is not prolific, confined to the letter to the Galatians and the reference in 1 Cor 16:1. See Richard Pervo, *Dating Acts between the Evangelists and the Apologists* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge, 2006) 98-99. There are more references in Paul's letters to a mission to Galatia than Rome (never mentioned) and Colossae (or Laodicea). Paul never mentions a mission to Corinth (apart from addresses: 1 Cor 1:2; 2 Cor 1:2), although a mission to Achaea occurs three times (Rom 15:26; 1 Cor 16:15; and 2 Cor 9:2).

[8]

Letter Addresses	Acts
Rome	28:16-31
Corinth	18:1-18
Ephesus	18:19-21; 19:1-40
Philippi	16:12-40
Thessalonica	17:1-9

[9] Lake, "Paul's Route to Asia Minor," 5:239. On Luke's knowledge of Paul's letters, see Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 51-147. Every address of the undisputed letters of Paul makes an appearance in Acts: Rome (Acts 28:14), Corinth (Acts 18:1), Galatia (Acts 16:6; 18:23), Philippi (Acts 16:12; 20:6), and Thessalonica (Acts 17:1). Some of the addresses of the deutero-Pauline letters also occur in Acts (e.g., Ephesus [Acts 18:19; 19:1]). Although the Lukan Paul meets Jews in every city he visits in Acts, the historical Paul, as far as we know, sends no letter to Jews specifically. Presumably this is because he views himself as apostle to the Gentiles (Gal 2:9). The discrepancy, however, would have been sharp to an ancient reader seeking to assimilate Paul's letter corpus with Acts.

[10] Does First Peter wish to assert foundation of these churches by Jerusalem? (1 Pet 1:1)

[11] Pervo in fact finds "risible" the thesis that an early second century Paulinist such as "Luke" did *not* know some collection of Paul's letters (*Dating Acts*, 52). Pervo's thoughtful reflections on his thesis and method: 136-137, 146-147. Rather than ignorance, the thesis tends to explain contradictions between Acts and the letters of Paul that "Luke" knew as deliberate modifications.

[12] *Dating Acts*, 98.

[13] *Dating Acts*, 98.

[14] *Dating Acts*, 99; see also "Itinerary Parallels," 142.

that the author of Acts knows Paul's letters, in particular, the Letter to the Galatians.[15]

However, viewed not as a proof itself, but in light of Pervo's *other* proofs for Acts' reliance on an early second-century Pauline corpus, knowledge of the letter *addresses* becomes collateral information.[16] That is, if Luke's knowledge of Paul's letters can be demonstrated, then Luke knows their addresses, explaining his notable interest in these places. This point is an assumption of the present thesis. It is not, however, necessary to it. For the argument of this essay, Luke must only know *that* Paul wrote to Galatia—information available to him through a variety of different sources.

In view of Luke's knowledge of the addresses of some of Paul's letters, this essay proposes that *both* Ramsay and Betz are to a certain extent correct. Ramsay is correct that "Luke" depicts Paul in Pisidian Antioch and other cities such as Perge, Iconium, Derbe, Lystra, and Attalia in order to show him evangelizing those to whom Galatians was written; and, at the same time, Betz is correct that Acts is not historically accurate. That is, irrespective of the historicity of Acts' view that Paul visits *Southern* Galatia, the destination of Galatia is, nevertheless, a desideratum based on Luke's awareness of a letter to the Galatians.[17] Moreover, this essay attempts to demonstrate that Luke uses this desideratum to his advantage. The argument that follows defends the thesis in two parts: (A) Galatia as desideratum; and (B) desideratum as literary advantage. A brief conclusion summarizes findings.

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[15] See comparative totals in *Dating Acts*, 139-143.

[16] Although it cannot be stated with certainty, there is no serious reason to doubt that by the time "Luke" wrote the Gospel of Luke and Acts (115 C.E.) addresses of letters by Paul to at least Thessalonika, Corinth, Galatia, Rome, and Philippi were known.

[17] This thesis likewise endorses the arguments, if not the conclusions of Cilliers Breytenbach (*Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien: Studien zu Apostelgeschichte 13f.; 16,6; 18,23 und den Adressaten des Galaterbriefes* [Leiden/New York: Brill, 1996]). Breytenbach's careful study of Acts 13-14, featuring comparisons with epigraphic and other archaeological evidence, demonstrates the plausibility/historical accuracy of its local color. With W.M. Ramsay and other British scholars, Breytenbach connects Acts 13-14 with Paul's letter to the Galatians, endorsing the Southern Galatian Hypothesis. My thesis only parts ways with Breytenbach's insofar as he links historical accuracy of "local color" in Acts 13-14 to the historical Paul's situation. My thesis prefers the explanation that "local color" in Acts 13-14 reflects the compositional hand of "Luke"—stemming from knowledge of a *corpus Paulinum* and a desire (in Acts) to offer the church foundation narratives for all letter addresses. The position taken by Mark Wilson in the new article, "The Route of Paul's First Journey to Pisidian Antioch," *NTS* 55 (2009) 471-483 is similar to Breytenbach's. Neither the details of his investigation into possible routes between Perge and Pisidian Antioch nor his proposed solution of a western route inbound (to Pisidian Antioch) and central route back (to Perge) are in question. Wilson's demonstration of discrepancies among Bible atlases (480-481) is, furthermore, helpful. Yet, his thesis presumes historicity of the Acts account, whereas my own questions it.

II. Analysis

A. *Galatia as Desideratum*

Five related features of Acts 13 commend the thesis that a visit by Paul to Galatia constitutes a desideratum of the Lukan narrative: (1) stereotypes; (2) lack of detail; (3) historical inaccuracies; (4) brisk narrative pace; and (5) link between Cyprus and Antioch.

Stereotypes replace historical information in Acts 13-14, suggesting that the author knows little more about Paul in the region of Galatia than the duty to place him there. If, for the sake of argument, the "three missionary journeys" model for Acts is adopted, the second journey—with its references to Jerusalem—poses by far the most historical questions.[18] Challenges posed by the first journey seem minor in contrast. With some exceptions,[19] traveling from Paphos to Perge, Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and Attalia comprises the expected Galatian tour. Pisidian Antioch made a natural choice as hub. Established in the third century B.C.E., some time after the death of Alexander,[20] its name reflects Seleucid founders, perhaps Antiochus I or II. Like several others, it may have been one of a string of cities in Anatolia that the Seleucids set up during this period. In 25 B.C.E., when the client king of the country of Galatia, Amyntas died, central Asia Minor was transferred to direct governance by the Roman Empire. The province of Galatia was thereby established and new roads connecting interior regions with the coast were built. The most famous of these roads was the *via Sebaste*.[21] Antioch was *caput viae* of this road system, running east through Iconium and Lystra in Lycaonia and southwest through Apollonia and Comama across the Taurus Mountains to Perge in Pamphylia.[22]

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[18] K. Lake, "XVIII: Paul's Route to Asia Minor," 5.224-246 in: *Beginnings of Christianity*, here 5.226-239.

[19] E.g., that Timothy evidently comes from Lystra may lend a historical (non-stereotypical) impetus to Acts' inclusion of (14:8) and return to (14:21, 16:1) that city (i.e., to collect Timothy before Paul begins his European ministry: 1 Thess 1:1; 1 Cor 4:17, 16:10; 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 1:1; and Phlm 1). According to Acts, Paul does not, however, found the church in Lystra (Acts 16:1-2, see n. 73 below). If this datum is historically reliable, then the historical Paul's apparent commitment to establishing churches where others have not already founded them (i.e. Rom 15:20) may account for his missionary activity in northern Galatia (as implied by the Letter to the Galatians, see nn. 4, 5 above). The historical Paul does not divulge where he met Timothy, but may suggest through the language of sonship (e.g., 1 Cor 4:17; Phil 2:22; cf. 1 Tim 1:2, 18; 2 Tim 1:2; re. Onesimus: Phlm 10) that he bears responsibility for Timothy's conversion. Also, Derbe is also not wholly stereotypical insofar as it was not located on the *via Sebaste*.

[20] In this section, I follow closely the work of Stephen Mitchell in *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* and Stephen Mitchell and Marc Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch: The Site and Its Monuments* (London: Duckworth with The Classical Press of Wales, 1998).

In terms of Luke's narrative, the *via Sebaste* would have taken Paul on his so-called first journey. In fact, the cities of Paul's journey beginning in Pisidian Antioch adhere so closely to the route of the *via Sebaste* as to appear stereotypical. A writer in possession of a map or even just a list of the cities on this road might easily have selected them as an itinerant missionary's (or other traveler's) choices *in lieu of* sources.[23] Furthermore, no evidence (other than Acts) supports Christianity in Pisidian Antioch until the third century;[24] no non-literary evidence suggests even that Jews resided there in this period, although literary witnesses give us reason to believe they did.[25] The best explanation of stereotypes in Acts 13 is, therefore, that, as Pervo writes: "Luke had—or wished to utilize—only very sketchy data about these places."[26]

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[21] On the road's name "Sebaste," see Lake, "XVIII: Paul's Route to Asia Minor," 5.224-246 in *Beginnings of Christianity*; here 5.226.

[22] Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 4. About the *via Sebaste*, he writes, "This was a major highway, suitable for carriages and wheeled traffic as well as pack animals, whose course may still be traced on the ground today. The accessibility of Antioch, through this long-distance network of communications, was one of the vital factors which enabled the city to become the impressive centre revealed by its buildings" (Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 4).

[23] The (barebones) itinerary theory of Paul's travels would have been moot (or identical to) a list (or simply knowledge of) the cities along the *via Sebaste*.

[24] Mitchell writes: "There is no evidence that Christianity took root at Antioch before the widespread conversion of Anatolian communities in the later third and fourth centuries" (12). Cf. Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor* (2 vols.; Vol. 1 = "The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule"; Vol. 2 = "The Rise of the Church"; Oxford: Clarendon, repr. 2003 [1993]) 2:38. Third century is the earliest possible date of the so-called Central Church. See Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 205-206; cf. also data for "central church," 209-210. The "large basilica (church of St. Paul)" is later—fourth century (217). Some deduce that the absence of first- and second-century evidence indicates the mission's failure.

[25] See Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, 2:35-36. Pervo, *Acts*, 331 n. 3: "There is no definite evidence for the presence of Jews in first-century Pisidian Antioch," although Josephus, Philo, Strabo, Pliny and *First Peter* suggest they did inhabit,

The second observation that Galatia constitutes a desideratum of Luke's narrative irrespective of access to specific information about Paul's visit there (either to the North or South) is that, different from other cities, (e.g., καθ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου, 19:9), Acts' account of Paul's visit with Barnabas to this city lacks detail. The account comprises, almost entirely, a speech to Jews and others who "fear God." As such, the report is a construct of the Lukan imagination. Whereas the episodes about Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe (14:1-20) feature local color in lieu of historical detail,[27] the report about Pisidian Antioch lacks both.[28] Pervo comments on this section of the text as follows:

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and certainly many Jews dwelled in, Asia Minor. See Josephus, *Ant.* 12.147-153. Evidence for the presence of the Jewish community is provided by an inscription in Apollonia; see Conzelmann, "Excursus: Antioch" in *Acts of the Apostles*, 103. Archaeological excavations for Pisidian Antioch currently grant no proof. "There is not reason to doubt the evidence of this passage in Acts that there was a substantial Jewish population" (Barrett, *Acts*, 1:627-628).

[26] *Dating Acts*, 98.

[27] See Breytenbach, *Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien*, esp. 29-52.

[28] With an emphasis on Pisidian Antioch as Paul's initial stop, the *spate* of stopovers including Perge, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and Attalia simply implies Paul's address to a *region* rather than a city. That Luke's reports about other cities in Galatia feature local color further detracts from the historicity of Paul's Galatian itinerary in Acts. Perhaps, Pisidian Antioch deliberately mirrors the eastern hub of Syrian Antioch. When Paul returns to this region, the text twice reports "Galatia" (16:6 and 18:23), rather than the names of individual cities, emphasizing Paul's letter address. Derbe was not on the *via Sebaste*, but was not far off. Derbe may have been part of the local assize tour; see Stephen Mitchell, "Geography, Politics, and Imperialism in the Asian Customs Law," in *The Customs Laws of Asia* (ed. M. Cottier, M.H. Crawford, C.V. Crowther, J.-L. Ferrary, B.M. Levick, O. Salomies, M. Wörrle; Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents; Oxford University, 2008) 165-201. In addition, if "Luke" knew Paul's letters, he knew Paul's interest in evangelizing Roman colonies. "Paul attached great importance to the evangelization of Roman colonies, which were planted at strategic points along the imperial roads to safeguard the interests of Rome.... There was a Jewish colony in this city, and therefore a synagogue, too, and on the first Sabbath day after their arrival the two missionaries went to the synagogue and took their places among the congregation" (Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of the Acts*, 266-267). Cilliers Breytenbach argues that, although the text conforms to the author's pattern of missionary activity, at the same time the text betrays rich regional knowledge. Breytenbach primarily focuses on Acts 14 (not Acts 13), however. See *Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien*, esp. 29-52. Moreover, Breytenbach values perceived accuracy of "Lokalkolorit" as

> About Antioch in Pisidia (which was a Roman colony), the reader learns no more than that there was a synagogue in a city populated with the normal complement of "jealous Jews," as well as "leading citizens," a commodity one might safely infer to be present in any city (13:14, 45, 50).[29]

With stereotypes and lack of detail, the speech occupying Acts 13:16-47 suggests that the author had no information about Paul's visit to this city.

Third, what little the narrative offers about Paul in Galatia is not always accurate. Although 13:13 mentions that the missionaries arrive from Paphos at Perge—Perge was not on the coast and the nearest tributary (i.e., the Cestrus River) was still eight kilometers from this city.[30] Pisidian Antioch was not in Pisidia (it was, rather, "toward" or "facing" Pisidia as opposed to Antioch on the Maeander), and the adjective "Pisidian" (Πισίδιος, 13:14) has no prior attestation.[31] The episode in Pisidian

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historical plausibility—a conclusion the present author is disinclined to accept (see n. 17 above).

[29] *Dating Acts*, 98. Barrett writes: "The paragraph [13:13-52] as a whole, then, is mostly Luke's work. On this most commentators agree" (*Acts* 1:625). Cf. also Acts 13:44 "almost the whole city" and "throughout the entire region" are hyperbolic and, as such, characteristically Lukan.

[30] "According to *Stadiasmus* 219, Perge could be reached by ship on the Cestrus River; in reality, however, it was situated eight kilometers away from the river" (Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 103).

[31] "It has been even thought possible to place Theophilus in Italy, since when Luke's story carries him that far west he gives up such explanations as "a city of Galilee named Nazareth," "Capernaum a city of Galilee," "a village named Emmaus, which was three-score furlongs from Jerusalem," "Perge of Pamphylia," "Antioch of Pisidia," "the cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Macedonia, a colony" "Tarsus of Cilicia," "Myra of Lycia," "a certain place called Fair Havens, to which the city Lasea was near," "Phoenix, a harbor of Crete facing north-east and south-east," and the like, but names without locating them—Syracuse, Rhegium, Puteoli, and even such little places (without apology for the Latin) as Appii Forum and Tres Tabernae. But the explanations of names are not really distributed along geographical lines and may be due to the influence of sources or to other causes. It is not easy to ascertain whether the author, when he speaks in this manner, does so from familiarity with a place or from unfamiliarity. What may seem to be an explanation due to ignorance may be really local color due to knowledge" (H.J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* [Peabody, MA: Hendrikson, 1999 (^{1}1927)] 241-242). Cf.: "They continued their journey from Perge and came to Pisidian Antioch." MSS P^{45}, P^{74}, a, A, B, C, 453, and 1175 read *Antiocheian ten Pisidian*, using the otherwise unattested proper adj. *Pisidios*, but the WT (MSS D, E, Y, 33, 1739) and the Koiné text-tradition read *Antiocheian tes Pisidias*, "Antioch of Pisidia." BDAG, s.v. Πισίδιος (p. 816) suggests the variant reading: "Antioch of Pisidia."

Antioch is at once significant *and* hollow,[32] suggesting some kind of empty imperative.

Fourth, the Pisidian Antioch episode is driven by a sense of urgency.[33] No sooner do Paul and Barnabas arrive in Antioch than they enter the synagogue to deliver a speech: αὐτοὶ δὲ διελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Πέργης παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Πισιδίαν, καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων ἐκάθισαν (13:14). Ernst Haenchen comments to this effect:

> The spareness of Luke's narration gives the impression that Paul and Barnabas walk into the synagogue as soon as they arrive.[34]

This Antioch was called more properly *Antiocheia he pros Pisidian*, "Antioch facing Pisidia," and was actually in the district of Phrygia (see Strabo, *Geog.* 12.6.4; 12.8.14; *OGIS* § 536) of the Roman province of Asia. Because it lay close to the border of Pisidia, it was called "Pisidian" to distinguish it from Phrygian Antioch on the Meander River. Pliny wrongly assigned it to Pisidia (*Nat. Hist.* 5.24.94). The text of Acts may reflect the same confusion. This became part of the Roman Empire in 25 BCE and, in time, a Roman colony (*Pisidiarum Colonia Caesarea Antiochia*). See Barbara Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) 12-41. "In traveling from Perge to Antioch, Paul and Barnabas would have traveled along the old paved highway, the *via Sebaste*, which led through Colonia Comama to Colonia Antiochia. See D.H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones in Asia Minor* (2 fascicles; Oxford: BAR, 1981, 1988) 2.183" (Fitzmyer, *Acts of the Apostles*, 509). Acts is unclear from whom Timothy's mother first heard the gospel in Galatia (16:1). If she converted prior to visits by Paul and Barnabas there (14:6, 20), then Paul was not first to bring the gospel to Galatia, begging the question of Paul's establishment of churches in Southern Galatia at all (and, perhaps, Galatians' destination as the South). Acts 14:20-21; 15:37 may claim that Barnabas and Paul founded the church there. Why then does Paul require character testimony from the local brothers about Timothy before he accepts him as his traveling colleague (14:6, 8, 21)? Why also, if Paul circumcises believers, was Timothy not circumcised when he first became a disciple under Paul? Does this also suggest that Timothy and his mother were "converted" by someone other than Paul? Someone who preceded Paul in a gospel mission to Lystra and Derbe? Or is Paul circumcising only those disciples who will serve with him in ministry? To Jews (cf. Acts 16:9)? Cf. Gal 5:11.

32) It may also be that Pisidian Antioch is a bivalent link in Acts connecting Luke's Antiochene source with information concerning Rome.

33) After the speech, a week passes before Paul and Barnabas address "almost the entire city" (13:44), including God-fearers and Gentiles, and are driven away.

34) Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, 407.

Pervo's perspective is similar:

> The narrator is in a great hurry to get to Antioch, a remote but important Roman colony.... Within two verses after converting Sergius Paulus, Paul and Barnabas are seated in a synagogue on the Sabbath.[35]

The brisk pace of the narrative at this stage suggests that the author has no tradition to develop beyond the city itself. The author seems eager to get the missionaries to a city about which his sources are silent, ambiguous, or ignored.[36]

Related to this urgency, the fifth and final observation supporting the claim that Galatia constitutes a desideratum of Luke's narrative is that the Cyprus and Pisidian Antioch incidents are, in at least one important respect, linked. The Bar-Jesus episode (nine verses) constitutes the miraculous component of a two-part—miracle + teaching—segment, a common feature of the Lukan narrative.[37] The apostles' dash to the synagogue emphasizes the connection, unifying Cyprus and Pisidian Antioch. [38]

These five narrative features suggest that the author of Acts knew little more about Pisidian Antioch than a mandate—likely based upon familiarity with Paul's Letter to the Galatians—to get Paul to Galatia.

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35) *Acts*, 331.

36) Pervo comments on the lengthy portrayal of Pisidian Antioch in Acts: "Only one site receives a third as much space [as Ephesus in 'Luke's' narrative], and about that site the reader learns no more than that it contained a synagogue" (*Acts*, 6).

37) Numerous episodes in Acts comprise both a miraculous and an intellectual (i.e., preaching) component, as if to address the concerns of these two primary constituencies: the common people persuaded by displays of natural power and the intellectuals persuaded by reasoned arguments, respectively. See e.g., 2:1-42; 3:1-26; 8:4-8; 14:3, 8-18; 16:25-34; 19:8-20). See A.D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford University, 1933) 254-271.

38) Luke presents Paul as heading for Pisidian Antioch after his brief visit to Cyprus. An inscription bearing the name "Sergius Paullus" unearthed in Pisidian Antioch is on view today in the Yalvaç Museum. See Barrett, *Acts*, 1:613-614. For information on this museum, see website: http://www.padfield.com/turkey/yalvac/ (14 March 2010). This archaeological evidence may suggest that, whereas Sergius Paulus was stationed as proconsul (ἀνθύπατος [13:7]) on Cyprus, his home city was Pisidian Antioch. If this interpretation is correct, then after Paul converts Sergius to Christianity, perhaps Sergius commissioned him to visit his home city. See Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 10, 12.

B. *Desideratum as Literary Advantage*

Although it begins as a desideratum based on Galatians, Paul's visit to Pisidian Antioch creates an *inclusio* between chapters 13 and 28 that gives the second half of Acts a few important literary advantages. The *inclusio* is explained first, after which its specific narrative advantages are discussed.

1. *Pisidian Antioch as a Narrative Inclusio*

Acts 13 reports that Paul and his companions (v. 13) went to Antioch of Pisidia just after their confrontation in Paphos on Cyprus with the Jewish *magus*, Bar-Jesus.[39] The absence of any other evidence for a mission by Paul and Barnabas to Cyprus suggests that this episode is not historical.[40] The ahistorical character of 13:4-12 may further detract from the integrity of vv. 13-41 (discussed above). Although the text depicts a magician "*with*" Sergius Paulus in 13:4-12, it likewise refers to Sergius Paulus as συνετός ("intelligent") or, as Pervo translates, "discerning" (v. 7).[41] The formula, "discerning" yet consorts with magician (vv. 6-7), is unexpected given Acts' negative disposition toward magicians (e.g., 8:9-24). It is possible that Bar-Jesus is not a historical figure at all, but merely serves as a literary foil for Paul (i.e., Paul was *not* a magician, charlatan, religious prankster).[42] At this point, the narrative permanently switches to the Roman form of Paul's name: Σαῦλος δὲ, ὁ καὶ Παῦλος (13:9).[43] Some interpreters understand Paul's name change to be a response to the positive reaction (v. 12) by the intelligent "Sergius Paul-us" to Paul, even arguing that Paul may have received his cognomen from Sergius Paulus.[44] At a minimum, the name change probably suggests that Paul is headed for Rome.

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[39] Not only is Saul first called Paul in this episode, but Luke places Paul's name first here (v. 13) for the first time (cf. 13:43, 46, 50; 14:12, 15; 15:12) in contrast to prior pattern of "Barnabas and Saul" (11:30; 12:25; 13:2).

[40] "If it is conceded that there is no visible traditional basis for a mission of Paul and Barnabas to Cyprus, it follows that the entire episode is, as it stands, unhistorical" (Pervo, *Acts*, 323).

[41] *Acts*, 324.

[42] E.g., Pervo, *Acts*, 323-324; Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, 100.

[43] Paul's citizenship is first noted (i.e., invoked) in Acts 16:37-38; cf. 22:25-29; 23:27; compare 25:10-12, 25-26.

[44] Often cited: G.A. Harrer, "Saul who also is called Paul," *HTR* 33 (1940) 19-34. Haenchen, however, disagrees: "The indeclinable Σαούλ, then, was the *signum* and 'Paul' the *cognomen*" (*Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, 399 n. 1).

As noted above, from Cyprus, Paul and his companions rush off to deliver a speech in Pisidian Antioch. Although Luke divulges little about it, other ancient witnesses, together with modern archaeological excavations, provide a significant amount of information about the city. When Rome created the province of Galatia in 25 B.C.E., Pisidian Antioch became a colony.[45] New settlements of Roman veterans were posted to the city such that, by the mid-first century, a larger proportion of the city's inhabitants had Roman family names.[46] The city was modeled after the capital, divided into *vici*, the names of which reflect Rome itself.[47] A regular influx of illustrious visitors from Rome added to the city's imperial affect.[48] During Augustus' reign, eight colonies were established in Pisidia, but only Antioch was given the title Caesarea and awarded the *ius italicum*; that is, its land was legally viewed as Italian soil.[49] It was governed by Rome, everyone born in the city automatically had Roman citizenship (and the rights thereof), and the land was exempt from certain taxes. The city eventually rose to the position of capital of the name *Colonia Caesarea.*[50] One of the three surviving copies of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* was discovered in Pisidian Antioch. This stone copy of the text in Latin offers another sign of the importance of the city as a military and cultural base of Rome in Asia.[51] According to Stephen Mitchell, "Julio-Claudian Antioch, in the fullest sense of the adjective, was an imperial city."[52] Referring to the thesis of Barbara Levick, Mitchell sums up: "Antioch was designed to be a *new Rome* on the borders of Phrygia and Pisidia."[53]

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[45] "In 25 BC, at the same time that Rome annexed most of central Asia Minor to create the province of Galatia, Antioch was refounded as a Roman colony, *Colonia Caesarea Antiochia*, and it received a new settlement of Roman veterans, drawn from legions V and VII" (Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 8).

[46] "A high proportion of the inhabitants of Antioch possessed Roman family names, which show that they could trace their origins, by descent or manumission, back to the original Augustan group of veteran settlers" (Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 9).

[47] "The city itself was divided physically into wards, *vici*, whose names show not simply generalized Roman influence but direct inspiration from the city of Rome itself. The *vici* known as Venerius, Velabrus, Tuscus, Cermalus, and Salutaris all took their names from landmarks in Roman topography, while the Aedilicius and Patricius are not less obviously Roman in origin" (Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 8). Latin was the formal language until the end of the 3rd century C.E. (Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 136).

[48] Mitchell writes, "The effort and imagination which had gone into its foundation, its remoteness from the rest of the Latin-speaking world, and its strategic and political significance in Augustus' schemes for the security of the new province of Galatia, are all evidence that Antioch was a place of considerable importance. In the early Julio-Claudian period, several members of the family of the ruling dynasty and of the Roman military elite were elected to honorary magistracies in the colony: Drusus, Augustus' stepson and brother of the future emperor Tiberius, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, husband of the younger Agrippina and father of the emperor Nero, L. Cornelius Sulla Felix, the son-in-law of Germanicus, P. Sulpicius Quirinius and M. Servilius, the last two both leading Augustan generals.... The concentration of talent and power can be matched by no other eastern colony and by few cities elsewhere in the Roman Empire.... There is clear evidence from elsewhere that the holding of honorary local offices by emperors or their associates was the occasion of them to make specific benefactions to the cities of the empire, as it would have been if a wealthy local man held an important magistracy. We may reasonably suppose that this happened at Antioch, where the new building is on an unparalleled scale for this part of Asia Minor during the Augustan period. It is entirely apt that the colony should have been adorned with splendid and extravagant monuments to the imperial cult at precisely the period when members of the imperial family were associated with its administration"

More than any other city in Galatia in the 30s and 40s C.E., Antioch of Pisidia offered the ideal Galatic headquarters for a mission proceeding to Rome.[54] A city of the reputation, "Rome in Galatia"—the *most* Roman city in the region—together with Sergius Paulus, the Roman proconsul, and Paul's Roman cognomen together imbue Acts 13 with a distinctly Roman flavor.[55] This Roman affect of chapter 13 creates a noticeable literary *inclusio* with Paul's arrival in Rome in Acts 28:14. Such an *inclusio*, not uncommon in ancient literature, lends coherence to Acts' overall presentation of Paul's ministry. Pisidian Antioch affords Luke an attractively Romanesque departure point for his Roman-born, Roman-named, Rome-bound missionary.[56]

(Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 9-10). The Roman colony, its Roman settlers, visitors and its organization on the model of Rome created "symbolic links between the colony and the city of Rome" (9).

[49] Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 137; 84 n. 7 (citing *Dig. L.* 15.8.10).

[50] Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 137; Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 10-11.

[51] Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 28-30, 146, 149, 164.

[52] Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 9-10, emphasis added.

[53] Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 9, following Levick, *Roman Colonies*, 78.

[54] Mitchell, *Pisidian Antioch*, 12.

[55] Luke highlights Antioch's Roman traits. Contrast his comment on Philippi, a more important Roman colony than Antioch, in Acts 16:12: "and from there to Philippi, which is a leading city of the district of Macedonia and a Roman colony."

[56] When Paul speaks about Galatia (1:21) he does not mean province but territory. "Luke" either misses or ignores/overrides any distinction in order to claim a narrative advantage offered by Pisidian Antioch. Haenchen's position is that "Luke" speaks about Galatia as Roman province (i.e., on political not geographical terms) (*The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary*, 483 n. 2).

This *inclusio* from "Little Rome" in chapter 13 to "Big Rome" in chapter 28 is emphasized in a number of different ways in Acts. Perhaps Luke denotes the motif of Paul's journey to Rome as early as chapter 1 when, in v. 8, Jesus predicts that the apostles will act as his witnesses: ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.[57] In chapter 19, the Lukan Paul explicitly announces his intention to go to Rome: μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι με ἐκεῖ δεῖ με καὶ Ῥώμην ἰδεῖν (19:21).[58] The Lukan Paul may also anticipate this intention in Pisidian Antioch when he states that he and his companions "*are* now turning to the Gentiles" (ἰδοὺ στρεφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη; 13:46) and, in Corinth, when he reiterates that he "*will* go to the Gentiles" (ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πορεύσομαι; 18:6). Gentiles in these two passages suggest a connection to Rome insofar as, when Paul arrives in Rome, Paul concludes that the mission "*has been sent* to the Gentiles" (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπεστάλη τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ; 28:28). This supposition is also supported by the citation of Isa 49:6 LXX ("light for the Gentiles") in Acts 13:47, recalling Simeon's words in Luke 2:32 (tracing the movement's destination in Acts to Jesus). The text cites this passage again in 26:17-18, when Paul appeals to Agrippa to be tried by the emperor in Rome.[59] Moreover, in the Lukan Paul's address in Rome (28:26-27), Paul appeals to Isa 6:9-10 LXX, emphasizing illumination of Gentiles there.[60]

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[57] The meaning of "end of the earth" (ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς) is not self-evident. For Rome, see especialy *Ps. Sol.* 18:15 and Ignatius, *Rom.* 2:2; cf. Acts 23:11. Among important questions, it is unclear now to interpret the singular (ἐσχάτου). The reference could be geographical, metaphorical, or some combination. E. Earle Ellis surveys all possibilities, arguing that the reference anticipates a Pauline mission to Spain: "'The End of the Earth' (Acts 1:8)," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 1 (1991) 123-132. Cf. L. Curt Niccum, "One Ethiopian Eunuch is Not the End of the World: The Narrative Function of Acts 8:26-40," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2011) 2:883-900. Richard Pervo reads the phrase as a "programmatic statement" in which Jerusalem is regarded as the "navel" of the Israelite earth: *Acts* 43. Pervo draws on Mikeal Parsons, "The Place of Jerusalem on the Lukan Landscape: An Exercise in Symbolic Cartography," *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson* (Macon, GA: Mercer University, 1998) 155-171. According to Pervo: "The literary function of 1:8b is like that of the 'introductory oracle' found in some ancient narratives" (Pervo, *Acts*, 43). Important for Pervo's conclusion is repetition of the phrase in Acts 13:47 in which Paul makes ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς the culmination of his sermon in Pisidian Antioch. Quoting Isa 49:6, Paul recounts the command of the Lord: "I appointed you as a light for the nations, for you to bring salvation to the end of the earth" (οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος· τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως **ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς**). The phrase resonates with the Septuagint (e.g., Deut 28:49; Tob 13:13; Ps 134:7; *Pss. Sol.* 1:4; 8:15; Isa 8:9; 45:22; 48:20; 62:11; Jer 6:22; 10:13; 16:19; 27:41; 28:16; 32:32; 38:8. Cf. τὰ πέρατα [τῆς] γῆς/οἰκουμένης—Ps 2:8; 18:5; 21:28; 45:10; 47:11; 58:14; 60:3; 64:6, 9; 66:8; 71:8; 94:4; 97:3; Dan 4:11, 21, 22; Wis 6:1; 8:1; Zeph 3:10; etc.) Paul's own related language in Rom 15:19 and Rom 10:18 (quoting Ps 18:5). Cf. 2 Cor 10:16. One could argue that the author of Acts proposes a decentered, literary, not literal, map…a kind of Christological cartography. In describing the scene at Pentecost, the author maps the world around Jewish inhabitants assembled in Jerusalem: Parthia and Media in the east, Pontus in the north, Egypt to the south, and Rome to the west (Acts 1:9-11). The action in Acts operates within this map with Jerusalem at the center. Ironically, Rome is placed at the edge of the literary οἰκουμένη, an implausible but provocative ἔσχατος τῆς γῆς. One wonders if an emerging *corpus Paulinum*—although not explicitly mentioned, shapes the narrative cartography of Acts. Perhaps an epistolary cartography in which Paul's itinerary functions as space in the narrative? I wish to thank Trevor W. Thompson for many of these insights.

[58] On the role of δεῖ in Lukan prediction, see C.K. Rothschild, *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History*, 185-212.

Acts 28:26-28 further establishes an *inclusio* with chapter 13 by its speech to Jews. Acts 18:6 and 28:25-28 are the only places in Acts, other than chapter 13, that cite lines from Paul's speeches to Jews. Different from chapter 13, however, both chapters 18 and 28 provide only the speech's last line. That said, the final line in all three chapters is the same, namely Paul's announcement of his intention to turn to the Gentiles. As noted, chapter 28 is further similar to chapter 13 in it citation of the prophet Isaiah (6:9-10 in 13:47; 49:6 in 28:26-28).

By their echoes of Paul's speech in Acts 13, these passages in chapter 18 and 28 endorse Pisidian Antioch as the official beginning of the ministry and Rome as its certified end. As such, these passages emphasize a literary *inclusio* between chapters 13 and 28 arguable also on the grounds of the encounter with Sergius Paulus, Paul's name change, and Pisidian Antioch's Romanesque air. In the period before Hadrian, Corinth, too, (i.e., 18:6) was a particularly Roman city.[61]

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[59] Acts 26:17-18: ἐξαιρούμενός σε ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰς οὓς ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω σε ἀνοῖξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν, τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοὺ Σατανᾶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πίστει τῃ εἰς ἐμέ.

[60] λέγων· Πορεύθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἰπόν· Ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε· ἐπαχύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν βαρέως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν· μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ ἰάσομαι αὐτούς.

[61] Greek inscriptions are in Corinth rare in this period. See Michael D. Dixon, "A New Latin and Greek Inscription from Corinth," *Hesperia* 69 (2000) 335-342, here 338 (precise data in n. 6).

2. *Narrative Advantages of an* Inclusio: *Prediction-Fulfillment and Coherence*

The *inclusio* that Luke constructs by the pattern "Little Rome" to "Big Rome" gives his narrative at least two distinct advantages: (1) it organizes Paul's ministry within a prediction-fulfillment scheme; and (2) it lends coherence to Paul's rather unsystematic mendicant travels.

First, it is widely established that the author of Luke-Acts organizes many of his sources according to a principle of prediction-fulfillment.[62] In his study of Abraham in Luke-Acts, Nils Dahl argues that, for no other biblical writer is the idea of the "successive fulfillment of prophecies... so prominent."[63] Events that are predicted[64] somewhere prior in the narrative appear plausible, even likely;[65] and, prediction-fulfillment does more than just anticipate upcoming narrative and increase likelihood. As Robert Brawley persuasively argues, Luke-Acts "employs prophetic prediction as a literary device to *sanction* its fulfillment."[66] Prediction of events in Luke-Acts is not confined to written and oral prophecy. Events in the narrative are anticipated through more subtle means, such as structural patterning. Perhaps the most well known structural pattern with a predictive effect in Luke-Acts is the narrative oracle in 1:8: καὶ ἔσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες ἔν τε Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.[67] The salvation-historical pattern "first to the Jews, then to the Gentiles" from Rom 1:16-17 offers another such example.[68]

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[62] Most recently, see Allen Black, "'Your Sons and Your Daughters Will Prophesy...': Pairings of Men and Women In Luke-Acts," in *Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Carl R. Holladay* (ed. Patrick Gray, Gail R. O'Day; NovTSupp 129; Leiden: Brill, 2008) 193-206.

[63] "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts," in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honor of Paul Schubert* (ed. L.E. Keck, J.L. Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966) 139-158, here 147.

[64] Markan *parataxis* offers an example.

[65] Polybius 1.4.7-8, 38.5.1, 7-8; Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 50. Also, Charles Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Berkeley: University of California, 1983) 1-46. Cf. Mircea Eliade's description of repetition in myth and history: "... an object or act becomes real only insofar as it imitates or repeats an archetype. Thus, reality is acquired solely through repetition or participation; everything which lacks an exemplary model is 'meaningless,' i.e., it lacks reality. Men would thus have a tendency to become archetypal and paradigmatic. This tendency may well appear paradoxical, in the sense that the man of a traditional culture sees himself as real only to the extent that he ceases to be himself (for a modern observer) and is satisfied with imitating and repeating the gestures of another. In other words, he sees himself as real, i.e., as 'truly himself,' only, and precisely, insofar as he ceases to be so" (*The Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History* [trans. Willard R. Trask; Princeton University, repr. 1991] 34; orig. publ. as *Le Mythe de l'éternel retour: Archétypes et répétition* [Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1949]). Also, "The anhistorical character of popular memory, the inability of collective memory to retain historical events and individuals except insofar as it annuls all their historical and personal peculiarities—poses a series of new problems" (46). Also cited in Rothschild, *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History*, 100 n. 5.

[66] Robert Brawley, *Luke-Acts and the Jews: Conflict, Apology, and Conciliation* (SBLMS 33; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars, 1987) 49, emphasis added.

The *inclusio* created by Paul's journey from "Little Rome" to "Big Rome" in Acts 13-28 offers another example of Lukan prediction-fulfillment. On the one hand, chapter 13 *foretells* the city (i.e., Rome) to which Paul is headed in Acts.[69] On the other hand, chapter 28 *sanctions* Paul's arrival there, perhaps against competing claims. Lastly, memory and recognition are strategies of enhancing audience engagement and understanding. This *inclusio*, thus, also facilitates Luke's pedagogical aim of clarifying for Theophilus "the truth about the things about which he had been instructed."[70]

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[67] Regarding Luke's travel narrative, Conzelmann writes: "To sum up, we may say that the extent of the journey report is not determined by the source material employed, but by the work of arrangement carried out by the author. It is he who stamps the 'journey' on the existing material, for his editorial work affects each group of sources, Q, Mark and the special material. The more meager the material, the more distinct does the author's intention become.... The journey is therefore a construction, the essential meaning of which has yet to be brought out" (*The Theology of St. Luke* [London: Faber and Faber, 1960] 72-73).

[68] In city after city, Paul first visits the local synagogue before preaching his gospel to local Gentiles. See, e.g., Pervo, *Dating Acts*, 104-105, 118.

[69] Paul arrives in Rome in 28:14: καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤλθαμεν. The predictive quality of this episode is related to prediction fulfillment and divine intervention in Luke-Acts. See Rothschild, *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History*, esp. 142-212. Elsewhere I have argued that the sanctioning effect is evidence of agonistic historiography, that is, arguing one's own report of the events over competing versions: see *Luke-Acts and the Rhetoric of History*, 60-98. Paul's trip to Rome (from Galatia) in Acts *also* parallels Jesus' trip to Jerusalem (from Galilee) in the Third Gospel. What is more, Paul's trip to Jerusalem in Acts parallels Jesus' trip to Jerusalem in the Third Gospel. In other words, the author maps pattern upon pattern as a means of stabilizing unfixed traditions in an indissoluble network of connections.

[70] Luke 1:4: ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. Unfamiliarity with the events of Acts is conveyed as late as John Chrysostom (*Hom. in Ac.* and *Hom. 1-4 in Ac. Princ.*).

III. Conclusion

This essay argues that Paul's stopover in Pisidian Antioch in Acts 13 is a geographical desideratum, traced to the author's awareness of the address, if not the content, of Paul's Letter to the Galatians. Pausing in what archaeologists today refer to as "Little Rome," Paul's week long stay in Pisidian Antioch creates an *inclusio* between chapters 13 ("Little Rome") and 28 ("Big Rome") that lends coherence to Paul's potentially confusing itinerary in Acts.[71] This *inclusio* both predicts and sanctions Paul's arrival in Rome.[72]

If proofs of the literary character of Paul's stopover in Pisidian Antioch in Acts persuade, the thesis has two added effects. It invalidates the Southern Galatian Hypothesis by demonstrating that South Galatia is based on nothing more than a blank mandate to get Paul to Galatia and a literary advantage of placing him in the South. And, conversely, it confirms the Northern Galatian Hypothesis: for many scholars the more cogent explanation, even before this argument was made.[73]

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[71] The theme of Rome and Roman is played out in a variety of episodes in Acts, including Paul's Roman name, Paul's visits to Roman cities such as Philippi (16:12) and Thessalonica (headquarters of Roman governor, 17:1), Roman law (?) (16:20-21), Paul's Roman citizenship (16:37), and Paul's exoneration by Roman tribunals.

[72] E.g., 2:22-40, 41-51; 9:51-19:44 esp. 9:51, 53; 13:22, 33; 17:11; 18:31; 19:11, 28, 41. Paul's arrival in Philippi may suggest a gradual crescendo over the course of chapters 13-28 of appearances in colonies with Roman associations.

[73] See n. 4 above. The literary character of Paul's stopover in Pisidian Antioch in Acts does not rule out some level of historical veracity. While unlikely that Paul founded the churches in Southern Galatia, it is likely that "Christianity" spread to this region early, perhaps by the disciple(s) responsible for Timothy's (or Timothy's mother's, Acts 16:1) conversion. Epigraphical evidence for the early rise of Christianity in Lycaonia suggests that Luke develops Paul's stopover in Southern Galatia based on his *own* life and experience (ca. 115). In other words, five or more decades after Paul's death, Luke knows Southern not Northern Galatia to be spotted with Christian churches, deducing or inventing that Paul founded them. A final possibility is that Acts itself inspired the founding of churches in the cities Luke claims Paul visited, although attestation of the knowledge of Acts during this period is lacking.

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Revisiting Patristic Testimony on Paul's Rhetorical Education

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Abstract

The interpretation of patristic testimony has become an important part of the ongoing debate regarding Paul's formal knowledge of ancient rhetorical theory. As early as 1898, E. Norden observed that Paul's earliest readers frequently commented on his innocence of Greco-Roman *paideia*. And yet, as Margaret Mitchell more recently has shown, these very readers often praised the power of Pauline persuasion, and, what is more, identified numerous rhetorical figures and tropes in Paul's letters. This article provides a reevaluation of the patristic testimony as well as its apologetic context. In so doing, it calls into question Mitchell's own explanation of the apparently contradictory evidence.

Keywords

patristic exegesis; Paul; rhetoric

In the ongoing debate regarding Paul's formal knowledge of ancient rhetorical theory,[1] interpretation of patristic testimony has become something

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[1] For a recent review, see C.J. Classen, "Kann die rhetorische Theorie helfen, das Neue Testament, vor allem die Briefe des Paulus, besser zu verstehen?," *ZNW* 100 (2009) 145-172. Notable recent studies arguing that Paul was not only familiar with but formally educated in Greco-Roman rhetoric include T. Vegge, *Paulus und das antike Schulwesen: Schule und Bildung des Paulus* (BZNW 134; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006); R.F. Hock, "Paul and Greco-Roman Education," in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook* (ed. J.P. Sampley; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 2003) 198-227; J.H. Neyrey, "The Social Location of Paul: Education as the Key," in *Fabrics of Discourse: Essays in Honor of Vernon K. Robbins* (ed. D. Gowler, G. Bloomquist, and D.F. Watson; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 2003) 126-164. The contrary perspective is most ably argued by R.D. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul* (rev. ed.; CBET 18; Leuven: Peeters, 1998).

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of a proxy war. All agree, it would seem, that Paul's earliest exegetes were better positioned than we to evaluate his proficiency vis-à-vis the canons of ancient rhetoric.[2] Regardless of how well we might train our ears to appreciate the cadences of Greek prose, and regardless of how thoroughly we familiarize ourselves with the repertoire of commonplaces and figures that permeated educated discourse in the Greco-Roman world, we will never be native speakers of the language. Like visitors to a foreign land, we will always struggle to get the jokes and catch the nuances—and, a deficit more relevant to the current discussion, we will always struggle to distinguish eloquence from bombast, elegant and unaffected simplicity from simple crudity, a studied, affecting use of anacolutha from a simple blunder. So, we disagree with one another regarding Paul's rhetorical ability. Where are we to turn? Why, to the natives, of course! Or so the argument goes.[3]

But what, exactly, do the natives tell us? Were Paul's earliest exegetes, as some would have us believe, proto-rhetorical critics, readers sensitive to Paul's toolbox of persuasive techniques, who, by remarking on his prowess, vindicate our own rhetorical-critical approach? Or, as others have argued, does the patristic testimony rather call our whole methodological enterprise into question by highlighting the great distance between Pauline rhetoric and the formal classical tradition? In other words, were Paul's earliest readers in fact perfectly aware that he was no trained rhetor? Both positions have been championed in recent years, and both with equal fervor.

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[2] Such an argument is already implicit in W.H. Wuellner, "Greek Rhetoric and Pauline Argumentation," in *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition* (ed. W.R. Schoedel and R.L. Wilken; ThH 54; Paris: Beauschesne, 1979) 177-188. It is advocated most vigorously, though to opposing ends, by M.M. Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation: An Exegetical Investigation of the Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians* (HUT 28; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1991) 17-19; and P.H. Kern, *Rhetoric and Galatians: Assessing an Approach to Paul's Epistle* (SNTSMS 101; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 167-198. By now, it has become a *topos* of Pauline scholarship. See, e.g., M.F. Hull, *Baptism on Account of the Dead (1 Cor. 15:29): An Act of Faith in the Resurrection* (SBLABib 22; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005) 56

[3] A caveat is necessary here: The exegetes usually treated range from second through the fifth centuries, during which time Greek usage and rhetorical practices were, of course, not static. So, while undoubtedly closer than we to the world of discourse in which Paul engaged, patristic readers too approached Paul's writings from some distance. Most significantly, they postdate the classicizing movement that began in the first century CE and reached its zenith in the so-called Second Sophistic. See G.C. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers* (2nd ed.; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) 135, 155. Cf. E.A. Judge, "Paul's Boasting in Relation to Contemporary Professional Practice," in *Social Distinctives of the Christians in the First Century: Pivotal Essays* (ed. D.M. Scholer; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2008) 61; repr. from *ABR* 16 (1968).

The present study is an attempt to reevaluate this disputed patristic evidence. As such, it is necessarily limited in scope. I do not interact here with the scholarly traditions of Pauline rhetorical criticism that have arisen since the pioneering works of Betz and Kennedy,[4] nor do I engage other lines of argumentation central to the ongoing discussion regarding Paul's knowledge of rhetorical theory. In other words, this is a study not of Paul but of his earliest exegetes—or, more accurately, it is a study of the Paul that his earliest exegetes project. Of course, this does not mean that its conclusions are irrelevant to a discussion of the historical Paul; on the contrary, as we have already seen, there is broad consensus that the patristic Paul is in fact closely related to the first-century letter writer himself. What it does mean, though, is that I make no assertions here regarding the significance of that relationship for evaluating the rhetorical competence of the historical Paul.

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Appeal to the literary judgments of Paul's earliest readers goes back at least to Eduard Norden, who, in his magisterial *Die antike Kunstprosa*, first published in 1898, provided a survey of patristic evidence in support of his assertion that Paul's writing was not, in fact, *Kunstprosa* at all, but rather the untutored "rhetoric of the heart."[5] Since few at the time dissented from Norden's evaluation of Paul prose,[6] his characterization of the evidence was accepted without much scrutiny. Indeed, it became all but a truism that, as Abraham Malherbe put it, "The Church Fathers, measuring Paul by the criteria of classicism, were embarrassed by his rudeness of style."[7]

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[4] H.D. Betz, "The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians," *NTS* 21 (1975) 353-379; G.A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Studies in Religion; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984). The recent volume edited by J. Paul Sampley and Peter Lampe provides an excellent overview of the *status quaestionis*: *Paul and Rhetoric* (New York: T&T Clark, 2010).

[5] E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert V. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (5th ed.; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1958), 2:501-505.

[6] Even C.F.G. Heinrici, whom Norden had taken to task for having the audacity to compare Paul with the likes of Demosthenes (*Die antike Kunstprosa*, 2:493-498), agreed that Paul had received no formal training in rhetoric. *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther: Mit einem Anhang, Zum Hellenismus des Paulus* (8th ed.; KEK 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900) 39, 314, 453. Cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, "Die griechische Literatur des Altertums," in *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache* (ed. P. Hinneberg; 3rd ed.; Die Kultur der Gegenwart 1.8; Leipzig: Teubner, 1912) 232; E. Renan, *Saint Paul* (Histoire des origines du christianisme 3; Paris: Lévy, 1869) 231-233; B. Jowett, *The Interpretation of Scripture and Other Essays* (London: Routledge, 1907) 51, 165;

With the rise of NT rhetorical criticism, however, it was inevitable that the issue would be revisited. If this new method were to have any credibility, it would need to be able to explain the stance of the early exegetes. Already in his review of Betz's seminal commentary on Galatians, David Aune, citing Norden's work, asked why, if Betz was correct, "many ancient church fathers (themselves trained in rhetorical schools in some instances) tended to compare Paul unfavorably with ancient rhetoricians."[8] In his book-length critique of rhetorical-critical approaches to Galatians, Philip Kern pressed this point with particular vigor. Covering much of the same ground Norden had a century earlier, Kern concluded that "the earliest Christians found in Paul no rhetorician or high-born orator but a humble author of weighty letters."[9]

Certainly Kern is not short on evidence. On the contrary, he is able to cite in his support many and diverse texts ranging from the second through the fifth centuries, a few of which we will consider momentarily. But what his presentation elides, as Margaret Mitchell repeatedly has observed, is the fact that a number of patristic exegetes, most notably Augustine and Chrysostom, do in fact bring their rhetorical-critical training to bear on their reading of Paul's letters, identifying therein numerous rhetorical features familiar to readers of Quintilian, Theon, and the *Rhetorica ad*

F.W. Farrar, *The Life and Work of St. Paul* (New York: Dutton, 1879) 1:619-625; A.D. Nock, *St. Paul* (London: Butterworth, 1938) 27, 235; C. von Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church* (trans. James Millar; 3rd ed.; London: Williams & Norgate, 1907) 1:224-226, 311. The one major dissenting opinion, that of J. Weiss, was soon neutralized by the influential study of his student, R. Bultmann, who attributed many of the stylistic features Weiss identified not to formal rhetorical training but to the influence of the popular "Cynic-Stoic diatribe." See Weiss, "Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik," in *Theologische Studien* (ed. C.R. Gregory; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897) 165-247; Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* (FRLANT 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910).

7) A.J. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977) 34.

8) D.E. Aune, review of H.D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia*, *RSR* 7 (1981) 324.

9) Kern, *Rhetoric and Galatians*, 203. Cf. Anderson, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory*, 279-280.

Herennium.[10] Indeed, on closer evaluation, we find that Chrysostom, to take one example, out of one side of his mouth says Paul was an untutored leatherworker,[11] while, out of the other, he praises precisely Paul's rhetorical fluency.[12] How are we to make sense of this apparently contradictory evidence?

One solution is that proposed by Mitchell. For her, the key to interpreting the patristic testimony is the recognition that these texts too are rhetorical products, not disinterested reports of Paul's rhetorical ability. For the earliest exegetes, she contends, emphasis on Paul's lack of formal training served an apologetic function, proving, to quote Chrysostom, that "some divine and ineffable power" (*Laud. Paul.* 4.13)[13] must have filled this humble vessel. Mitchell summarizes the logic like this:

> Only God's power could have engendered such greatness from such lowly origins.... Without the normally requisite *paideia*, which was the standard currency of social attainment throughout the Greco-Roman world, the apostle to the Gentiles achieved what all others (including the most celebrated and admired figures from the

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[10] M.M. Mitchell, "Reading Rhetoric with Patristic Exegetes: John Chrysostom on Galatians," in *Antiquity and Humanity: Essays on Ancient Religion and Philosophy* (ed. A.Y. Collins and M.M. Mitchell; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001) 333-355; Mitchell, "A Patristic Perspective on Pauline περιαυτολογία," *NTS* 47 (2001) 354-371; Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation* (HUT 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 278-291. On Chrysostom's "rhetorical criticism," see also M. Heath, "John Chrysostom, Rhetoric and Galatians," *BibInt* 12 (2004) 369-400; L. Thurén, "John Chrysostom as a Rhetorical Critic: The Hermeneutics of an Early Father," *BibInt* 9 (2001) 180-218; J. Fairweather, "The Epistle to the Galatians and Classical Rhetoric," *TynBul* 45 (1994) 2-22. Cf. also R. Staats, "Chrysostomus über die Rhetorik des Apostels Paulus: Makarianische Kontexte zu 'De Sacerdotio IV, 5-6'," *VC* 46 (1992) 225-40. On Augustine, see still the curiously ambivalent work of E.A. Judge, "Paul's Boasting in Relation to Contemporary Professional Practice," *ABR* 16 (1968) 37-50.

[11] So Chrysostom, *Laud. Paul.* 4.10; 4.13; *Hom. 1 Cor* 3.4 (PG 61:27); 15.5 (PG 61:128); *Hom. Heb.* 1.2 (PG 63:16); *Stat.* 5.6 (PG 49:71); *Hom. 2 Tim.* 4.3 (PG 62:622); 5.2 (PG 62:626); *Scand.* 20.10.

[12] So *Laz.* 6.9 (PG 48.1041: ὁ φιλοσόφων φιλοσοφώτερος, ὁ ῥητόρων εὐγλωττότερος); *Sac.* 4.7. For a thorough treatment, see Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet*, 278-291. Cf. Augustine, *Doct. chr.* 4.7, 20.

[13] Translations here and below from Margaret M. Mitchell, "English Translation of *De laudibus sancti Pauli* 1-7," in *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation*, HUT 40 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 440-487.

> classical past) could not—universal victory and unanimous allegiance to his message of truth.[14]

In other words, the weaker the man, the more spectacular God's intervention. The patristic portrait of an unlettered Paul, then, is an apologetic *topos*, not an inference from the nature of Paul's prose. It is thus of little historical value.

It is, I must say, rather daunting to find myself in disagreement with a scholar of Mitchell's quality and stature. Still, I am not persuaded by her reading, and that for two reasons: First, as we will see, early commentators refer to Paul's lack of literary training not, or at least not only, in apologetic contexts, but also amidst discussion of specific exegetical problems arising from Paul's letters. One simply cannot divorce their references to an untutored Paul from their literary judgments of his prose itself. Second, when one examines the rhetorical contexts in which the *topos* of an untutored but persuasive Paul appears, one soon notices that it is, indeed, *apologetic*—that is, reactionary and defensive. The early exegetes did not evoke the image of an unlettered Paul simply because it was rhetorically convenient. It was their learned opponents who characterized Paul this way, hence his defenders sought to make a virtue of necessity.

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Patristic writers make frequent reference to Paul's lack of literary education, often in conjunction with his work as a tentmaker, on account of which, in their view, he fits comfortably alongside the unschooled writers of the Gospels. Theodoret, for example, locates Paul alongside "our fishermen and tax collectors," and marvels that ὁ σκυτοτόμος "persuaded even Greeks and Romans and Egyptians" (*Graec. aff. cur.* 5.67).[15] Likewise, Chrysostom, who, with other early exegetes, frequently cites Paul's concession in

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[14] Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet*, 202. See also Mitchell, "Reading Rhetoric with Patristic Exegetes," 344-345; Mitchell, review of P.H. Kern, *Rhetoric and Galatians: Assessing an Approach to Paul's Epistle*, *JR* 80 (2003) 498. See esp. *Hom. 1 Cor.* 3.4 (PG 61:27-28).

[15] See also Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 17.11; Chrysostom, *Hom. 1 Cor.* 3.4 (PG 61:28: σκόπει δέ· ὁ ἁλιεὺς, ὁ σκηνοποιὸς, ὁ τελώνης, ὁ ἰδιώτης, ὁ ἀγράμματος... τοὺς φιλοσόφους, τοὺς ῥήτορας, τοὺς δεινοὺς εἰπεῖν ἐκ τῆς οἰκεῖας ἀπωσάμενοι πάντας, αὐτοὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεῖ); *Laud. Paul.* 4.10; Ps.-Chrysostom, *Hom. 2 Cor. 5:17* (PG 64:25-26: ὁ ἀγοραῖος, ὁ σκηνοποιὸς ... τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐνίκησεν, ὁ πένης τὸν πλούσιον ... ὁ σολοκίζων τὸν Ἀττικίζοντα ἐνίκησεν). And, more generally, Origen, *Cels.* 3.55.

2 Cor 11:6 that he was ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ,[16] concludes that Paul "did not demonstrate the power of eloquence, but, to the utter contrary, was unlearned, to the lowest degree of poor learning."[17] Only an ignorant pedant (*imperite peritus*), says Augustine, would claim that Paul followed the rules of rhetoric (*Doct. chr.* 4.7.11 [PL 34:93]).

On the basis of these general statements, it would be possible to conclude, as Mitchell does, that early depictions of an untutored Paul derive not from evaluation of his prose but rather from apologetic use of biographical data gleaned from two key proof-texts, Acts 18:3 and 2 Cor 11:6.[18] But this explanation quickly proves inadequate, for we also find early readers correlating these biographical data with particular instances of what they evidently deemed unlearned prose.

Irenaeus provides an initial example. In fact, he manages to use Paul's unpredictable syntax to his exegetical advantage. Paul speaks, in 2 Cor 4:4, of "the god of this age"—a phrase interpreted by Valentinians as a reference to the demiurge.[19] No, says Irenaeus, you obviously don't know how to read Paul, for one must reckon with the fact that it is common for him to transpose words out of their natural order—in other words, to use *hyperbaton*. Here, therefore, τοῦ αἰῶνος modifies not ὁ θεός but τῶν ἀπίστων (*Haer.* 3.7.1 [PG 7:864-865]). It is the unbelievers who are "of this age," not some other god.

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[16] Chrysostom, *Laud. Paul.* 4.10; *Hom. Rom.* praef. (PG 60:394); *Hom. 1 Cor.* 3.4 (PG 61:27: ἀμαθής, ἰδιώτης, ἀπαίδευτος); *Sac.* 4.6. Likewise Origen, *Fr. Eph.* 13; *Comm. Rom.* 6.3.2 (PG 14:1059); Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 2.586 (PL 26:477); Gregory of Nyssa, *Eun.* 3.1.106.

[17] Chrysostom, *Laud. Paul.* 4.10: οὐ λόγων ἰσχὺν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἅπαν, τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀμαθίαν ἀμαθὴς ὤν.

[18] See Mitchell, review of Kern, 498; Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet*, 242-245. Regardless of whether Mitchell is correct here, it is important to note that by correlating both Paul's status as a manual laborer and his self-description as ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ with lack of literary education these readers give us valuable information regarding how both these texts were being interpreted in the first few centuries CE. In contrast to the majority of Pauline scholars, they had no doubt regarding the social location of leatherworkers in the ancient world. And, in contrast to many recent readers (cf. Mitchell, "Le style, c'est l'homme: Aesthetics and Apologetics in the Stylistic Analysis of the New Testament," *NovT* 51 [2009] 382; D.B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995] 49), they straightforwardly read ἰδιώτης, both in 2 Cor 11:6 and Acts 4:13, as indicating lack of trained literary prowess.

[19] See E.H. Pagels, *The Gnostic Paul: Gnostic Exegesis of the Pauline Letters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975) 97.

Hyperbaton is, it is true, a recognized rhetorical figure, but it is also, as Ps.-Longinus tells us, a common occurrence when speech is disordered by unrestrained passion (*Subl.* 22.1; cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.1.14). It is precisely in instances like these, when we are concerned with what Quintilian calls the "resemblance between certain merits and certain defects [of speech]" (*Inst.* 2.12.4 [Bulter, LCL]; cf. 9.3.2; Cicero, *De or.* 3.215), that it is useful to have native speakers who can parse what to us seem subtle distinctions. In this case, Irenaeus clearly is not remarking on what he considers intentional use of a rhetorical figure. The transposition he proposes for 2 Cor 4:4 would be clumsy and without rhetorical advantage, and, what is more, he explicitly asserts that Paul's frequent *hyperbata* are "due to the rapidity of his discourses, and the impetus of the Spirit that is in him" (*Haer.* 3.7.2 [*ANF* 1:420]). In other words, Irenaeus's literary judgment is that Paul fails to produce clear and orderly prose.

Theodore of Mopsuestia is of a similar opinion. By his reckoning, "blessed Paul usually pays no attention to grammar but expounds the idea that appears to him according to his own power, so far as he could" (*Comm. ep. Paul.* 2:70).[20] This, Theodore's most explicit such comment, is occasioned by what he considers the incomplete expression of a thought in 1 Tim 1:3-4. But we find similar remarks in discussions of difficult texts in Paul's undisputed letters as well. Remarking on the problematic "but" (δέ) that begins Gal 2:4, which some had interpreted to mean that Titus had, in fact, been circumcised on account of certain false brethren,[21] Theodore explains that "in many passages blessed Paul does not place the conjunctions in their proper order" (1:16). He goes on to emend the text for the sake of clarity (1:17).[22]

There are numerous texts in Paul the sense of which I find difficult to establish with confidence; Philemon 16 is not one of them. But Theodore thinks Paul's style is cramped here: "What has been said is indeed obscure on account of too much succinctness, because the apostle in his wish to expound some things often wrapped his words in obscurity" (2:282). He uses almost identical language—more justly, in my view—to describe Gal 2:17, a text wherein "the apostle's meaning is wrapped in obscurity because of the highly succinct character of its order" (1:32). Now, perhaps one could plausibly argue that Theodore's analysis of Paul's prose was simply wrong, that he lacked sensitivity to the rhetorical power of Paul's intentionally brachylogical style.[23] But what is important to see here is that it is specific exegetical difficulties, not a general apologetic stance, that provide the context for Theodore's assertion that Paul "had not studied the discipline of rhetoric" (2:70).

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[20] Translations from Theodore of Mopsuestia, *The Commentaries on the Minor Epistles of Paul* (trans. R.A. Greer; SBLWGRW 26; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010). References follow *In epistolas b. Pauli commentarii* (ed. H.B. Swete; 2 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1880-1882).

[21] For a useful overview of the exegetical difficulty, see H.A.W. Meyer, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Galatians* (trans. G.H. Venables; KEK 7; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1873), 76-80.

[22] So also Jerome, *Comm. Gal.* 1.401 (PL 26:334), likely following Origen.

The same is true of Origen, who prefaces his commentary on Romans by noting that this letter is often considered particularly difficult, in part because "[the Apostle] makes use of expressions which sometimes are confused and insufficiently explicit" (*Comm. Rom.* praef. 1 [PG 14:833]).[24] His exegesis provides specific examples to support this general evaluation: Commenting on Rom 1:8, Origen notices that Paul forgets to follow up his "firstly" (πρῶτον μέν) with a "secondly" (δέ), but notes this is not surprising, since it accords with Paul's unpolished style (1.9.6 [PG 14:853]). And he begins his treatment of Rom 3:5-8 by noting that Paul's sequence of thought (*ordo dicendi*) appears, by any normal standard, to be garbled and digressive (3.1.2-3 [PG 14:921]).[25] By the time he reaches the unsatisfactory parallelism of Rom 6:16, Origen is content to suggest, with a nod to 2 Cor 11:6, that it is "superfluous to expect skillful construction of words in a man who freely admits his own lack of training in speech" (6.3.2 [PG 14:1059]).[26]

Tellingly, Origen alludes to 2 Cor 11:6 again in his well-known discussion of the authorship of Hebrews (*Fr. Heb.* [PG 14:1308-1309; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25.11-14]). To his mind, anyone who knows how to make stylistic distinctions (πᾶς ὁ ἐπιστάμενος κρίνειν φράσεων διαφοράς) can tell that Hebrews lacks τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου. Its diction is, in a word, "more Greek" than we should expect from Paul (συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως ἑλληνικωτέρα). Clearly, Origen interpreted 2 Cor 11:6 as a concession that Paul lacked the niceties of literary *paideia*, and he correlated this lack with a particular set of stylistic characteristics he found in the letters of Paul—characteristics he did not find in Hebrews.

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[23] Cf. Mitchell, "Le style, c'est l'homme," 383-384.

[24] Translations from Origen, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (trans. T.P. Scheck; 2 vols.; FC 104; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001-2002).

[25] Cf. Methodius of Olympus, *Symp.* 3.2; Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Comm. ep. Paul.* 1:93.

[26] See also Origen, *Fr. Eph.* 13, followed by Jerome, *Comm. Eph.* 2.586 (PL 26:477).

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Assuredly there was, as Peter Brown explains, "a long tradition that reached back to the apologists of the second and third centuries [in which] Christian writers insisted that the miraculous character of their religion was proved by the manner in which it had been spread throughout the Roman world by humble men, without *paideia*."[27] Yes, already in the book of Acts, Luke has the high priest and his entourage marvel at the παρρησία exhibited by the illiterate (ἀγράμματοι) and uneducated (ἰδιῶται) apostles (4:13), thereby emphasizing their empowerment by God's Spirit.

And it is not difficult to imagine whence such an apologetic strategy arose, for high on the list of derisible characteristics of the movement—right up there with its cannibalization and the paradoxical twin charge of superstition and atheism—were its notorious appeal among the ignorant masses and the concomitant vulgarity of its texts.[28] Lucian of Samosata depicts Christians as gullible children (παῖδες): any magician (γόης) or con artist (τεχνίτης) can easily dupe these naive folks (ἰδιῶται [*Peregr.* 11, 13]). Likewise, Minucius Felix has the pagan Caecilius characterize Christians as a vulgar herd (*plebs profana*) consisting of ignorant men and credulous women (*Oct.* 8.4 [PL 3:258]). And Origen quotes Celsus's accusation that Christians "repel every wise man (σοφός) from the doctrine of their faith, and invite only the ignorant (ἀνόητοι) and the vulgar (ἀνδραποδώδης)" (*Cels.* 3.18 [*ANF* 4:471]).[29] This is, of course, exaggerated invective; still, such notions could not have gained traction unless they hit a sore spot.[30]

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[27] P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992) 73. Cf. M.F. Wiles, *The Divine Apostle: The Interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles in the Early Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) 16-17.

[28] See J.A. Francis, *Subversive Virtue: Asceticism and Authority in the Second-Century Pagan World* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995) 154-158; X. Levieils, *Contra Christianos: La critique sociale et religieuse du christianisme des origines au concile de Nicée (45-325)* (BZNW 146; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007) 257-274.

[29] *Cels.* 3.18 (*ANF* 4:471). Cf. *Cels.* 1.27; 3.44, 50, 55, 74, 75; 6.11-14.

[30] Tellingly, even the somewhat more sympathetic Galen concluded that Christians preferred "parables" because they could not wrap their heads around demonstrative arguments. See R. Walzer, *Galen on Jews and Christians* (Oxford Classical and Philosophical Monographs; London: Oxford University Press, 1949) 14-15.

Dismissive evaluations of Christian *paideia* extended also to their sacred texts. Thus Arnobius of Sicca must respond to accusations that his Scriptures were written by uneducated (*indocti*) and crude (*rudes*) men using vulgar (*trivialis*) and sordid (*sordidus*) diction—indeed, that they are "overrun with barbarisms and solecisms, and disfigured by monstrous blunders" (*Gent.* 1.58-59 [PL 5:796-97; *ANF* 8:429-30]). The more modest charge that the sacred writers failed to write artistically is preserved by Ambrose of Milan (*Ep.* 8.1 [PL 16:911]). Lactantius addresses the Reimarus-like accusation of contradictions in the Scriptures resulting from the incompetence of vulgar and uneducated labourers like Paul and Peter (*Div. Inst.* 5.2.17 [PL 6:555-556]). And Celsus mocks the shoddy diction (λέξεσιν εὐτελείας) of the texts (6.2), arguing that Christian doctrine, "on account of its vulgarity and its want of reasoning power, obtained a hold only over the ignorant" (διὰ τὸ ἰδιωτικὸν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐν λόγοις δυνατὸν ἰδιωτῶν μόνων κρατήσασαν [1.27; *ANF* 4:408]).

Christian apologists, it should be noted, made no attempt to refute these accusations directly; it would appear the matter was beyond dispute. Instead, with striking consistency they sought to refigure this apparent weakness into a mark of unique and divine power. Thus for Augustine the Scriptures are "lowly as you approach, sublime as you advance, and veiled in mysteries" (*Conf.* 3.5.9 [*NPNF*^{1} 1:62]).[31] Basil of Caesarea provides a similar characterization: νοῦν μὲν ἀληθῆ, λέξιν δὲ ἀμαθῆ (*Ep.* 339). Such a quip is reminiscent of philosophical disavowals of sophistry (cf. *Ep.* 309), and fits well with contemporary Christian suspicion of secular learning;[32] it is also offered up so casually one gets the impression that the naivety of biblical prose was well nigh proverbial.[33]

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[31] In a similar vein, Jerome argues that the simplicity and base vocabulary of the Scripture ought not to be a source of offense, for the combination of simple diction and profound truth provides something for lettered and unlettered alike (*Ep.* 53.9 [PL 22:549]).

[32] Cf. J.J. Murphy, "Saint Augustine and the Debate about a Christian Rhetoric," in *The Rhetoric of St. Augustine of Hippo:* De Doctrina Christiana *and the Search for a Distinctly Christian Rhetoric* (ed. R.L. Enos et al.; SRR 7; Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2008) 205-218; S. Rubenson, "Philosophy and Simplicity: The Problem of Classical Education in Early Christian Biography," in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (ed. T. Hägg and P. Rousseau; TCH 31; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 110-139.

[33] Xavier Levieils concludes, "La pauvreté littéraire des Ecritures chrétiennes semble avoir été une critique courante au III^e siècle" (*Contra Christianos*, 268).

This apologetic stance can be traced back at least to Origen.[34] Although Origen occasionally suggests that Paul simply choose not to display his literary capacity,[35] much more frequent are his attempts to redefine the significance of the vulgarity alleged by the likes of Celsus. Thus for Origen the Bible's simple language allows it to be understood by the hoi polloi, not only by those with elite education: "[God] gave to the more learned a theology capable of raising the soul far above all earthly things; while with no less consideration He comes down (οὐδὲν δ' ἧττον συγκαταβαίνοντα) to the weaker capacities of ignorant (ἰδιωτῶν) men, of simple (ἁπλουστέρων) women, of slaves (*Cels.* 7.41 [*ANF* 4:628]; cf. 6.1-2; 7.37).[36] Moreover, he argues, such innocence of rhetoric facilitates belief based on truth, not mere persuasiveness. Allegorizing Paul's "earthen vessels" (2 Cor 4:7) as the "humble diction of the Scriptures, which the Greek might so readily be lead to despise,"[37] Origen contends:

> If the Scriptures possessed, like the works the Greeks admire, elegance and command of diction, then it would be open to suppose that not the truth of them had laid hold of men, but that the apparent sequence and splendour of language had carried off the hearers, and carried them off by guile (*Comm. Jo.* 4.2 [*ANF* 9:346]; cf. *Cels.* 1.62; 3.39).[38]

In short, Origen would agree with the evaluation of Nietzsche—though perhaps not his tone: "Es ist eine Feinheit, dass Gott griechisch lernte, als er Scriftsteller werden wollte—und dass er nicht besser lernte."[39]

Origen's role in the development of these arguments is telling, for it is clear that his emphasis on Paul's lack of rhetorical training derives not from any inherent interest in the topic but rather from the need to address the embarrassing accusations of opponents like Celsus. And, judging from the amount of attention he devoted to the topic, Celsus's ridicule appears to have hit close to home. It may be that by Chrystostom's time, as Mitchell suggests, such arguments had become conventional and even convenient; still, they only arose in the first place because they were needed. There is no reason to oppose truth and eloquence unless one is conspicuously low on eloquence.

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[34] And perhaps to Paul—but that is a topic for elsewhere.

[35] See esp. *Comm. Rom.* 6.13 (PG 14:1098). Cf. Wiles, *Divine Apostle*, 17-18.

[36] On the background of Origen's "condescension" language, see M.M. Mitchell, "Pauline Accommodation and 'Condescension' (συγκατάβασις): 1 Cor 9:19-23 and the History of Influence," in *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide* (ed. T. Engberg-Pedersen; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2001) 205-212.

[37] ἐξειλήφαμεν, ὡς θησαυροῦ μὲν λεγομένου τοῦ ἀλλαχόσε θησαυροῦ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἀποκρύφου, ὀστρακίνων δὲ σκευῶν τῆς εὐτελοῦς καὶ εὐκαταφρονήτου παρ' Ἕλλησι λέξεως τῶν γραφῶν (*Comm. Jo.* 4.2).

[38] Lest one think Origen indiscriminately evaluated all of Scripture as unlearned, it is worth recalling again his observation that Hebrews is not characterized by the same unlearned diction and phraseology as Paul's authentic letters (*Fr. Heb.* [PG 14:1308-1309]).

[39] F. Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse: Vorspiel einer Philosophie der Zukunft* (Leipzig: Naumann, 1886) 94.

Interestingly enough, the defensive origin of the *topos* is preserved even in Chrysostom. In what Mitchell describes as "an extremely important passage,"[40] Chrysostom recalls an overheard conversation between a Greek and a Christian (*Hom. 1 Cor.* 3.4 [PG 61:27; *NPNF*^{1} 12:14]): "The dispute being about Paul and Plato, the Greek endeavored to show that Paul was unlearned and ignorant; but the Christian, from simplicity, was anxious to prove that Paul was more eloquent than Plato." Chrysostom's opinion is that the Christian ought to be arguing the opposite point; for, if Paul, despite being uneducated, nevertheless prevailed over Plato, then God's power surely is manifest.

For Mitchell, Chrysostom's transparent advocacy of a "rhetorical strategy of deliberately diminishing the rhetorical competence of Paul" is good reason to take his portrait of an unlettered apostle with a grain of salt.[41] And, indeed, there is no denying that Chrysostom's depiction of Paul's naivety at times verges on the hyperbolic.[42] But it is important to note that this very passage encodes the rhetorical situation that demanded such apologetic summersaults in the first place: Paul clearly did not compare well with the literary classics, thus alternative evaluations of rhetoric must be deployed in which, to quote Chrysostom, "this accusation becomes an encomium" (*Hom. 1 Cor.* 3.4 [PG 61:27]).

* * *

We are now back to the dilemma I observed at the outset: How is it that Paul's earliest exegetes can, on the one hand, praise the power of Pauline persuasion, and even identify manifold rhetorical tropes and figures in his letters, and, on the other, unanimously concede that Paul lacked formal rhetorical training? One cannot, I have argued, dismiss this latter consensus as apologetic posturing. Certainly Chrysostom, Augustine and their ilk made good use of Paul's innocence of *paideia*, utilizing what Averil Cameron calls the "rhetoric of paradox" to powerful effect.[43] But such an apologetic strategy did not arise out of thin air. As we have seen, when these early exegetes read Paul's letters, they found precisely the sort of syntactical features they expected from one unschooled in rhetoric. And they were only too aware that the likes of Celsus found them too.

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[40] Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet*, 243.
[41] Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet*, 244, 242n198.
[42] See esp. Chrysostom, *Hom. 2 Tim.* 4.3 (PG 62:622).

So, again, on what grounds do they use rhetorical concepts and terminology in their exegesis of Paul's letters? Let me draw attention to one telling clue: It is not only in their exegesis of Paul that patristic writers identify the use of rhetorical devices; no, they find them in other writers too, writers to whom formal education in classical rhetoric cannot reasonably be ascribed. Thus Augustine, after identifying a climax or *gradatio* in Rom 5:3-5 and describing the *commata, causa*, and *membra* in 2 Cor 11, proceeds to enumerate the *commata, causa*, and *membra* used by the "rustic prophet" Amos, and to describe his use of a variety of compelling rhetorical strategies (*Doct. chr.* 4.7 [*NPNF*^{1} 2:577-581]). Likewise Chrysostom identifies the use of *prosopopoiia* or speech-in-character in Isaiah (*Comm. Isa.* 3.10; 5.5),[44] and remarks also on Isaiah's use of comparison (σύγκρισις) as a means of amplification (αὔξησις [1.2; cf. 2.6; 5.8]), as well as his appropriately emphatic use of metaphor (ὥστε ποιῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐμφατικόν, ἐπέμεινε τῇ μεταφορᾷ· τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ ἐξαίρετον [1.3; cf. 1.9; 2.3; 2.8; 3.7; 3.10; 5.8]).[45]

If this is how our early exegetes read Amos and Isaiah, it becomes difficult to construe their use of rhetorical categories in interpreting Paul as evidence that they considered Paul a formally trained rhetor. Indeed, one begins to suspect that patristic rhetorical criticism tells us more about the rhetorical knowledge of these early readers than it does about the writers whose works they expounded.[46]

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[43] A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) 155-188.

[44] Chrysostom's identification of *prosopopoiia* in Isaiah was noted by Mitchell, "Patristic Perspective," 366n62.

[45] See also Chrysostom's discussions of the τάξις of Isaiah's λόγος in *Comm. Isa.* 1.7; 1.9; 3.5. Cf. praef.; 2.1. Other rhetorical terminology is scattered throughout, e.g. παράδειγμα (5.1); ὑπερβολικός (5.8).

[46] On the formative influence of rhetorical training, particularly on Antiochene exegetes, see F.M. Young, "The Rhetorical Schools and Their Influence on Patristic Exegesis," in *The*

It was recognized already in antiquity that the use of rhetoric preceded its codification, and that even uneducated speakers used many of the techniques taught by rhetoricians, albeit rather more haphazardly.[47] In other words, rhetoric is first of all social practice, and only derivatively a formal discipline. This, perhaps, is why, when early readers reflected on Paul's education, what they considered decisive was not his use of rhetorical figures, which few speakers, indeed, are able to avoid, but rather his less than fluid syntax—τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ Ἀποστόλου.

Clearly, this patristic consensus does not, on its own, settle the question of Paul's familiarity with rhetorical theory, or even the more specific question of his formal rhetorical education. Nor does it foreclose the possibility that we will learn something from bringing our knowledge of ancient rhetorical theory to bear on our reading of Paul.[48] But I do believe we can say with confidence that, to the ears of Paul's earliest readers, friend and foe alike, Paul did not sound like a man of *paideia*.

Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick (ed. R. Williams; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 182-199.

[47] See esp. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1.1-2; Quintilian, *Inst.* 2.17.6; 3.2.3; Cicero, *De or.* 1.23.109; 1.32.146; Augustine, *Doct. chr.* 4.3.4 [PL 34:91]. Cf. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation*, 10-11; Kennedy, *Comparative Rhetoric: An Historical and Cross-Cultural Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 215-218 and passim; C.J. Classen, *Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament* (WUNT 128; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000) 28; M.J. Edwards, "Gospel and Genre: Some Reservations," in *The Limits of Ancient Biography* (ed. B. McGing and J. Mossman; Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2006) 51.

[48] Still insightful here are the remarks of Heinrici, *Der zweite Brief an die Korinther*, 39-41.

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Die Apokalypse-Handschrift 2846

Beschreibung, Kollation und Textwertbestimmung eines wichtigen neuen Zeugen

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Abstract

Collations of test passages in all Apocalypse manuscripts not used by H.C. Hoskier showed that one of the newly discovered minuscules reflects the so-called Alexandrian texttype to a significant extent. It is the manuscript Grec. 977 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, known as 2846 in the *Kurzgefaſste Liste*. Concerning the agreement with the Nestle-Aland text against the Majority Text, the ranking is: A C ℵ 2846 P47 2062 2050 2053 2329 2344 P 1611 etc. Where P47 ℵ differ from A C, 2846 mostly agrees with A C.

Keywords

Apocalypse; ms. 2846; *Text und Textwert*; textual criticism; Alexandrian texttype

1. Einleitung

Die Einschätzung des Textcharakters jeder griechischen Handschrift ist eine unverzichtbare Voraussetzung für die ntl. Textforschung. Entsprechende Informationen finden sich für die Bücher Mt bis Jud in der Serie *Text und Textwert*,[1] für die Apokalypse existiert eine Untersuchung in diesem Rahmen noch nicht (man kann nur auf die Arbeiten von H.C. Hoskier[2] und J. Schmid[3] zurückgreifen). Daher entschloss ich mich zu

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[1] K. Aland, B. Aland, K. Wachtel, Hrsg., *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (5 Teile; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1987-2005).

[2] H.C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse: Collations of all Existing Available Greek Documents with the Standard Text of Stephen's Third Edition* (2 Bände; London: Bernard Quaritch, 1929).

[3] J. Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes* (2 Teile; München: Karl Zink, 1955-1956).

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Teststellen-Kollationen aller Apokalypse-Handschriften, die nicht von Hoskier untersucht wurden, und führte sie in den Jahren 2008-2011 u.a. im Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster durch.

Während dieser Kollationsarbeiten fiel mir eine Handschrift durch ihre häufigen Übereinstimmungen mit dem sog. "alten Text" bzw. der "alexandrinischen Textform"[4] (P47 ℵ A C) gegen die Mehrheit der anderen Handschriften auf; es handelt sich um die Minuskelhandschrift Grec. 977 der Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris.[5] Sie enthält hauptsächlich Homilien des Gregor von Nazianz (um 330-390 n. Chr. in Kappadokien), aber auf fol. 226v-243v fast vollständig die Apokalypse des NT, die in der *Kurzgefaßten Liste* die Gregory-Aland Nummer 2846 erhalten hat.[6] Dort erscheint sie allerdings erst in der zweiten Auflage, ist also der ntl. Textforschung noch nicht lange bekannt—obwohl die Tatsache, dass Grec. 977 die Apokalypse enthält, schon im 18. Jhd. registriert wurde.[7] Auch wurde ihr Apokalypsetext bisher noch nicht untersucht,[8] daher bietet die Bibliographie der NT-Handschriften keinen Literaturhinweis für die 2846,[9] und in einer Zusammenstellung aller Apokalypse-Handschriften wird sie aufgelistet, ohne wegen ihres Textcharakters hervorgehoben zu werden.[10]

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[4] Zwar ist die bewährte Bezeichnung "alexandrinisch" fragwürdig, was ihren geographischen Bezug betrifft, doch hat sie den Vorteil, angesichts der verschiedenen Meinungen zur Textgeschichte neutral zu sein. Der Terminus "alter Text" ist missverständlich, denn die wenigen aus der Frühzeit erhaltenen Exemplare können aufgrund ihrer geringen Anzahl kaum an allen Stellen repräsentativ für den Text ihrer Zeit sein.

[5] Auf diese Entdeckung habe ich schon kurz hingewiesen: M. Lembke, "Beobachtungen zu den Handschriften der Apokalypse des Johannes," in *Die Johannesoffenbarung: Ihr Text und ihre Auslegung* (Hrsg. M. Labahn und M. Karrer; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2012) 60.

[6] K. Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (2. Aufl.; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1994) 214.

[7] *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae regiae* 2 (Paris: Typographia Regia, 1740) 193, verzeichnet: "12.° Sancti Joannis Evangelistae Apocalypsis."

[8] Es existieren keine näheren Untersuchungen zu Grec. 977 nach Aussage der Pariser Nationalbibliothek (Mitteilung von Christian Förstel, Conservateur chargé des manuscrits grecs, BnF, per E-Mail am 30.9.2010), nur die üblichen bibliographischen Einträge über den Inhalt der Handschrift, vgl. F. Halkin, *Manuscrits grecs de Paris: Inventaire hagiographique* (SHG 44; Brüssel: Société des Bollandistes, 1968) 97, sowie *AnBoll* 87 (Brüssel: Société des Bollandistes, 1969) 463.

[9] Auf 2844 folgt 2850: J.K. Elliott, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts* (2. Aufl.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 236. Auch in den dazugehörigen Aktualisierungen findet sich kein Eintrag: *NovT* 46 (2004) 376-400; *NovT* 49 (2007) 370-401; *NovT* 52 (2010) 272-297.

Jetzt aber ist deutlich: Diese Handschrift zeigt—bei Betrachtung der Differenzen zwischen Mehrheitstext und dem Text von Nestle-Aland[11] (NA)—unter allen Minuskeln die größte Nähe zum NA-Text, und zwar nicht nur unter den neuentdeckten, sondern auch im Vergleich zu den in dieser Eigenschaft schon bekannten Minuskeln wie 2053 und 2344. In dieser Hinsicht wird sie nur von den Majuskeln A und C übertroffen und steht mit P47 und א ungefähr auf gleichem Rang; im Vergleich dieser beiden Stämme gegeneinander steht sie jedoch A C näher. Die Auswertungen in Teil 3 und 4 zeigen die entsprechenden Werte im Vergleich.

2. Kurze Beschreibung der Handschrift

Über die Herkunft der Handschrift Grec. 977 ist bekannt, dass sie sich in der Bibliothek von J.-B. Colbert (1619-1683), dem Finanzminister von Ludwig XIV., befand. Von dort kam sie, wie die übrigen Handschriften der Bibliothek Colberts, im Jahr 1732 in die (damals königliche) Nationalbibliothek. Der kurze Zeit später gedruckte Katalog verzeichnet sie bereits unter ihrer aktuellen Signatur (CMLXXVII).[12] Über ihren Aufenthaltsort vor der Zeit Colberts ist nichts Sicheres bekannt, "vielleicht ist diese Handschrift, wie viele andere Kodizes, die um diese Zeit in die königliche Bibliothek gelangten, direkt aus dem griechischen Osten nach Frankreich gekommen."[13]

In Form eines Mikrofilms der Pariser Nationalbibliothek (Aufnahme vom 17. April 1984), den ich dankenswerterweise von W.N. Pickering erhalten habe, liegt mir der Text der gesamten, 247 Blatt starken Handschrift vor. Ihr Inhalt gliedert sich wie folgt:[14]

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10) J.K. Elliott, "The Distinctiveness of the Greek Manuscripts of the Book of Revelation," *JThS* 48 (1997) 116-124.

11) B. und K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C.M. Martini, B.M. Metzger, Hrsg., *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27. Aufl.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993).

12) Catalogus, 192.

13) So C. Förstel (BnF), von ihm stammen auch die Angaben zur Herkunft (per E-Mail am 30.9.2010 und 12.11.2010).

14) Da die griechischen Originaltitel stellenweise nicht mehr lesbar sind, gebe ich hier die lateinischen Titel aus der Inhaltsangabe im Mikrofilm wieder (sie ähneln denen im *Catalogus*, 193).

fol. 1r-31v	*S. Gregorii Nazianzeni homiliae de fuga in Pontum*
fol. 31v-49r	*In Pascha et in tarditatem*
fol. 49r-62v	*In laudem S. Mamantis martyris*
fol. 62v-70v	*In Macchabaeos*
fol. 70v-78r	*In Julianum exaequatorem*
fol. 78r-86v	*In Christi nativitatem*
fol. 87r-130r	*Oratio funebris in laudem S. Basilii*
fol. 130r-155v	*In sanctum baptisma*
fol. 155v-189v	*De pauperibus caritate complectendis*
fol. 189v-212v	*In plagam grandinis*
fol. 212v-222v	*In laudem Cypriani martyris*
fol. 222v-226v	*In festo Martyrum, praesente S. Gregorio Nysseno*
fol. 226v-243v	*Apocalypsis S. Joannis* [= GA 2846]
fol. 243v-244v	[Anmerkungen zum Thema der Apokalypse]
fol. 245r-247v	*Expositio historiarum quarum meminit in homiliis S. Gregorius Nazianzenus* [Anfang und Ende unvollständig]

Es handelt sich um eine Pergament-Handschrift, die im 12. Jahrhundert angefertigt wurde, im Format 24 cm hoch und 19 cm breit (nach den Angaben der *Kurzgefaßten Liste*). Der Text wurde auf fol. 1r-8v zweispaltig mit jeweils 28 Zeilen geschrieben, auf fol. 9r-244v zweispaltig mit 29 Zeilen und auf fol. 245r-247v einspaltig mit 29 Zeilen. Trotz dieser Wechsel ist die gesamte Handschrift—die Apokalypse und die übrigen Texte von Grec. 977—von *einer* Hand (somit zur gleichen Zeit) geschrieben, es ist kein Bruch erkennbar.

Erfreulich ist der relativ gute Erhaltungszustand dieser Apokalypse-Handschrift: Sie ist nicht fragmentarisch, sondern fast vollständig erhalten (es fehlt nur das Ende des 9. und der Anfang des 10. Kapitels) und auf den meisten Seiten gut lesbar (eine Ausnahme bildet das teilweise unlesbare folio 227v). Die übrigen Fälle von nicht lesbaren Textteilen gehen vor allem auf Falten im Pergament zurück, durch die einzelne Buchstaben teilweise oder ganz verdeckt sind (in der Mikrofilmaufnahme); ansonsten kann der Wortlaut fast überall eindeutig rekonstruiert werden.[15]

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[15] Nur sechs der unlesbaren Stellen treffen auf Varianten in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung, so dass dort der Wortlaut als unsicher angesehen werden muss (zumindest nach dem verwendeten Mikrofilm), siehe Teil 5.

Die Blätter der Apokalypse sind in der richtigen Reihenfolge gebunden, allerdings fehlt ein Blatt: Fol. 233v endet mit και τω προσω- (Offb 9:7), während fol. 234r mit σου την κοιλιαν (Offb 10:9) fortfährt. Es handelt sich also um eine Blattlücke (keine Fotolücke), die schon zum Zeitpunkt der Paginierung nach der (letzten) Bindung vorlag.[16] Das Blatt mit dem dazwischen liegenden Text findet sich leider nicht im Rest der Handschrift (fol. 1-247); es kann auch mit keinem der bisher bekannten Apokalypse-Fragmente identifiziert werden.[17]

Der Apokalypsetext beginnt auf fol. 226v unter der Überschrift "Αποκαλυψις του αγιου και πανευφημου αποστολ(ου) και ευαγγελιστ(ου) Ιω(αννου) του θεολογου ευ(λογητ)ο(ς) Π(ατ)ερ" (Buchstaben, die in der Handschrift durch Abkürzung nicht ausgeschrieben erscheinen, sind in Klammern ergänzt). Die hier vorgeschlagene Auflösung des sich auf Πατερ beziehenden ευ mit darüber gestelltem ο (das auch in den Überschriften auf fol. 212v und fol. 222v begegnet) kann nur vermutet werden; ähnliche Wendungen finden sich auch in den Überschriften zur Offb in den Minuskeln 1248 2031 2050 2200. Der Apokalypsetext endet auf fol. 243v mit der Lesart "μετα παντων των αγιων αμην," die nächste Zeile lautet "τελος της αποκαλυψεως Ιωαννου." Im Anschluss (fol. 243v-244v) stehen Ausführungen mit Bezug auf Themen der Apokalypse.

An einigen Stellen sieht man Abschnittseinteilungen durch große, ungefähr zwei Zeilen übergreifende Buchstaben (diese stehen immer am Zeilenanfang, auch wenn der Wortlaut des Abschnitts schon innerhalb der vorigen Zeile beginnt). Sie erscheinen etwas unsystematisch vorgenommen und zum Ende hin vernachlässigt.[18]

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16) Die Blattnummerierung scheint aus dem 19. Jahrhundert zu stammen. Der Einband trägt das Wappen von Colbert, ist also zu seinen Lebzeiten angefertigt worden. Da dieser Einband gut erhalten ist, ist das Blatt wohl nicht nach dieser Zeit verlorengegangen, sondern hat wahrscheinlich schon gefehlt, als die Handschrift aus dem Osten nach Frankreich kam (so C. Förstel, per E-Mail am 12.11.2010).

17) Von den 307 Apokalypse-Handschriften, die gegenwärtig in der *Kurzgefaßten Liste* verzeichnet sind (elektronische Version auf http://intf.uni-muenster.de/vmr/NTVMR/ListeHandschriften.php am 27.1.2012), stimmen in Zeilen- und Spaltenzahl mit 2846 überein: 1072, 1617, 2030 und 2428, doch keine von diesen entspricht der fehlenden Seite (weder in den äußeren Maßen noch im Inhalt).

18) Sie befinden sich bei Offb 1:1, 3, 7, 9, 18b; 2:5, 10a, 10b, 12, 24b; 3:1, 7, 9, 14, 19; 4:1, 2 , 9, 10; 5:2b, 6; 6:9; 7:1, 12, 13; 8:5, 10, 12; 11:16; 14:13b; 21:5.

Die Minuskelschrift ist mit den üblichen Lesezeichen wie Akzent, Spiritus, Apostroph, Trema, Hochpunkt und Komma versehen (bisweilen findet sich noch die alte Form des Spiritus: ein halbes H). Das *iota subscriptum* wird jedoch nicht verwendet. Irregularitäten im Gebrauch des Spiritus sind nicht selten, z.B. ἱδου (Offb 1:7 etc.), ἐπτα (1:12 etc.), ἐκαστος (2:23; 5:8), ὁπισω (1:10; 12:15) und andere. Die gängigen Abkürzungen (Endungen und *nomina sacra*) werden so verwendet, wie es in ntl. Minuskelhandschriften üblich ist. Ungewöhnlich ist nur das scheinbare Fehlen des -ν in υδατω- (7:17) sowie des -ς in πολεω- (21:19). In beiden Fällen handelt es sich um ein Zeilenende, wobei der vorletzte Buchstabe des Wortes (das ω) über das Wortende geschrieben wurde und der Endbuchstabe hinzuzudenken ist.

Auffällig oft finden sich Korrekturen des Akzents, die beide Zeichen sichtbar stehen lassen, so dass z.B. die Koexistenz von Akut und Gravis zu X- oder V-förmigen Zeichen geführt hat. Außerdem wurde, wenn der erste Teil eines längeren Wortes mit einem kleinen Wort wie και oder einer Präposition übereinstimmt, oft reflexartig ein Gravis hinzugefügt, was dann zu zwei Akzenten im eigentlichen Wort führte (z.B. 1:4 καὶρὸς, 2:21 μετὰνοήση, 7:11 sogar πρὸσὲκύνησαν, wobei der Spiritus den Eindruck von zwei Wörtern noch verstärkt).

Orthographische Fehler oder itazistische Eigenarten sind relativ selten, kommen aber vor, z.B. αισχατος (1:17), ευδομος (11:15; 16:17), κενην (21:1), ενδημωσις (21:18), nicht selten τεσαρες (mit nur einem Sigma) und sogar das Missverständnis εσφραγισμενον (statt εσφαγμενον) in Bezug auf das Lamm (ein Fehler, der auch in anderen Handschriften öfters begegnet). Manchmal findet sich auch eine Haplographie in Wortverbindungen, wie ωστεφανοι für ως στεφανοι (9:7) und ωστομα für ως στομα (13:2). Ob auch εις Μυρναν für εις Σμυρναν (1:11) in diese Kategorie gehört, sei dahingestellt, da der Codex Alexandrinus (und wenige andere) ebenfalls so liest und es daher auch schon so in der Vorlage gestanden haben kann (evtl. ist diese Lesart schon als Variante anzusehen).

Versehentliche Auslassungen durch *homoioteleuton* kommen öfter vor, so in 6:11 (και οι αδελφοι αυτων), in 8:7 gleich zweimal (in Bezug auf die Erde und das Gras), in 13:7 (mit den meisten Zeugen der alexandrinischen Textform: P47 A C 2053 u.a.) und in 20:14-15 (es fehlt nicht nur Versteil 14b mit den Handschriften des Andreastextes, sondern auch Vers 15 komplett).

Im Buchstabenbestand finden sich relativ wenige Korrekturen, am offensichtlichsten in 3:18, wo das περιβαλει durch ein kleines, über das

Wortende geschriebenes Eta zu περιβαλη korrigiert wird, in 4:9, wo das zunächst fehlende επι τω θρονω interlinear ergänzt wird, und in 14:4, wo das υπαγει (Lesart von A C *pc*) durch ein darüber geschriebenes Eta zu υπαγη korrigiert wird. Ob diese drei recht klein geschriebenen Korrekturen noch vom Schreiber der Handschrift vorgenommen wurden, lässt sich (auf der Basis des Mikrofilms) nicht mit Sicherheit sagen, doch sieht es nicht nach einer anderen Hand aus (zumal das τω θρονω in 4:9 die alexandrinische Variante gegen den Mehrheitstext ist, also wahrscheinlich von der Vorlage übernommen wurde und nicht nach einem späteren Standardtext ergänzt wurde). Außerdem wurde in 19:19 die Passage ποιησαι πολεμον μετα του καθημενου versehentlich zweimal hintereinander geschrieben, doch wurde der Fehler bemerkt und korrigiert, indem das erste Vorkommen wieder gestrichen wurde.[19] Weniger auffällig sind die Korrekturen durch Manipulationen der Buchstaben im Text (siehe Teil 5).

Am schlechtesten erhalten ist fol. 227v, wo die Schrift an einigen Stellen kaum noch zu erkennen ist (diese Seite umfasst Offb 1:13 τοις μαστοις bis 2:5 εργα ποιησον). Doch durch eine von der Nationalbibliothek im Jahr 2009 angefertigte Ultraviolett-Aufnahme konnte ich die meisten Wörter sicher rekonstruieren. Bemerkenswert ist dort die achte Zeile der linken Spalte, die mit dem Wort πεπυρωμενης in 1:15 endet (die Endung -ης ist in Form eines s-förmigen Kürzels über das Wortende geschrieben): Dieser Solözismus (NA-Lesart) war bisher nur von den Majuskeln A und C bekannt (die große Mehrheit überliefert πεπυρωμενοι, während א und einige andere Handschriften πεπυρωμενω lesen).

3. Teststellen-Kollation im Vergleich Nestle-Aland vs. Mehrheitstext

Um den Textcharakter von 2846 zu demonstrieren, umfasst folgende Kollation alle Stellen, an denen der Apparat von Nestle-Aland (27. Auflage) einen Unterschied zwischen NA-Text und Mehrheitstext verzeichnet. Ignoriert werden Fälle, wo die Mehrheit nicht einheitlich liest, z.B. weil Koinetext *K* und Andreastext Av differieren (im NA-Apparat als $\mathfrak{M}^K$ und $\mathfrak{M}^A$ bezeichnet), oder wo der NA-Text keine eindeutige Lesart bietet (durch Verwendung von eckigen Klammern).

Die Korrektheit dieser Mehrheitstext-Angaben im NA-Apparat habe ich durch eigene Kollationen überprüft. Gelegentlich repräsentiert das

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[19] Man sieht sehr deutlich den Versuch, die Buchstaben auszuradieren, doch sind sie zum großen Teil noch zu erkennen.

Sigel 𝔐 im NA-Apparat nicht die Gesamtheit von *K* plus Av, sondern nur eine knappe Mehrheit (wenn eine dieser beiden Textformen geteilt liest); in der Regel wurden auch diese Stellen in die Auswertung einbezogen. Nur die Stelle Offb 3:4 (α vs. οι) musste ausgeschlossen werden, da sie im NA-Apparat nicht korrekt wiedergegeben ist (richtig: *K* liest α, Av liest οι). Wegen gespaltener Überlieferung (keine einheitliche Lesart des Mehrheitstextes) wurden außerdem die Stellen 12:5; 13:8; 16:18; 22:12 ausgeschlossen. Auf diese Weise ergeben sich 97 Teststellen.

Zum Vergleich werden alle Handschriften herangezogen, die aufgrund ihrer Bedeutung für die Textkritik als "ständige Zeugen" im NA-Apparat zur Apokalypse verzeichnet sind (mit Ausnahme der kleineren Papyrus- und Majuskelfragmente, da diese mit Teststellen nicht sinnvoll zu erfassen sind). Dies ergibt als Zeugenreihe neben 2846: P47 א A C P 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2050 2053 2062 2329 2344 2351,[20] außerdem wird die Lesart des Nestle-Aland ("NA") und des Mehrheitstextes ("MT") vermerkt. Geringfügige orthographische Abweichungen bzw. Schreibfehler sind durch runde Klammern um die betroffenen Zeugen gekennzeichnet und den gemeinten Varianten zugeordnet, damit sie nicht als Sonderlesarten aus der Auswertung herausfallen.[21] Nicht erwähnt werden unvollständige Zeugen an Stellen, wo ihr Material eine Lücke aufweist. Lesarten, die nicht sicher zu erkennen waren, sind mit "vid" gekennzeichnet. Das Zeichen "+" bedeutet Hinzufügung, "–" Auslassung, "~" Umstellung der genannten Wörter (die genaue Lokalisierung im Vers ist dem NA-Apparat zu entnehmen).

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[20] Als Quellen für die Zuordnungen zu den Lesarten habe ich für die älteren Handschriften u.a. die Transkripte auf http://nttranscripts.uni-muenster.de benutzt, für die Minuskeln einen Vergleich zwischen den Angaben in Hoskier und im NA-Apparat, wobei alle Widersprüche zwischen ihnen an Originalaufnahmen der Handschriften geklärt wurden. Außerdem habe ich für 2344 wegen der schlechten Lesbarkeit der bisher vorliegenden Aufnahme die Kollation von J. Schmid benutzt: "Unbeachtete Apokalypse-Handschriften," *ThQ* (1936, Heft 2) 158-184.

[21] Genauer Wortlaut in diesen Fällen: Offb 1:15 περπυρωμενοι 046*, πεπυρωμενοι 046^{c}, πεπυρομενοι 2329; 2:3 ουκ εκοπασας 1854; 3:9 διδωμη 046, διδομι 2050; 3:17 ουδε 1854; 5:10 βασιλιαν א; 6:11 αναπαυσασθαι 2351; 8:3 δοση 2351; 10:8 βιβληδαριον 046, βυβλαριον 2329, βρβλαριδιον 2351^{vid}; 10:9 βυβλαριον 2329, βυβλαριδιον 2351; 11:5 θελισει 2351; 11:12 αναβηται 046; 11:18 μεικρους P47, μηκροις P; 13:6 βλασφημειαν 2351; 13:12 ινα προσκυνησωση 046, προσκυνιν א; 14:18 κραυη P47; 16:3 αγελος 046; 19:20 της κεομενης א, την κεομενην 046; 21:18 א* hat ην, aber lässt den folgenden Artikel η aus; 21:20 αμεθυντινως 2062; 22:11 ρυπαρωθητω 1611^{c}; 22:14 πλυνυντες 1006, πλυναντες 2050.

1:4 –Θεου א A C P 2050 2846 NA / +Θεου 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2344 2351 MT / +του παντων ημων Θεου 2062

1:9 –δια A C 1006 1611 1841 2053 2062 2344 2846 NA / +δια א P 046 1854 2050 2329 2351 MT

1:13 –επτα A C P 1611 2050 2344 2846 NA / +επτα א 046 1006 1841 1854 2053 2062 2329 2351 MT

1:15 πεπυρωμενης A C 2846 NA / πεπυρωμενοι P (046) 1006 1611 1841 1854 (2329) 2344 2351 MT / πεπυρωμενω א 2050 2053 2062

1:18 –αμην א* A C P 1611 1854 2050 2053 2062 2846 NA / +αμην א^{c} 046 1006 1841 2329 2344 2351 MT

2:2 –σου A C P 1854 2053 NA / +σου א 046 1006 1611 1841 2050 2329 2344 2351 2846 MT

2:2 –ειναι א* A C P 2053 2329 NA / +ειναι א^{c} 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2050 2344 2351 2846 MT

2:3 ου κεκοπιακες (oder ουκ εκοπιακες) A C NA / ουκ εκοπιασας א P 046 1006 1611 1841 (1854) 2050 2053 2329 2351 MT / ου και κοπιασας 2846 / unlesbar 2344

2:5 –ταχυ א A C P 1854 2050 2053 2329 2344 2846 NA / +ταχυ 046 1006 1611 1841 2351 MT

2:9 –τα εργα και A C P 1611 1854 2053 2329 2344 2846 NA / +τα εργα και א 046 1006 1841 2050 2351 MT

2:13 –τα εργα σου και א A C P 1854 2050 2053 2329 2344 2846 NA / +τα εργα σου και 046 1006 1611 1841 2351 MT

2:13 +και A C 1854 2050 2053 2329 2344 2846 NA / –και א P 046 1006 1611 1841 2351 MT

2:13 +μου A C 2050 2053 2351 NA / –μου א P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2329 2344 2846 MT

2:27 συντριβεται א A C 1854 2050 2344 2846 NA / συντριβησεται P 046 1006 1611 1841 2053 2329 2351 MT

3:5 ουτως א* A C 1006 2329 2344 2351 2846 NA / ουτος א^{c} P 046 1611 1841 1854 2053 MT / αυτος 2050

3:7 –του A C 1611 1854 2053 2329[22] NA / +του א P 046 1006 1841 2050 2344 2351 2846 MT

3:9 διδω A C NA / διδωμι P (046) 1006 1611 1841 1854 (2050) 2053 2329 2351 MT / δεδωκα א 2344 2846

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[22] Bei Hoskier fehlt die Angabe von 2329 für die Auslassung des Artikels (Offb 3:7).

3:17 +οτι A C 1611 2050 2329 NA / –οτι ℵ P 046 1006 1841 1854 2053 2344 2351 2846 MT

3:17 ουδεν A C (1854) 2053 NA / ουδενος ℵ P 046 1006 1611 1841 2050 2329 2344 2351 2846 MT

4:3 +και ο καθημενος ℵ A P 046 1611 2050 2329 2351 2846 NA / –και ο καθημενος 1006 1841 1854 2053 2344 MT

4:4 θρονους ℵ A 2053 2846 NA / θρονοι P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2050 2329 2344 2351 MT

4:7 εχων A 046 1006 2329 2344 2351 NA / εχον ℵ P 1611 1841 1854 2053 2846 MT / –εχ. 2050

4:8 +τα ℵ A P 1611 1854 2050 2053 2329 2344 2351 2846 NA / –τα 046 1006 1841 MT

4:8 εχων A 1006 1854 2329 NA / εχον 046 1841 2053 MT / ειχον ℵ / εχοντα P 1611 2050 2344 2351 2846

4:9 τω θρονω ℵ A 1854 2050 2846^{c} NA / του θρονου P 046 1006 1611 1841 2053 2329 2344^{vid} 2351 MT / –επι τω θρονω 2846*

5:1 εσωθεν και οπισθεν A 2329 2344 NA / εσωθεν και εξωθεν P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2050 2053 2351 2846 MT / εμπροσθεν και οπισθεν ℵ

5:6 εχων ℵ A 046 1006 2050 2329 2351 NA / εχον P 1611 1841 1854 2053 2344 2846 MT

5:9 τω Θεω A NA / τω Θεω ημας ℵ P 046 1006 1611 1841 2053 2329 2351 2846 MT / τω Θεω ημων 1854^{vid} / ημας τω Θεω 2050 2344

5:10 βασιλειαν (ℵ) A 1611* 1854 2050 2329 2344 2846 NA / βασιλεις 046 1006 1611^{c} 1841 2053 2351 MT / unlesbar P

5:13 αμην ℵ A P 1006 1611 1841 1854 2050 2053 2344 2351 2846 NA / +αμην 046 MT / –το κρατος…ελεγον αμην και 2329

6:4 πυρρος ℵ C 1006 1611 1841 2053 2846 NA / πυρος A P 046 1854 2329 2344 2351 MT

6:4 σφαξουσι[ν] A C 2329 NA / σφαξωσι[ν] ℵ P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2344 2351 2846 MT

6:11 ινα αναπαυσονται A P 046 2053* 2329 NA / ινα αναπαυσωνται ℵ C 1006 1611 1841 2053^{c} 2344 2846 MT / αναπαυσασθε 1854 (2351)

6:11 πληρωθωσι[ν] A C 2344 NA / πληρωσωσι[ν] ℵ P 046 1006 1841 1854 2053 2351 MT / πληρωσουσι[ν] 1611 2329 2846

6:17 αυτων ℵ C 1611 1854 2053 2329 2344 NA / αυτου A P 046 1006 1841 2351 2846 MT

7:1 –και A C 1006 1841 1854 2053 2351 2846 NA / +και ℵ P 046 1611 2329 2344 MT

8:1 οταν A C 1006 1611 1841 2846 NA / οτε ℵ P 046 1854 2053 2329 2344 2351 MT

8:3 δωσει ℵ A C 1611 NA / δωση P 046 1854 2329 (2351) MT / δω 1006 1841 2053 / δωη 2846 / unlesbar 2344

8:6 αυτους ℵ* A 2351 2846 NA / εαυτους ℵ^{c} P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2344 MT

8:9 +των ℵ A^{vid} P 1006 1841 1854 2053 2329 2344 2351 2846 NA / –των 046 1611 MT

9:2 εσκοτωθη A 1006 1841 2846 NA / εσκοτισθη ℵ P 046 1611 1854 2053 2329 2351 MT / unlesbar 2344

9:4 αδικησουσι[ν] A 2329 2351 NA / αδικησωσι[ν] ℵ P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2846 MT / unlesbar 2344

9:5 αυτοις ℵ A 1611 2053 NA / αυταις P 046 1006 1841 1854 2329 2344 2351 2846 MT

9:20 προσκυνησουσιν P47 ℵ A C NA / προσκυνησωσι[ν] P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2344 2351 MT

10:8 βιβλιον A C 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053^{vid} NA / βιβλιδαριον (046) MT / βιβλαριδιον ℵ P 2344 (2351) / βιβλαριον (2329) / unlesbar P47

10:9 βιβλαριδιον A^{c} C P (2351) NA / βιβλιδαριον 046 1611 2344 MT / βιβλιον P47 ℵ 1006 1841 1854 2053 / βιβλαριον A* (2329)

11:5 θεληση ℵ A NA / θελει C P 046 1854 2053 MT / θελησει P47 1006 1611 1841 2329 (2351) 2846 / unlesbar 2344

11:6 +την P47 A C P 1611 1841 2053 2351 NA / –την ℵ 046 1006 1854 2329 2344 2846 MT

11:9 +και P47 ℵ A C P 1006 1841 1854 2344 2351 2846 NA / –και 046 1611 2329 MT / *homoioteleuton* 2053

11:12 ηκουσαν ℵ* A C P 2053 NA / ηκουσα P47 ℵ^{c} 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2351 2846 MT / ακουσονται 2329 / unlesbar 2344

11:12 αναβατε P47 ℵ A C P 2329 2351 NA / αναβητε (046) 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2846 MT / unlesbar 2344

11:18 τους μικρους και τους μεγαλους (P47) ℵ* A C 2329 2344 2351 2846 NA / τοις μικροις και τοις μεγαλοις ℵ^{c} (P) 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 MT

11:19 +ο A C 1006[23] 1841 2329 2351 2846 NA / –ο P47 ℵ P 046 051 1611 1854 2053 2344 MT

12:7 +του A C P 051 1006 1611 1841 2846 NA / –του P47 ℵ 046 1854 2053 2329 2344 MT / –του πολεμησαι 2351

12:10 κατηγωρ A NA / κατηγορος P47 ℵ C P 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2344 2351 2846 MT

12:18 εσταθη P47 ℵ A C 1854 2344 2351 2846 NA / εσταθην P 046 051 1006 1611 1841 2053 2329 MT

13:5 βλασφημιας P47 ℵ C 1611 2344 NA / βλασφημιαν P 046 051 1854 2351 MT / βλασφημα A 2329 / βλασφημια 2053 / βλασφημιαι 1006 1841 2846[24]

13:6 εις βλασφημιας ℵ A C 1006 1841 1854 2344 2846 NA / εις βλασφημιαν P 046 051 1611 2053 2329 (2351) MT / βλασφημησαι P47

13:10 +εις αιχμαλωσιαν A 2344 NA / –εις αιχμαλωσιαν P47 ℵ C P 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2846 MT / +απαγει εις αιχμαλωσιαν 2351

13:12 ινα προσκυνησουσι[ν] P47 A C 2053 2351 NA / ινα προσκυνησωσι[ν] P (046) 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2329 2344 2846 MT / προσκυνειν (ℵ)

13:17 δυνηται P47 ℵ A C 1841 2344$^{\text{vid}}$ 2351 2846 NA / δυναται P 046 051 1006 1611 1854 2329 MT / *homoioteleuton* 2053

14:6 +αλλον ℵ^{c} A C P 051 1006 1611 1841 2053 2329 2344 2846 NA / –αλλον P47 ℵ* 046 1854 MT

14:6 +επι P47 ℵ A C P 1611 1854 2053 2329 2344 NA / –επι 046 051 1006 1841 2846 MT

14:8 +η A C 1006 1841 2053 2344$^{\text{vid}}$ 2846 NA / –η P47 ℵ^{c} P 046 051 1611 1854 2329 MT / *homoioteleuton* ℵ*

14:13 αναπαησονται P47 ℵ A C 051* NA / αναπαυσωνται P 051^{c} 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2344 2846 MT / αναπαυσονται 046 2329

14:13 γαρ P47 ℵ A C P 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2344 2846 NA / δε 046 051 MT

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[23] Bei Hoskier fehlt die Angabe von 1006 für die Hinzufügung des Artikels (Offb 11:19).

[24] Die Darstellung im NA-Apparat in Bezug auf 1006 1841 2053 ist ungenau: βλασφημια und βλασφημιαι fehlen dort als Varianten (Offb 13:5).

14:18 φωνη ℵ A 046 1006 1841 2053 2846 NA / κραυγη (P47) C P 051 1611 1854 2329 MT / unlesbar 2344

16:3 –αγγελος P47 ℵ^{c} A C P 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2062 2329 2846 NA / +αγγελος (046) 051^{mg} 2344 MT / –και ο δευτερος εξεχεεν, +εις ℵ* / –και ο δευτερος…εν τη θαλασση 051^{txt}

16:3 +τα A C 051^{mg} 1611 2344 NA / –τα P47 ℵ P 046 1854 2329 2846 MT / +των 1006 1841 / –τα εν τη θαλασση 2053 2062 / –και ο δευτερος…εν τη θαλασση 051^{txt}

16:14 της ημερας της μεγαλης 2329 2062 2053 ℵ NA / της ημερας εκεινης της μεγαλης 046 051 1854 2344 MT / της μεγαλης ημερας P47 A 1611 1841 2846 / –της ημερας της μεγαλης 1006

17:3 εχων A 1006 2329 2846 NA / εχον 046 051 1611 1841 1854 2030 2053 2062 MT / εχοντα ℵ P / unlesbar 2344

17:4 +και ℵ A 1611 1854 2030 2053 2062 2329 NA / –και P 046 051 1006 1841 2344 2846 MT

17:8 υπαγει A 1611 2053 2062 2846 NA / υπαγειν ℵ P 046 051 1006 1841 1854 2030 2329 MT / unlesbar 2344

17:8 θαυμασθησονται A P 1611 2846 NA / θαυμασονται ℵ 046 051 1006 1841 1854 2030 2053 2062 2329 2344 MT

18:12 μαργαριτων ℵ 1006 1611 1841 2846 NA / μαργαριτου 046 051 1854 2030 2053 2062 2329 MT / μαργαριτας C P / μαργαριταις A / unlesbar 2344

18:12 πορφυρας ℵ C P 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2062 2329 2846 NA / πορφυρου 046 051 2030 MT / –και πορφ. A / unlesbar 2344

18:14 σου της επιθυμιας της ψυχης ℵ A C P 1006 1841 1854 2846 NA / της επιθυμιας της ψυχης σου 046 051 2030 2053 2062 MT / της επιθυμιας της ψυχης 1611 2329 / unlesbar 2344

18:16 μαργαριτη ℵ A C P 1006 1611 1841 2053 2062 2329 2846 NA / μαργαριταις 046 051 1854 2030 MT / unlesbar 2344

18:19 –και ℵ A C 1006 1841 2053 2062 2846 NA / +και P 046 051 1611 2030 2329 2344^{vid} MT / –[και] λεγοντες ουαι 1854

18:21 μυλινον A 2053 2062 NA / μυλον P 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2329 2344 2846 MT / λιθον ℵ / μυλικον C

18:24 αιμα ℵ A C P 1611 2053 2062 2329 2846 NA / αιματα 046 051 1006 1841 1854 2030 2344 MT

19:5 τω Θεω ℵ A C P 046 051 2329 2344 2846 NA / τον Θεον 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2053 2062 MT

19:20 της καιομενης (ℵ) A P NA / την καιομενην (046) 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2053 2062 2329 2846 MT / unlesbar 2344

20:2 ο οφις ο αρχαιος A NA / τον οφιν τον αρχαιον ℵ 046 051 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2050 2053 2062 2329 2846 MT / unlesbar 2344

20:11 +του ℵ A P 1006 1611 1841 2050 2329 2846 NA / –του 046 051 1854 2030 2053 2062 MT / unlesbar 2344

21:3 θρονου ℵ A NA / ουρανου P 046 051^{s} 1006 1611 1841 1854 2030 2050 2053 2062 2329 2846 MT / unlesbar 2344

21:4 εκ ℵ A 1841 2846 NA / απο P 046 051^{s} 1006 1611 1854 2030 2050 2053 2062 2329 MT / unlesbar 2344

21:14 εχων A P 046 1006 2329 NA / εχον ℵ^{c} 051^{s} 1611 1841 1854 2030 2053 2062 2846 MT / –εχ. ℵ* 2050 / unlesbar 2344

21:18 –ην ℵ^{c} A P 1611 2030 2053 2062 NA / +ην (ℵ*) 046 051^{s} 1006 1841 1854 2050 2329 2846 MT / unlesbar 2344

21:20 αμεθυστος A P 046 1611 2030 2329 NA / αμεθυσος ℵ^{c} 051 1006 1841 1854 2050 MT / αμεθυστινος ℵ* / αμεθυντινος 2053 (2062)[25] / ομεθυστος 2846* / ομεθυσος 2846^{c} / unlesbar 2344

22:5 +φωτος ℵ A 1006 1841 2846 NA / –φωτος P 046 051^{s} 1611^{s} 1854 MT / +φως 2030 2050 2053 2062 2329

22:5 +επ ℵ A 1006 1841 2030 2050 2329 2846 NA / –επ P 046 051^{s} 1611^{s} 1854 2053 2062 MT

22:6 +ο ℵ A 1611^{s} 2053 2062 2329 2846 NA / –ο P 046 051^{s} 1006 1841[26] 1854 2030 2050 MT

22:11 ρυπανθητω ℵ 1854 NA / ρυπαρευθητω 046 1006 (1611^{s}) 1841 2053 2329 2846 MT / –και ο ρυπαρος ρυπ. ετι A 2030 2050 2062

22:14 πλυνοντες τας στολας αυτων ℵ A (1006) 1841 (2050) 2053 2062 2846 NA / ποιουντες τας εντολας αυτου 046 1611^{s} 1854 2030 2329 MT

22:21 –Χριστου ℵ A 1611^{s} 2053 2062 2846 NA / +Χριστου 046 051^{s} 1006 1841 1854 2030 2050 MT / –η χαρις του *Κ*υριου Ιησου [Χριστου] 2329

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[25] Sowohl Hoskier als auch NA geben -στινος als Lesart von 2053 an, doch liest die Handschrift -ντινος (wie auch die übrigen Handschriften mit Ökumeniustext: 1824 2350 2403). Die Lesart von 2062 ist mit -στινος im NA-Apparat unzutreffend wiedergegeben, bei Hoskier korrekt: -ντινως (Offb 21:20).

[26] Entgegen der Darstellung im NA-Apparat lässt 1841 den Artikel aus (Offb 22:6).

22:21 παντων A NA / παντων των αγιων 046 051^{s} 1006 1611^{s} 1841 1854 2053 2062 2846 MT / των αγιων ℵ / παντων των αγιων αυτου 2030 / παντων ημων 2050 / των αγιων σου 2329

Dieses Material ist in Tabelle 1 zusammengefasst.[27] Der sog. "Textwert" wird hier definiert als die Anzahl der Übereinstimmungen mit NA geteilt durch die Anzahl der Stellen, an denen die Handschrift entweder eine MT- oder eine NA-Lesart bietet (so werden die Dritt-Lesarten ausgeschlossen, die für keine der beiden Seiten ausschlaggebend sind).

Tabelle 1: **Auswertung im Vergleich NA vs. MT**

Zeuge	Lesbare Stellen	mit NA	mit MT	Dritt-Lesart	NA / MT+NA	Textwert in %
NA	97	97	0	0	97/97	100,0
MT	97	0	97	0	0/97	0,0
P47	26	13	9	4	13/22	59,1
ℵ (01)	97	54	32	11	54/86	62,8
A (02)	97	89	2	6	89/91	97,8
C (04)	61	54	5	2	54/59	91,5
P (025)	90	34	52	4	34/86	39,5
046	97	8	88	1	8/96	8,3
051	43	5	38	0	5/43	11,6
1006	97	32	59	6	32/91	35,2
1611	97	36	56	5	36/92	39,1
1841	97	29	62	6	29/91	31,9
1854	97	28	65	4	28/93	30,1
2030	27	4	20	3	4/24	16,7
2050	44	18	17	9	18/35	51,4
2053	97	42	46	9	42/88	47,7
2062	35	15	14	6	15/29	51,7
2329	97	39	46	12	39/85	45,9
2344	68	29	35	4	29/64	45,3
2351	61	20	35	6	20/55	36,4
2846	94	52	33	9	52/85	61,2

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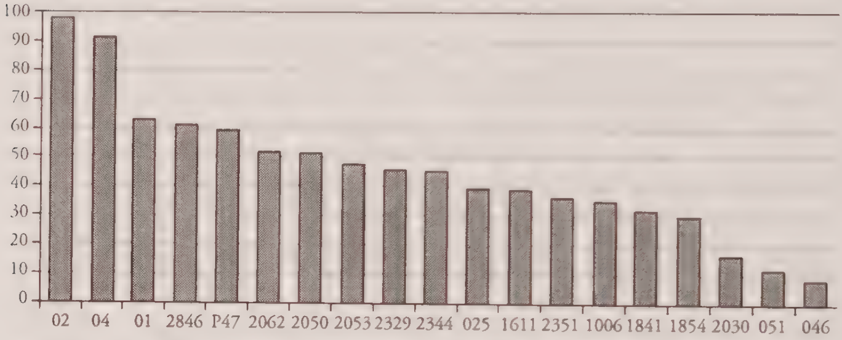
[27] Bei Korrekturen wurde in der Regel die ursprüngliche Lesart (*) in die Auswertung übernommen; nur wenn es sich dabei um eine Sonderlesart handelt (die kein anderer der genannten Zeugen teilt), wurde stattdessen die Lesart der Korrektur (^{c}) berücksichtigt.

Dies ergibt als Rangfolge der Nähe zu NA gegen den Mehrheitstext: A C ℵ 2846 P47 2062 2050 2053 2329 2344 P 1611 2351 1006 1841 1854 2030 051 046.[28] Die Zahlenwerte sind in Diagramm 1 abgebildet.[29]

Diagramm 1: Übereinstimmung mit NA gegen MT (in %)



Fazit: Was die Übereinstimmung mit dem von der Textkritik bevorzugten Wortlaut (NA) gegen die Masse der Handschriften betrifft, erreicht 2846 den höchsten Wert unter allen Minuskeln, deutlich übertroffen nur von den Majuskeln A und C, und etwa auf gleichem Niveau mit P47 und ℵ.

4. Teststellen-Kollation im Vergleich P47 ℵ vs. A C

Die sog. alexandrinische Textform, der die 2846 nach diesem Ergebnis nahesteht, ist nach verbreiteter Auffassung in zwei alte Stämme gespalten: in P47 ℵ auf der einen und A C auf der anderen Seite.[30] Daher wäre es interessant festzustellen, welchem dieser beiden Stämme die 2846 angehört. Zu diesem Zweck ist zu ermitteln, an welchen Stellen sich die beiden Stämme im Text unterscheiden. Da kaum zusätzliche Zeugen erhalten sind, um den Wortlaut beider Stämme genauer rekonstruieren zu können,[31] müssen wir uns auf diejenigen Stellen beschränken, an denen P47 und א übereinstimmen gegen einen Konsens von A und C. Dadurch wird die Untersuchung begrenzt auf den Bereich der Apokalypse, wo alle vier Zeugen erhalten sind (Offb 9:17-10:10a und 11:5-16:13a).[32] Unter diesen Voraussetzungen ergeben sich insgesamt 25 Stellen.[33] Die ersten sieben treffen jedoch auf die Lücke, die 2846 in Offb 9:7b-10:9a hat, so dass für diese Analyse nur folgende 18 Stellen verwertbar sind.[34]

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[28] Die Berechnung des Textwerts kann bei den stark unvollständigen Zeugen (P47 2030 2062, ferner 051 2050) wegen der geringeren Anzahl an Teststellen nicht so repräsentativ sein wie bei den vollständigen Zeugen.

[29] Auffällig ist hier der Abstand zwischen A C und den übrigen Handschriften—eine Folge der Bevorzugung dieser Zeugen durch die NA-Textkritik?

[30] Vgl. J. Schmid, *Studien*, 2, 24 und 85-151.

[31] Zwar wurde manchmal der Ökumeniustext (2053 2062) zum Stamm A C gerechnet, doch ist diese Zuordnung fragwürdig, vgl. die Diagramme 1 und 2. Als weitere Zeugen dieser beiden alten Stämme gelten wenige Papyrus- und Majuskelfragmente, doch aufgrund

11:5 (2. Vershälfte) αδικησαι αυτους P47 א / ~αυτους αδικησαι A C P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2846 MT NA / unlesbar 2344

11:8 τα πτωματα P47 א P 1611 1854 2329 2344 *Av* / το πτωμα A C 046 1006 1841 2053 2846 *K* NA

11:11 επεσεν P47 א 046 1841 2053 *K* / επεπεσεν A C P 1006 1611 1854 2329 2344$^{\text{vid}}$ 2846 *Av* NA

11:14 ιδου ερχεται η ουαι η τριτη P47 א 2344$^{\text{vid}}$ / ~ιδου η ουαι η τριτη ερχεται A C P 1006 1611 1841 2053 2329 2846 *Av* NA / ~η ουαι η τριτη ιδου ερχεται 046 *K* / ιδου τριτη ουαι ερχεται 1854

11:19 –ο (vor εν τω ουρ.) P47 א P 046 1611 1854 2053 2344 MT / +ο A C 1006 1841 2329 2846 NA

12:7 –του (vor πολεμησαι) P47 א 046 1854 2053 2329 2344 MT / +του A C P 1006 1611 1841 2846 NA

12:14 –αι (vor δυο) P47 א 046 1854 2329 2344 *K* / +αι A C P 1006 1611 1841 2053 2846 *Av* NA

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ihres geringen Umfangs leisten sie kaum einen Beitrag zur Ermittlung des gesamten Wortlauts dieser Stämme.

[32] P47 beginnt in 9:10 Mitte, aber aufgrund der Lücke in C beginnt die gemeinsame Schnittmenge erst in 9:17 Versanfang, dann bricht C ab mit 10:10 και οτε ε-, in 11:3 bricht P47 ab, kurz bevor C fortfährt, dann läuft auch P47 weiter ab 11:5 Versanfang, und schließlich bricht C ab mit 16:13 τρια ακαθαρτ-, noch vor P47. Das Fragment 16:17b-17:2a in P47 fällt komplett in die Lücke von C.

[33] Um diese Stellen zu ermitteln, habe ich die Texte der vier Zeugen verglichen (u.a. auf http://nttranscripts.uni-muenster.de) und von allen Stellen, an denen א von A abweicht, diejenigen ausgewählt, wo א mit P47 und A mit C übereinstimmt (Stellen, an denen einer dieser Zeugen eine Korrektur hat, wurden nicht berücksichtigt).

[34] Vollständigkeitshalber seien hier auch die sieben übrigen (in 2846 nicht erhaltenen) Stellen genannt (jeweils in der Reihenfolge P47 א vs. A C): 9:17 επανω vs. επ; 9:20 (nach πληγ.) +αυτων vs. –αυτων; 10:1 της κεφαλης vs. την κεφαλην; 10:4 (nach και) οσα vs. οτε; 10:4 (nach σφραγ.) οσα vs. α; 10:7 αγγελου του εβδομου vs. εβδομου αγγελου; 10:7 +και vs. –και (vor τους προφ.).

13:15 (nach εδ.) αυτω P47 ℵ P^{c} 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2846 MT NA / αυτη A C P^{*vid} / unlesbar 2344

14:3 -ως (vor ωδην) P47 ℵ P 046 1611 1854 2053 2329 2344 *K* / +ως A C 1006 1841 2846 *Av* / [ως] NA

14:5 +γαρ (vor εισιν) P47 ℵ 046 1006 1611 1841 2329 2344 2846 *K* / –γαρ A C P 1854 2053 NA (*Av* ist hier zwischen beiden Lesarten geteilt)

14:6 ευαγγελισασθαι (oder -σασθε) P47 ℵ 1854 2329 / ευαγγελισαι A C P 046 1006 1611 1841 2053 2344 2846 MT NA

14:7 +την (vor θαλ.) P47 ℵ 046 1854 2053 2329 2344^{vid} *K* / –την A C P 1006 1611 1841 2846 *Av* NA

14:18 –ο (vor εχων) P47 ℵ P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2344 2846 MT / +ο A C 2329 / [ο] NA

15:2 –εκ (vor της εικ.) P47 ℵ 2329 / +εκ A C P 1611 1854 2053 2846 *Av* NA / +εκ (aber ~εικ. . . . θηρ.) 046 1006 1841 *K* / unlesbar 2344

15:4 (nach τις) +σε P47 ℵ 1006 1841 1854 2329 2846 (~σε nach φοβ. *K*) / –σε A C P 046 1611 2053 *Av* NA / unlesbar 2344

15:6 –οι (vor εχοντες) P47 ℵ P 046 1006 1854 2053 2344 *pm* / +οι A C 1611 1841 2329 2846 *pm* / [οι] NA

16:3 (nach ψυχ.) ζωσα P47 ℵ P 046 1854 2053 2344 *Av* / ζωης A C 1006 1611 1841 2846 NA / –ζ. *K* / ζωων 2329

16:4 επι (vor τους ποτ.) P47 ℵ / εις A C P 046 1006 1611 1841 1854 2053 2329 2344 2846 MT NA

Das Ergebnis ist relativ eindeutig: An 14 Stellen stimmt 2846 mit A C überein, an nur 4 Stellen mit P47 ℵ. Wenn man alle genannten Zeugen danach bewertet, wie oft sie an diesen Stellen mit A C gegen P47 ℵ lesen,[35] ergibt sich das in Diagramm 2 dargestellte Bild. Die geringe Anzahl an Teststellen erlaubt allerdings bei allen Zeugen nur eine grobe Einschätzung.[36]

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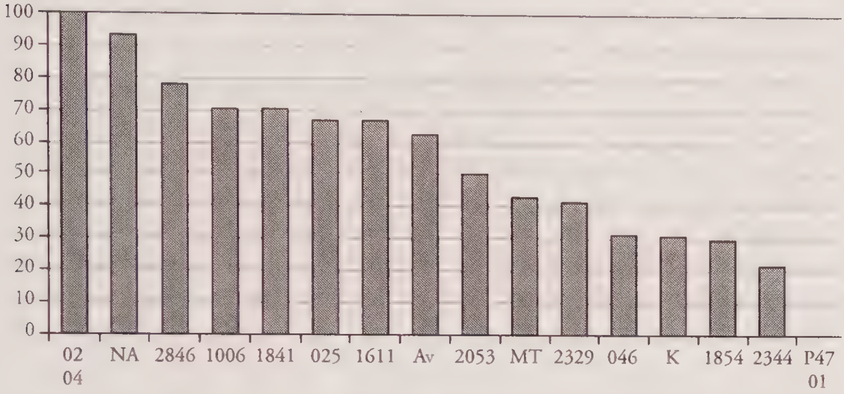
[35] Stellen, an denen der betrachtete Zeuge weder die eine noch die andere Variante liest, wurden nicht berücksichtigt (darunter NA mit 3 unentschiedenen Stellen durch eckige Klammern, sowie MT mit 11 Stellen der Spaltung).

[36] Das gilt besonders für MT, *K* und *Av* (diese erscheinen näher an A C, wenn die in Anm. 34 genannten Stellen mitgezählt werden).

Diagramm 2: Übereinstimmung mit A C gegen P47 ℵ (in %):



Die 2846 ist also nicht nur diejenige Minuskel, die der alexandrinischen Textform insgesamt am nächsten steht (gemessen am Text von NA gegen MT), sondern von den untersuchten Handschriften auch diejenige, die dem Stamm A C am nächsten steht gegen P47 ℵ. Das andere Extrem bildet 2344, die relativ nah bei P47 ℵ steht.[37]

Somit kann die 2846, was ihre Nähe zur alexandrinischen Textform, zu den ältesten erhaltenen Handschriften und zu dem von der Textkritik bevorzugten Wortlaut betrifft, als die herausragendste Minuskelhandschrift für den griechischen Text der Apokalypse bezeichnet werden.

5. Vollkollation von 2846 gegen Nestle-Aland

Um den gesamten Apokalypsetext dieser Handschrift zugänglich zu machen, folgt nun ein Verzeichnis aller Stellen, an denen sein Wortlaut vom NA-Text abweicht, einschließlich aller orthographischen Details und Schreibfehler. Unberücksichtigt bleiben nur Unterschiede in Lesezeichen (Akzente, Interpunktion etc.) und im *ny ephelkystikon*, außerdem werden Abkürzungen und *nomina sacra* aufgelöst. Somit ist der vollständige Wortlaut von 2846, der hier aus Platzgründen nicht abgedruckt wird, mit Hilfe dieser Kollation erschließbar.

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[37] Letzteres wurde auch schon von J. Schmid festgestellt: "Unbeachtete," 186.

Zeichenerklärung:

– steht vor Wörtern oder Passagen, die im NA-Text enthalten, aber in 2846 ausgelassen sind.

+ steht vor Wörtern oder Passagen, die im NA-Text ausgelassen, aber in 2846 enthalten sind.

~ steht vor Wortfolgen in 2846, deren Reihenfolge gegenüber NA umgestellt ist.

: steht bei Ersetzungen, wo zuerst die Lesart von NA genannt ist, danach die Lesart von 2846. Wo kein Missverständnis möglich ist, weil das Wort nur geringfügig verändert ist, steht die Lesart von 2846 allein.

( ) Runde Klammern enthalten vorangehende oder folgende Nachbarwörter, um, wo nötig, die Stelle im Vers genauer zu lokalisieren (besonders bei Hinzufügungen).

$^{1.\,2.\,3.}$ Hochgestellte Ziffern kennzeichnen Wörter, die mehrmals im gleichen Vers vorkommen (nach dem Wortlaut von NA).

Einzelne Buchstaben, die nicht oder nur unsicher lesbar sind, werden, sofern der Wortlaut eindeutig ist, nicht gesondert vermerkt. Wo jedoch mehrere Lesarten in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung existieren (Quelle: Hoskier) und die Lesart von 2846 nicht mit Hilfe der vorhandenen Spuren oder des Platzbedarfs erschließbar ist (auf Basis der Mikrofilmaufnahme), werden die möglichen Lesarten angegeben und mit Fragezeichen versehen (1:15; 13:6; 14:1; 17:3; 18:22; 21:15). Korrekturen des Wortlauts sind ebenfalls vermerkt (1:3; 3:18; 4:2, 9; 6:11 2x; 12:4; 14:4; 19:19; 21:20).[38]

So werden im Folgenden alle Lesarten von 2846 aufgelistet, die vom NA-Text (27. Auflage) abweichen.

Offb 1: 3 αναγινοσκων 2846^{*}, αναγινωσκων 2846^{c} / **5** λουσαντι / **6** ημας : ημων / –αυτου / των αιωνων / **7** –επ / **8** το^{1} : τω / **11** εις Σμυρναν : εις

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[38] Möglicherweise handelt es sich zusätzlich auch in folgenden drei Fällen um Korrekturen: In 2:28 steht ein *spiritus asper* über dem Pi von παρα, möglicherweise wurde zuerst ώ geschrieben und dann noch während des Schreibens zu π korrigiert (in der Form ϖ). Am Omikron von οι in 11:16 sind Spuren eines ε zu erkennen, möglicherweise wollte der Schreiber εικοσι zuerst ohne Artikel schreiben. Das Sigma von τις in 13:9 ist über das τι geschrieben (eine Abkürzung, die in 2846 nicht üblich ist), möglicherweise wurde zuerst versehentlich τι geschreiben und nachher korrigiert.

Μυρναν / Θυατειραν / **13** υιον : υιω / χρυσην / **14** ως$^{1.}$: ωσει / **15** χαλκολιβανω oder χαλκωλιβανω oder χαλκολιβανου? / **16** ~αυτου χειρι / **17** επεσον / εσχατος : αισχατος / **19** +δει (μελλει) / γινεσθαι

Offb 2: 1 –αστερας / **2** (κοπον) +σου / (αποστολους) +ειναι / **3** κεκοπιακες : και κοπιασας / **4** αλλ / αφηκας / **5** +τα (εργα) / **7** (εν) +μεσω / (Θεου) +μου / **9** ~ειναι εαυτους Ιουδαιους / **10** ~εξ υμων ο διαβολος / εχετε / **11** ακουετω / **13** (ημεραις) +μου / Αντειπας / ο πιστος μου : πιστος / **14** –οτι / +του (Βαλααμ) / τον Βαλαακ / **15** [των] : των / **16** –ουν / **17** (αυτω$^{1.}$) +φαγειν εκ / **19** πιστην / διακονιαν : διανοιαν / των πρωτων : των πρωτον (!) / **20** αλλ / προφητην / **21** αυτη : αυτην / **22** βαλλω : καταβαλλω / μετανοηση / **23** ερευνων / **24** Θυατηροις / **25** αχρις / αν ηξω : ελθω / **26** των εθνων : τα εθνη

Offb 3: 1 –επτα$^{2.}$ / **3** (ηξω$^{1.}$) +επι σε / (ηξω$^{2.}$) επι : προς / **4** α : οι / **5** της$^{1.}$: του / **6** ακουετω / **7** κλειν : κλειδα / +του (Δαυιδ) / ουδεεις (κλεισει) / ουδεεις ανοιξει / **8** ανεωγμενην / ουδεεις / ~κλεισαι δυναται / **9** διδω : δεδωκα / ηξωσι / προσκυνησωσιν / γνωσιν : γνωσονται / **12** καινον : κενον / **14** εν Λαοδικεια εκκλησιας : Λαοδικειας / **16** –οτι / ~ψυχρος ουτε ζεστος / **17** –οτι$^{2.}$ / ουδενος / –ουκ / +ο (ελεεινος) / **18** συμβουλευσω / περιβαλει 2846*, περιβαλη 2846^{c} / αισχυνη : ασχημοσυνη / κολλυριον εγχρυσον / **19** ελλεγχω / ζηλευε : ζηλωσον / **20** –[και] / **22** ακουετω

Offb 4: 1 ανεωγμενη / λαλουσα / λεγων : λεγουσα / δει : δη / **2** +και (ευθεως) / εγενωμην 2846*, εγενομην 2846^{c} / (τον) θρονον : (τον) θρονων (!) / **3** σαρδινω / +η (ιρις) / ομοιος$^{2.}$: ομοια / σμαραγδω / **4** τεσσαρες : τεσσαρας / +τους (εικοσι$^{2.}$) / **5** ~βρονται και φωναι / –πυρος / **6** κρυσταλω / –του θρονου$^{2.}$ / **7** δευτερον ζωον : ζωον το δευτερον / εχον / ανθρωπος / πετωμενω / **8** τεσαρα / εχων : εχοντα / +και (κυκλοθεν) / εσωθεν: εσω ως / **9** –επι τω θρονω 2846*, επι τω θρονω 2846^{c}

Offb 5: 1 οπισθεν : εξωθεν / ~επτα σφραγισι / **5** –ο$^{2.}$ / **6** (ειδον) +και ιδου / εσφραγισμενον εχον / [επτα] : επτα / απεσταλμενοι : τα απεσταλμενα / **7** (ειληφε) +το βιβλιον / **8** τεσσαρα : τεσαρα / επεσον / αι εισιν : αει σιν oder α εισιν (sieht aus wie αει, weil *spiritus lenis* auf α und kein Spiritus auf ει) / **9** ~καινην ωδην / εσφαγης : εσφραγισας / (Θεω) +ημας / **10** βασιλευουσιν / **11** –του θρονου και / –και χιλιαδες χιλιαδων / **12** εσφραγισμενον / **13** (θαλασσης) +εστι / παντα : παντας / τω θρονω : του θρονου / **14** επεσον

Offb 6: 1 οτε : οτι / **2** –και$^{6.}$ / **4** σφαξωσι / **6** –ως / **8** –[ο] / μετ αυτου : αυτω / (εξουσια) +αχρι / **9** (ψυχας) +των ανθρωπων / εσφραγισμενων / **10** εκραζον / **11** αναπαυσονται 2846*, αναπαυσωνται 2846^{c} / ~χρονον ετι / πληρωσουσι / αυτων$^{1.}$: αυτον 2846*, αυτων 2846^{c} / –και οι αδελφοι αυτων / αποκτενεσθαι / **12** οτε : οτι / –μεγας / ~εγενετο ολη / **13** επεσον / **16** κρυψαται / **17** αυτων : αυτου

Offb 7: 1 –της$^{4.}$ / παν : τι / **3** αδικησεται / σφραγισομεν / **4** (εκατον) +και / τεσαρακοντα / –υιων / **5** Ρουβιμ / **6** Νεφθαλειμ / **7** χιλιαδες$^{3.}$: χιλιαδας / **8** Βενιαμην / **9** αυτον : αυτους / ουδεις : ουδε εις / εστωτας / περιβεβλημενας / **10** –μεγαλη / **11** του θρονου^{1} : των θρονων / επεσον / **14** επλατυναν / **15** του θρονου^{2} . τω θρονω / **16** διψασουσιν / –ετι$^{2.}$ / (ηλιος) +ετι / **17** του θρονου : των θρονων

Offb 8: 1 εβδομην : ευδομην / **3** του θυσιαστηριου : το θυσιαστηριον / δωσει : δωη / **6** σαλπησωσι / **7** –και το τριτον της γης κατεκαη / –και πας χορτος χλωρος κατεκαη / **10** κεομενος / **13** τοις κατοικουσιν

Offb 9: 4 ερρηθη αυτης / αδικησωσι / (μετωπων) +αυτων / **5** αυτοις : αυταις / βασανισθωσι / **6** ευρωσιν / **7** ως στεφανοι : ωστεφανοι

Offb 9:7 -πα αυτων ως bis **10:9** και πικρανει: Text nicht erhalten, da Blatt fehlt!

Offb 10: 10 βιβλιδαριον / αυτο$^{2.}$: αυτω / **11** μοι : με

Offb 11: 1 εγειραι / μερησον / **2** τεσσαρακοντα / –[και] / **3** (μου) +λογον / **4** ελαιαι : αιλαιαι oder αι λαιαι / –του / εστωτες : εστωσαι / **5** θεληση : θελησει / **6** –την^{1} / παση : πασι / **8** –της πολεως / αυτων^{2} : ημων / **9** αφιουσιν : αφιασι / **10** πεμπουσιν / **12** ηκουσα / αναβητε / **15** εβδομος : ευδομος / λεγοντες : λεγουσαι / **16** εικοσιτεσαρες / –[οι] / καθημενοι : καθηνται / (αυτων^{1}) +και / επεσον / **17** (ην) +και ο ερχομενος / **18** τους φοβουμενους

Offb 12: 2 εν γαστρι : εγγαστρι / **4** συρειι 2846*, συρει 2846^{c} / τεκη : τεκει / **5** αρσενα / ποιμενειν / –εν / σηδηρα / **8** ισχυσαν / +και (ουδε) / **10** εν τω ουρανω : εκ του ουρανου / κατηγωρ : κατηγορος / αυτους : αυτων / **12** –[οι] / **13** ητις : ειτις (nicht getrennt als εἰ τις, da ein Akut auf dem ersten Jota steht; die Art des Spiritus ist unsicher) / **15** ποιησει / **16** εβαλλεν

Offb 13: 1 ονομα / **2** αρκτου / ως στομα : ωστομα / **3** (και^{1}) +ειδον / **4** τω θηριω^{1} : τω θηριον (!) / **5** μεγαλα : μεγα / βλασφημιαι / τεσαρακοντα / [και] : και / **6** σκηνουντας oder σκηνουντες (mit ℵ)? / **7** –και εδοθη αυτω ποιησαι πολεμον μετα των αγιων και νικησαι αυτους / εξουσιαν / **8** αυτον : αυτω / –ού / βιβλω / εσφραγισμενου / **10** -εις αιχμαλωσιαν / μαχαιρη αποκτανθηναι^{1} : μαχαιρα αποκταιννει / +δι (αυτον) / μαχαιρη$^{2.}$: μαχαιρα / **12** προσκυνησωσι / **13** ποιη : ποιει / **14** ενωπιον : επι / μαχαιρας / **15** ποιησει / -[ινα] / οσοι εαν : οσι αν / προσκυνησουσι / **16** δωσιν αυτοις : λαβωσι το / (χαραγμα) +αυτου / χειρος αυτων της δεξιας : δεξιας χειρος αυτων / **18** ψηλαφησατω / (αυτου) +εστιν / εξακοσια εξηκοντα εξ

Offb 14: 1 εστος oder εστως? / τεσσαρακοντα / ονομα$^{2.}$: ομα / γεγραμμενων / **2** φωνην$^{3.}$: φωνης / κηθαρωδων κιθαριζωντων / **3** [ως] : ως / –αι / τεσαρακοντα / **4** εμολυνθησαν : αιμολυνθησαν / υπαγει 2846*, υπαγη 2846^{c} / **5** (αμωμοι) +γαρ / **6** –επι$^{1.}$ / –και γλωσσαν / **8** αγγελος δευτερος : δε ετερος / ηκολουθισε / πεποτηκε / **9** (λαμβανει) +το / **10** βασανισθησονται / **12** οι τηρουντες : των τηρουντων / **13** αποθνησκωντες / αρτι ναι : αρχης και / αναπαυσωνται / **14** υιον : υιω / εχον / την κεφαλην / **15** (ωρα) +του / **16** εβαλλεν / την νεφελην / **17** εχον / **18** [εξηλθεν] : εξηλθεν / –[ο]

Offb 15: 2 υαλινην$^{1.}$: υεληνην / υαλινην$^{2.}$: υελινην / **3** –του$^{1.}$ / εθνων : αιωνων / **4** (τις) +σε / δοξαση / (οσιος) +ει / –τα εθνη / (σου$^{2.}$) +*Κ*υριε / **6** [οι] : οι / **7** τεσαρων

Offb 16: 1 ~φωνης μεγαλης / **3** –τα / **4** (και$^{2.}$) +εις / εγενοντο / **5** (αγγελου) +του επι / –ο^{3} / **6** εδωκας / **9** το ονομα : κατα του ονοματος / –την / **10** εμασσωντο / **13** (ειδον) +και / **14** (δαιμονιων) +ακαθαρτων / α εκπορευεται : εκπορευεσθαι / ημερας της μεγαλης : μεγαλης ημερας / **17** ευδομος / **18** ανθρωποι εγενοντο / ουτως / **19** επεσον

Offb 17: 1 –εκ / δειξω σοι : δειξωσι / **2** εμεθυσαν / **3** με : μοι / (ερημον) +τοπον / γεμον oder γεμων? / **4** –και$^{3.}$ / κεχρυσωμενω χρυσω / **6** εθαυμασαν / **10** επεσον / **14** πολεμησωσι / **16** ουτοι : ουτω / μισουσι / **17** και$^{2.}$: αυτων

Offb 18: 1 των ουρανων / **2** –[και φυλακη παντος θηριου ακαθαρτου] / **3** –του οινου / πεπτωκασι / του^{3} : τους (στρηνους) / **4** εξελθε / –εξ αυτης ο λαος μου / συνκοινωνησηται / **6** αυτη$^{1.}$: αυτης / –τα$^{1.}$ / κερασαται / **7** αυτην : εαυτην / βασιλεισσα / ιδω : ειδω / **8** –*Κ*υριος / **9** αυτην : αυτη / **10** μιαν ωραν / **11** αυτην : αυτη / γομον αυτων : λογον αυτης / **12** σηρικου / ξυλου : λιθου / **13** κιναμωμον / θυμιαμα / ιππους / ρεδων : ραβδων / **14** απηλθον / (λιπαρα) +σου / ου μη αυτα ευρησουσιν : αυτα ου μη ευρησωσιν / **16** –[εν] / χρυσω / **17** –ο$^{1.}$ / **18** εκραξαν / βλεποντες : λεγοντες / καπνον : τοπον / λεγωντες / **19** εβαλον : επεβαλον / εκραξαν / –ουαι / εν τη θαλασση : εκ της θαλασσης / **21** μυλον / εβαλλεν / **22** κιθαρωδων oder κιθαροδων oder κιθαραδων? / **23** λυχνιου / –οι$^{1.}$

Offb 19: **2** (και^{2}) +*Κ*υριος / **3** ειρηκασιν / **4** επεσον / **5** (ημων) +αινειτε / [και] : και / –οι$^{4.}$ / **6** –ως$^{1.}$ / ως$^{2.}$: εις / –[ημων] / **7** δωσωμεν : δωμεν / **9** αληθινοι του Θεου : του Θεου μου αληθινοι / **10** επεσον / (ποδων) +του αγγελου / (μη) +ποιησεις / **11** ανεωγμενον / [καλουμενος] : καλουμενος / **12** [ως] : ως / εχον / **13** βεβαμμενον : ερραντισμενον / **14** –[τα] / ενδεδυμενος / βυσσινον λευκον : λευκοβυσσινον / **15** παταξει / **16** –επι το ιματιον και / **17** –[εν] / **18** +των (μεγαλων) / **19** –τον / ποιησαι πολεμον μετα του καθημενου ποιησαι πολεμον μετα του καθημενου 2846* (Dittographie), ποιησαι πολεμον μετα του καθημενου 2846^{c} / **20** ~ο μετ αυτου / την καιομενην

Offb 20: 1 εχον / **2** τον οφιν τον αρχαιον / **3** αυτον^{2} : αυτην / **4** εκαθησαν / (και^{4}) +ειδον / (χαραγμα) +του θηριου / (Χριστου) +τα / **6** [τα] : τα / **8** –της γης / +τον (Μαγωγ) / ως η : ωσει / **9** (πυρ) +απο του Θεου / **10** +του (θειου) / **11** αυτον : αυτου / (προσωπου) +αυτου / –ο / **12** βιβλιοις : βιβλοις / **14+15** –ουτος ο θανατος ο δευτερος εστιν η λιμνη του πυρος και ει τις ουχ ευρεθη εν τη βιβλω της ζωης γεγραμμενος εβληθη εις την λιμνην του πυρος

Offb 21: 1 καινην : κενην / η πρωτη : οι πρωτοι / απηλθον / **2** (ειδον) +και / **3** θρονου : ουρανου / [αυτων Θεος] : αυτων ο Θεος / **4** (εξαλειψει) +ο Θεος / εσται ετι^{1} : ~ετι εσται / –[οτι] / απηλθον / **5** επι : εν / (λεγει) +μοι / ~οι λογοι ουτοι / **6** γεγονασιν / [ειμι] : ειμι / αλφα : α / **7** –αυτος / **8** εβδελλυγμενοις / **11** εχουσα / **12** πυλωνας : πυλας / [τα ονοματα] : τα ονοματα / **14** εχον / **15** μετρηση oder μετρησει? / **16** [και] : και / την πολιν : τη πολει / σταδιους / **17** τεσσαρακοντα τεσαρων / **18** (και^{1}) +ην / ενδημωσις / υελω / **19** σαπφειρος / **20** σαρδωνυξ / ομεθυστος 2846*, ομεθυσος 2846^{c} / **21** ανα εις : ινα και / υελος / **22** +ο (ναος) / **23** εφωτησεν / **27** –[ο] / βδελλυγμα

Offb 22: 1 κρυσταλον / –εκ του θρονου / **2** εν μεσω : εμμεσω / (ποταμου) +εν μεσω / αποδιδον / φυλα / **5** ουκ εχουσιν : ουχ εξουσιν / **6** (απεστειλε) +με / **8** ~βλεπων και ακουων / επεσον / **9** (μη) +ποιησεις / –τουτου / **11** ρυπαρευθητω / **12** εστιν : εσται / **13** (εγω) +ειμι / αλφα : α / –ο^{2} / **16** επι : εν / ο^{3} : και / **18** γεγραμενας / **21** (παντων) +των αγιων αμην

Unterschiede in der Zusammen- bzw. Getrenntschreibung (erkennbar an der Akzentuierung) betreffen: εικοσιτεσσαρας (4:4 2x), εικοσιτεσσαρες (4:10; 5:8) bzw. εικοσιτεσαρες (11:16), οτ αν (4:9; 8:1; 9:5; 11:7; 12:4; 17:10; 18:9; 20:7), τεσαρακοντατεσσαρες (14:3), διατι (17:7), ουκ ετι (18:11, 14), sowie ουδε εις (7:9—dagegen ουδεεις 3:7 2x; 3:8).

6. Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse

Natürlich ist eine genauere Charakterisierung des Textes von 2846 wünschenswert, auch über die in Teil 3 und 4 untersuchten Aspekte hinaus, etwa um die Frage zu beantworten, mit welchen Handschriften 2846 am ehesten verwandt ist. Da das Apokalypse-Material für *Text und Textwert* noch nicht vorliegt, kann gegenwärtig noch keine endgültige Antwort darauf gegeben werden. Aber erste Einschätzungen sind schon möglich: (a) durch Vergleich mit dem im NA-Apparat vorliegenden Datenmaterial, (b) durch erste Auswertungen schon vorhandener Teststellen-Kollationen.

(a) Bekanntlich sind, um verwandte Handschriften zu ermitteln, besonders diejenigen Lesarten zu betrachten, die die zu untersuchende Handschrift mit einer kleinen Anzahl von Mitzeugen gegen die Mehrheit liest.[39] Diese Fälle teilen sich auf in solche, wo 2846 *mit* NA gegen die Mehrheit liest (die meisten dieser Stellen sind im NA-Apparat verzeichnet, also in Teil 3 aufgeführt), und solche, wo 2846 *gegen* NA und gegen die Mehrheit liest (diese Stellen finden sich in Teil 5, und einige von ihnen sind im NA-Apparat verzeichnet). Für die erstgenannte Kategorie finden sich 52 Fälle, für die zweitgenannte 71 Fälle, wo 2846 gegen die Mehrheit liest *und* entsprechende Mitzeugen im NA-Apparat aufgeführt sind, so dass die jeweiligen Übereinstimmungen sofort ermittelt werden können.[40] Das Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung ist für die sieben jeweils am stärksten mit 2846 übereinstimmenden Zeugen (wobei 1611 in der ersten Kategorie und C in der zweiten Kategorie weiter abfällt) in Tabelle 2 zusammengefasst.

Tabelle 2: **Übereinstimmung mit 2846 in Minderheitslesarten**

2846 stimmt überein mit	an Stellen mit NA gegen MT	an Stellen gegen NA und gegen MT	insgesamt
ℵ	37/52 = 71,2%	19/71 = 26,8%	56/123 = 45,5%
A	**49/52 = 94,2%**	28/71 = 39,4%	**77/123 = 62,6%**
C	**31/33 = 93,9%**	(10/50 = 20,0%)	41/83 = 49,4%
1006	27/52 = 51,9%	**41/71 = 57,7%**	**68/123 = 55,3%**
1611	(23/52 = 44,2%)	24/71 = 33,8%	47/123 = 38,2%
1841	27/52 = 51,9%	**43/71 = 60,6%**	**70/123 = 56,9%**
2050	15/24 = 62,5%	10/27 = 37,0%	25/51 = 49,0%
2344	21/37 = 56,8%	14/47 = 29,8%	35/84 = 41,7%

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[39] Vgl. K. Aland und B. Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments: Einführung in die wissenschaftlichen Ausgaben sowie in Theorie und Praxis der modernen Textkritik* (2. Aufl.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1989) 335.

[40] Hierbei wurden im Sinne von Minderheitslesarten nur Stellen berücksichtigt, wo 2846 mit *pc* oder *al* liest (oder mit Einzelzeugen), aber nicht mit *K* oder *Av*.

Wir sehen, dass in der ersten Kategorie die Majuskeln A und C, in der zweiten die Minuskeln 1006 und 1841 die meisten Übereinstimmungen mit 2846 zeigen.[41]

(b) Bisher wurden nur die im NA-Apparat verzeichneten Zeugen betrachtet; um nun *alle* Handschriften zu berücksichtigen, greife ich auf die neuen Teststellen-Kollationen vor, die ich auch an Handschriften durchgeführt habe, die nicht von Hoskier und Schmid untersucht wurden und daher noch wenig bekannt sind. Dort zeichnet sich ein ähnliches Ergebnis ab, nämlich nach einem gewissen Abstand als erstes eine Nähe zu 1841 2625 2794, dicht gefolgt von A C (911) 1006 2582. Die genannten Minuskeln sind übrigens auch untereinander verwandt, sie gehören der Familie 1006 an.[42] Außerdem ist ein Bruch in der Textform von 2846 erkennbar: Die Nähe zu Familie 1006 besteht erst ab Kapitel fünf. In den ersten vier Kapiteln steht die Familie 052 1678 1778 2020 2080 näher; hier scheinen C und 2080 die meisten Übereinstimmungen mit 2846 zu haben.[43]

Allerdings: Dies sind alles entferntere Beziehungen, keine unmittelbaren Verwandtschaften. Eine Handschrift, deren Text dem von 2846 sehr ähnlich wäre, oder eine Familie, der sie im engeren Sinne zugeordnet werden könnte, gibt es unter den heute bekannten Zeugen nicht. Zusammenfassend wird man sagen können, dass 2846 vom Textcharakter her etwa im Bereich zwischen dem Stamm A C und der Familie 1006 zu lokalisieren ist (anders in den ersten vier Kapiteln).

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[41] Wenn wir hingegen alle Stellen von Teil 3 und Teil 4 berücksichtigen (ohne Einschränkung auf Minderheitslesarten), so ergibt sich als Gesamtzahl der Übereinstimmungen mit 2846, geteilt durch die Anzahl von Stellen mit lesbarem Text, die Rangfolge: 1841 (66,9%), 1006 (65,0%), C (61,4%), NA (58,4%), 1611 (57,5%), A (56,6%), 2050 2344 (beide 54,5%), א (53,7%). Der Unterschied zwischen dieser und der oben gegebenen Bewertung ist der zwischen "Ergänzungsliste" und "Hauptliste" in *Text und Textwert*.

[42] J. Schmid bezeichnet die Familie als f. 1006 und ordnet ihr 1006, 1841 und 2040 (heute 911) zu, wobei die zuletzt genannte erst ab Offb 11:9 diesem Typ angehört (J. Schmid, *Studien* 2, 24-26). Die Minuskeln 2582 2625 2794 wurden von Schmid noch nicht untersucht, ihre Zugehörigkeit zu Familie 1006 ist ein neueres Ergebnis meiner Kollationen.

[43] Die genaue Grenze ist schwer zu bestimmen: In Offb 4:7 liest 2846 noch ως ανθρωπος und in 4:8 εχοντα mit Familie 052, in Offb 5:6 schon +και ιδου und τα απεσταλμενα mit Familie 1006; der Text dazwischen bietet keine Varianten, die eine Aussage in dieser Hinsicht ermöglichen. Auch optisch kann ich keinen Bruch erkennen.

7. Ausblick

Als Endergebnis bleibt festzuhalten: Die 2846 gehört zu den vier Handschriften, die der alexandrinischen Textform am nächsten stehen und zugleich halbwegs vollständig erhalten sind (א A C 2846), und im Vergleich zwischen P47 א und A C steht 2846 näher bei A C. Sie ist somit ein wichtiger neuer Zeuge für die Textkritik. Wir sehen, dass sich auch heute noch unter neuentdeckten Handschriften Exemplare von großem Wert für die Textforschung befinden können und es sich daher lohnt, diesem Bereich die gebührende Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen.

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Book Reviews

Klaus Wachtel and Michael W. Holmes, *The Textual History of the Greek New Testament: Changing Views in Contemporary Research*, Text-Critical Studies, Number 8, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011) viii + 226 pp. ISBN 978-1-58983-624-2 $ 34.95.

Since Eldon Jay Epp offered his "requiem" for the discipline of New Testament Textual Criticism (at least in America) at the San Francisco Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting in 1977, this field of study has experienced something of a resurrection. New manuscript discoveries have combined with fresh approaches such as Bart Ehrman's study of "Orthodox Corruption" to make the discipline both exciting and inviting. Advances in computer-assisted research have aided in developing new methods in studying the relationships of different manuscripts and reassessing text-types. Chief among these fruits in manuscript study has been the development of the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) developed by Gerd Mink of the Institut für Neutstamentliche Textforschung at Münster University. The essays in this volume represent the papers delivered at a conference in Münster in August of 2008 to assess the state of the discipline today, with special attention to the CBGM. The longest essay in the book by Gerd Mink is entitled "Contamination, Coherence and Coincidence in Textual Transmission: The Coherence-Based Genealogical Method (CBGM) as a Complement and Corrective to Existing Approaches" (pp. 141-216).

The essays in this volume engage some of the major issues in contemporary New Testament textual research. The first two contributors treat the questions surrounding the earliest attainable text of the New Testament. D.C. Parker's essay asserts the impossibility of the attempt to recover a single original text, and hence the editor or critic must be content with "the text from which the readings in the extant manuscripts are genealogically descended" (p. 21). This is Parker's definition of the "initial text," and it is the text which the editors of the *Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) seek to establish as the base text. On the other hand, writes Holger Strutwolf, "The quest for the original text does not as such involve contradictions and logical impossibilities" (p. 41). Nevertheless, he recognizes that this goal is much more problematic due to what Epp dubs the "multivalence of the term 'original text.'"

The shorter essays in this volume address a number of issues that have a direct bearing on the text-critical task. David Trobisch writes of "The Need to Discern Distinctive Editions of the New Testament in the Manuscript Tradition." Ulrich Schmid raises issues of "scribal performance," and sharpens the distinction between scribal and non-scribal activities. Michael W. Holmes explores the problems of working with an "open" tradition: one in which the scribes have not simply copied from one exemplar, but are

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subject to influence from other manuscripts. J.K. Elliott refers to text-critics as "greedy people" (p. 129) and to himself as "greedy scholar" (p. 139), and calls for the presentation of the evidence in an *apparatus criticus to* be as exhaustive as possible. This goal is now in sight with the development of electronic editions. One example may suffice to show how important is Elliott's plea. In 1 Peter 2:11 a few manuscripts read ὑμᾶς after ἀπέχεσθαι rather than after παρακαλῶ. At least one modern editor (Kilpatrick/*Diglot*) believes that the former is the "original" reading. ECM 1 Peter (p. 134) does not list this alternative, though the range of options is found in Tischendorf's eighth edition. A truly comprehensive edition would have included this variant.

The second longest essay by Eldon Jay Epp is entitled "Traditional 'Canons' of New Testament Textual Criticism: Their Value, Validity and Viability—or Lack Thereof." Epp's thorough review warrants the use of the term *History* in the title of the book. Most of the "canons" come under Epp's scrutiny, but some are simply listed, or even lumped together. Hence numbers 13, 14 and 15, dealing with parallel passages in the New Testament, Old Testament, and liturgical forms, merit no more than a mention. At least with regard to the variations involving quotations, allusions or echoes of the Old Testament in the New Testament more thorough discussion is called for, as I illustrate below.

Gerd Mink's long essay represents the substance of the second day of the August 2008 conference in Münster. Mink asserts, "Genealogical research should be based on full collation of *all* extant manuscripts" (p. 147). In practice, however, the ECM was edited in the Catholic Epistles with a selection of manuscript. Although the ECM does not use witnesses beyond the 9th century, the selection of earliest manuscripts actually reflects what may be seen in the manuscripts they do use, i.e. readings in the Byzantine text-type (not that they now use such language) that are known in pre-10th century manuscripts. The CBGM proceeds by establishing the relationship between manuscripts, focusing on one variant unit at a time. The cumulative results are then compared against those manuscripts generally assumed to be the most reliable. Thus, it is hoped, a pattern of coherence will emerge, and the problems of contamination and coincidence addressed, in the quest for the initial text (*Ausgangstext*).

In illustrating the CBGM Mink presents the variant at James 2:23, φίλος/δοῦλος. Mink asserts that 1) Scribes aim to copy a *Vorlage* with fidelity. 2) If a scribe introduces divergent variants, they come from another source and are not "invented." 3) The scribe uses few rather than many sources. 4) The sources feature closely related texts rather than less related ones (pp. 151-155). These basic assumptions have been validated by the CBGM, other things being equal. But at James 2:23, as in many other instances in the New Testament, there is an added factor that can contribute to "contamination." Here we have a quotation from the Old Testament (Gen 15:6) followed by a "scriptural" allusion of uncertain origin (2 Chron 20:7, Isa 41:8 and Sap 7:2 are suggested by NA^{27}). Nowhere in the LXX is Abraham called the *friend* (φίλος) *of God.* However in Psalm 105:42 (LXX 104:42) Abraham is referred to as God's δοῦλος, his "servant." The Vulgate *Iuxta Heb.* reads Abraham servo suo. *Iuxta LXX* "Abraham puerum suum." We may assume that the copyist was likely also to be a singer of the psalms, and the combination of a regular recitation of Ps 104, and the absence of the term φίλος for Abraham in the LXX would have contributed to the "contamination." The Old Testament textual tradition, especially the LXX, must be seriously considered in assessing variations within quotations, allusions and echoes.

Further exploration along these lines is beyond the scope of a book review. But these and other considerations illustrate that this volume is both essential and thought-provoking reading for anyone interested in contemporary research on the text of the New Testament.

Peter R. Rodgers

Claire Clivaz and Jean Zumstein (eds.), with Jenny Read-Heimerdinger and Julie Paik, *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context—Lire les papyrus du Nouveau Testament dans leur contexte* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011) xiv + 440 pp. ISBN 978-90-429-2506-9 €80 (= *BETL* 242.)

The book presents the proceedings of a congress held at the University of Lausanne in October 2009. It contains 16 articles (two in German, five in French and the rest in English; two are written by the same author), distributed into four parts: 1) "Papyrology and the New Testament", 2) "Egypt, Papyri and Christians", 3) "Every Papyrus Tells a Story", 4) "Some Further Considerations". The authors, to mention only some, are noted because of their work in New Testament exegesis (J. Zumstein) or papyrology (P. Schubert); or for sharing an interest in manuscripts either in relation to New Testament textual criticism (J. K. Elliott, J. Read-Heimerdinger-J. Rius-Camps) or in connection with early Christian history (T. J. Kraus, K. Haines-Eitzen, A.-M. Luijendijk). Almost all of the contributors base their arguments on the analysis of specific texts transmitted in papyri. Some useful indexes close the book. Unfortunately, the pictures on pp. 124-125 are of poor quality. In cases like these in which the publisher cannot guarantee a good plate, it might be better just to refer to the web page containing the picture.

The notion that papyri are fundamental for our knowledge of the New Testament text is not new. What is more novel is the use has been made of them lately and the modes of interaction between papyrology and exegesis in recent years. T. J. Kraus presents a good picture of the situation. Concrete examples of the new approaches and possibilities appear throughout the volume, several of them bearing a direct relation to New Testament textual criticism.

One aspect which is discussed or alluded to in several articles is the recent shift in the understanding of the concept of "original text." For example, for C. Clivaz, in the present digital culture, where the barriers between disciplines and classification of manuscripts are getting blurred, "the notion of 'original text' is moving from a linear origin-perception to an associative perception of texts, situated within a diversity of networks," which calls for "an online critical edition of the Greek New Testament, with an apparatus open to the 'wiki' mode involving interaction between scholars" (p. 52). This new understanding also has some theological consequences, as Clivaz herself argues in relation to the status of the Scriptures and X. Gravend-Tirole discusses from the history of the formation of the canon and in relation to the hermeneutical principle of *sola Scriptura*.

The call to draw greater profit from the digital advances is also taken up by J. K. Elliott, who examines the editions of the New Testament papyri published since 1997 and underlines the importance of gaining quick access to manuscripts via the internet, so that critics may have a fuller *apparatus* at their disposal. The employment of new tools in New Testament textual criticism may be seen especially in two articles. In the first, D. Pastorelli calculates the distance between P^{45} and the main Greek manuscripts of Mark 6 and 9 by means of what he calls a "clustering method" and the statistical processing software PHYLIP (Phylogeny Inference Package); in the second,

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M. Theophilos advocates the use of multispectral imaging to recover faded, damaged, charred or oxidised readings of papyri. But the volume also contains more traditional types of analysis, as exemplified by J. Read-Heimerdinger—J. Rius-Camps's article, which seeks to trace the readings of Acts in Codex Bezae in the papyri witnesses of this book, as a starting point for the study of the development of the text of Acts in a wider context.

The other great area of interaction between papyrology and exegesis has to do with the history that lies behind each biblical papyrus. The volume tries to emphasize the importance of not limiting the analysis of a manuscript to the text that it transmits but of framing it in the world in which it was produced, read and used. And this should be done not only bearing in mind the bulk of the extant papyrological witnesses (P. Schubert), but also in comparison with literary and documentary texts, Christian and Jewish (R. Burnet, T. J. Kraus, S. Honigman, and D. Stoekl). The possibilities in this field are most varied, as the contributions reveal (C.-J. Gruber, K. Haines-Eitzen, J. Zumstein). A good example is the article, interesting both methodologically and conceptually, by A. Luijendijk, who analyses the three extant *Gospel of Thomas* papyri from the point of view of their format (book roll and codex) and in conjunction with other papyri and Christian literary writings, in order to determine to what degree *Gosp. Th.* might have had the status of Scripture in third century Oxyrhynchus.

In the present global world, where the barriers between different areas of knowledge are gradually falling, any effort to close the gap between biblical exegesis and papyrology is most welcome.

Juan Chapa

Peter R. Rodgers, *Text and Story: Narrative Studies in New Testament Textual Criticism* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011) 126 pp. $17 ISBN 1-61097-304-5

When enquiring which one of the variant readings in a particular verse represents the original, the student sometimes finds that the usual criteria for determining this (internal and external evidence, transcriptional possibilities) which work so well elsewhere, are here indecisive or disputed. Rodgers (PRR) has come forward with an application of an old proposal. Testing it out on ten examples (Mark 9:29; 15:34; Luke 3:22; 4:18; 22:43-44; Acts 20:28; Rom 8:2; 8:28; Phil 4:7; Heb 2:9), PRR argues that light is thrown on the student's dilemma by investigating the Old Testament narrative background of the verse in question. Granted that a variant reading sounds like an Old Testament passage, (s)he should check to see whether there are traces elsewhere in this passage that are echoed in the context of the variant reading. If there are, the balance may be tipped in its favour, however meagre the support it receives from the application of "the usual criteria," all the more so if a link with early-church dogma can be established.

I shall take as an example the longest of PRR's short studies, Heb. 2:9 (pp. 31-43), where the tradition reads both χάριτι θεοῦ and χωρὶς θεοῦ. In a nutshell: the former reading has the support of most of the Greek and versional MSS, the latter of many early-church Fathers. Of these Origen is the most important. He found the latter in most MSS and accepted it himself, though he is also familiar with the former and could quote that as well. Along with the first hand of 1739 Origen's MSS take us back to a date as early as the earliest of the other Greek MSS, to c. A.D. 200. Ambrose and Jerome also knew MSS that read it which may be as early. So, did Jesus die "by the grace of God" or, something very different, "apart from God"? In this particular case "the usual criteria" may have something to contribute but the Old Testament context has an important, even decisive role to play. With other scholars PRR not only noticed that χωρὶς θεοῦ expressed *ex hypothesi* a sentiment very similar to Ps 22:1, God's forsaking of his servant, but that Ps 22 is definitely quoted elsewhere in this chapter (22:22 in 2:12) and later on (22:24 in 5:7), God's listening to his servant. In other words, since the early chapters of Hebrews twice resonate with themes from the rest of the Psalm, it is likely that we are correct in identifying another trace of it in 2:9 which is also thematically akin to 2:12; thus the originality of χωρὶς θεοῦ is strengthened. PRR makes no mention of the use of χωρὶς θεοῦ in Nestorian debates, following B. D. Ehrman in seeing its earlier use in Docetic debates about the adoption of Jesus by the Christ at the baptism and Jesus's abandonment by the Christ at the crucifixion. (Of course the frequent use made of the phrase by Origen excludes any idea of its having *originated* as late as Nestorius.)

This resumé of one study cannot do justice to PRR's rich argument in all ten though I do not agree that it is plausible in every case. It takes forward the work of C. H. Dodd, B. M. Metzger, R. B. Hays, Ehrman, and others who are frequently referred to. It offers to the text critic another tool for the determination of original readings and to the student of the New Testament's use of the Old a tool for assessing possibly fainter but palpable echoes.

Each study concludes with a reconstruction of the variant's "Transmission History." Here PRR is disposed to blame later scribes, usually Gentiles, for failing to see the

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Jewish background in a variant and as a result correcting it (e.g. pp. 53; 60 "the echoes would have been less discernible"; 70; 76; 92). This may well be true, but when (p. 40 n. 34) modern critics are not spared, being similarly charged with being "tone deaf... to intertestamental echoes," this seems a bit rich, especially when the οὐκ that Harnack and others proposed before εἰσακουθείς at Heb 5:7 has probably been found in Aphrahat, the fourth century Syriac (i.e. *Semitic*) writer; cf. *Studia Patristica* 35 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), pp. 125-131.

The substance of this monograph is illuminating, replete with 17 pages of bibliography and a source-index, but its presentation is careless. There is one place where an egregious error is found. On p. 76, dealing with the addition or substitution of καὶ τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν at Phil 4:7, PRR quotes directly from Tischendorf (vol. 2, p. 723) a passage from the Latin commentator Marius Victorinus. This has been mistranscribed: PRR's omission of Tischendorf's dash between *resurrectione* and *corpora* turns into a single sentence two separate sentences divided in the original from each other by nearly 50 words, and inevitably makes a hash of the translation, which itself doesn't make sense. Its very nonsense should have alerted somebody that trouble was afoot and that it should be double-checked against the original in *PL* 8.1230A or Locher's Teubner edition (1972) or *Corpus Christianorum* 83/2 (1986). It is a pity that this, with more misspelt Latin (p. 81) and far too many typos, spoils a good book.

J. Lionel North

Stefan Krauter, *Studien zu Römer 13.1-7: Paulus und der politische Diskurs der neronischen Zeit.* WUNT 243 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009) xi + 352 pp. Cloth ISBN 978-3-16-150099-2. 99 €

Weil an keiner anderen Stelle so grundlegend über das Verhältnis der Christen zum Staat gesprochen wird und die scheinbar so absolut formulierten Aussagen des Paulus zum Staat und seinem Verhältnis zu Gott Exegeten Kopfzerbrechen bereiten, gehört Röm 13:1-7 zu den ntl. Texten, die viel Aufmerksamkeit erhalten haben. Während der Text in der christlichen Ethik breit rezipiert wurde, wird selten nach seiner genauen Verankerung im Gesamtzusammenhang des Römerbriefs und nach seiner Verortung im politischen Diskurs seiner Zeit gefragt. Welche Rolle spielt es, dass der Jude und röm. Bürger Paulus dieses Thema in einer auf den ersten Blick scheinbar wahllos zusammengestellten Reihe von Einzelmahnungen gerade gegenüber den stadtröm. Christen aufgreift? Diesen Fragen widmet sich die vorliegende Tübinger Habilitationsschrift. Krauters Ziel ist es, „den in der Geschichte des Christentums vielfach zu politischen Zwecken gebrauchten Text Röm 13:1-7 im Kontext der Herrschaft und Herrschaftsideologie des röm. Reiches zu seiner Abfassungszeit sorgfältig historisch zu analysieren—kritisch und doch ohne vorschnelle, sei es positive, sei es negative Wertung“ (2).

Krauter beginnt mit einer Skizze der Forschungsgeschichte (4-54), die neben den klassischen Positionen ausführlich neuere Entwicklungen berücksichtigt: Röm 13:1-7 in der new perspective on Paul, im „new view of Paul“, in der neueren anti-imperialen Paulusdeutung, in der evangelikalen englischsprachigen Forschung (als Beispiel der Kommentar von D.J. Moo von 1996) sowie in der südafrikanischen Diskussion (A. Boesak, J. Botha). Zentrale Herausforderungen bei der Auslegung sind die Verschiebung von der bisher dominierenden „Kirche und Staat“—Thematik hin zur Verhältnisbestimmung von Christen, Juden und Römern, Röm 13:1-7 als Element eines größeren brieflichen Kommunikationsprozesses, Probleme der Einzelexegese und Röm 13:1-7 innerhalb der Theologie des Paulus. Zu seinem Vorgehen schreibt Krauter:

> Erstens wird der Text als Teil der brieflichen Kommunikation zwischen Paulus und den stadtrömischen Christen untersucht; zweitens wird er verstanden als von den politischen Gegebenheiten der Entstehungszeit, d.h. des frühen Prinzipats, bzw. genauer: der Frühzeit Kaiser Neros, beeinflusst; drittens wird er gelesen als Beitrag zum politischen Diskurs dieser Zeit und viertens wird er auf dem Hintergrund der politischen Traditionen der jüdischen und hellenistisch-röm. Welt ausgelegt (52).

Im zweiten Kapitel schildert Krauter ausführlich die historische Situation hinter Röm 13:1-7 (55-136; das neronische Zeitalter, Paulus als Jude, als Römer und Paulus als Jude und Römer, sowie die Situation der Empfänger als Römer, die stadtröm. Christen und ihr Verhältnis zu den Juden in Rom, die röm. Christen und Juden und die röm. Behörden).

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Kapitel drei untersucht Röm 13:1-7 als Teil der Kommunikation zwischen Paulus und den röm. Christen in den historischen Umständen von Autor und Adressaten (137-160). Zunächst schildert Krauter nach Behandlung epistolographischer Aspekte, das Wissen des Paulus über die Christen in Rom, stellt die verschiedenen Theorien zum Anlass zu Röm 13:1-7 vor (Röm 13:1-7 als situationsunabhängiger paränetischer Topos, als Apologie des Paulus, als Reaktion auf die Situation der röm. Christen) und bringt die Verse mit dem Abfassungszweck des Römerbriefs in Verbindung (154-159). Krauter argumentiert hier minimalistisch („Das Ergebnis der Überprüfung verschiedener in der Forschung vorgebrachter Modelle für Anlass und Abfassungszweck von Röm 13:1-7 bzw. für den Zusammenhang des Textes mit einem möglichen Anlass und Abfassungszweck des Römerbriefs insgesamt ist ernüchternd“, 159). Man kann mit guten Gründen einen missionsstrategischen Ansatz mit der Zweckbestimmung des Römerbriefs als pastoralem Sendschreiben verbinden (vgl. Theobald's Zweckbestimmung als erhoffter „Eröffnung einer apostolischen Partnerschaft“) und Röm 13:1-7 in diesen Kontext, aber auch in Röm 12:1-15:13, bzw. das Briefganze einordnen. Was Krauter vorsichtig erwägt und verwirft, läßt sich durchaus begründen und bietet eine plausible Erklärung, warum Paulus gerade in diesem Brief und an dieser Stelle im Brief auf die Thematik von Röm 13:1-7 eingeht. Dann bräuchte man nicht allgemein auf die situative Verankerung jeder menschlichen Äußerung zu insistieren (160).

Das vierte Kapitel bietet eine detaillierte Exegese von Röm 13:1-7 unter den Stichworten: Beherrschte und Herrscher, Herrschaftslegitimation, die Normbindung von Herrschaft, die grundlegenden Verhaltensoptionen der Beherrschten sowie konkrete Zeichen der Unterordnung (161-242). Nach Krauter ist Röm 13:1-7 Teil des politischen Diskurs der neronischen Zeit (die verwendeten Begriffe sind wenig spezifisch, „sie entstammen nicht einem speziellen Vokabular der röm. Provinzverwaltung, bzw. sind nicht in dem speziellen, geprägten Sinne verwendet, den sie dort haben“, 238) ohne von bestimmten Werken der griech. oder röm. politischen Theorie oder einzelnen zeitgenössischen politischen Texten abhängig zu sein. Röm 13:1-7 „legitimiert *prinzipiell* Herrschaft und fordert die Beherrschten *grundsätzlich* zur Unterordnung, d.h. konkret zum Gehorsam gegenüber den Herrschenden auf“ (238). Entgegen antiimperialen Deutungen hält Krauter fest: „Versuche, bestimmte Wendungen im Text einer herrschaftskritischen, die Ansprüche von Herrschern einschränkenden oder gar gegen sie polemisierenden Hintersinn zu entnehmen, lassen sich nicht plausibel begründen“ (239), und weiter: „Gegenüber Formen religiöser Herrschaftslegitimation und kultischer Herrscherverehrung, die mit dem Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch des jüdischen Gottes nicht vereinbar sind, herrscht jedoch—wie in weiten (*nicht* allen) Teilen des speziell jüdischen politischen Diskurses der Zeit—eine unbetonte Zurückhaltung, keine polemische Abgrenzung“ (239).

Kapitel fünf beschreibt Röm 13:1-7 in der Theologie des Paulus (243-287). Dabei geht es zunächst um Röm 13.1-7 im Kontext von Röm 12f und im Kontext weiterer pln. Aussagen über Herrschaft. Abschließend versucht Krauter eine Bilanz über die bleibende Bedeutung des so verstandenen Textes (272-287). Einerseits beinhaltet Röm 13:1-7 eine

> weitgehend konventionelle prinzipielle Bejahung von Herrschaft und daher grundsätzliche Aufforderung zur Unterordnung unter sie. … Sie stellt aber daneben eine Distanz zur politischen Herrschaft und eine Hingabe an einen vom Maßstab der Liebe geprägten Lebensstil in der Gemeinschaft der Christen. Dessen Grund und Ziel ist die schon angebrochene Herrschaft Christi, deren Vollendung und Durchsetzung gegen jede andere Herrschaft in Bälde erwartet wird (273).

Insgesamt bietet Krauter eine überzeugende Darstellung der historischen Situation von Röm 13:1-7 sowie Auslegung (zusammengefasst auf S. 239-242), die im kritischen Gespräch mit der internationalen Forschung überzeugend eigene Positionen entwickelt. Bei Anfragen an die Einbindung dieser Verse in den Briefzusammenhang und Abfassungszweck hat Krauter eine Studie vorgelegt, die man in der Auslegung des Römerbriefs und der Behandlung dieser Thematik in der ntl. Theologie und Ethik berücksichtigen muss. Für die systematisch-ethische Reflektion bietet der Band viele hilfreiche Anregungen.

Christoph Stenschke

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Book Notes

Continuing Series

1) *Brill's New Pauly*

Our "Book Notes" have included reviews of all the volumes in this series to date. Now we refer to the final three in the full twenty-six volume set. There are fifteen in the *Antiquity* series and five in *Classical Tradition*. Now we have two further *Supplements* to add to the two already published, plus the *Index* to *Classical Tradition*. (The *Index* to *Antiquities* was noticed in a recent *'Book Notes'*.) Those who like neat, methodical shelving will find *Supplements* 3 spoils the run, being out of proportion at 15" × 11½".

a) Manfred Landfester and Brigitte Egger (eds.), *Classical Tradition: Index* (Leiden: Brill, 2011) vii + 389 pp. ISBN 9004194151 € 266 (= *Brill's New Pauly* 22).

The *Index* parallels its companion *Index* to the *Antiquities* set in that it begins with an entry index divided into fourteen similar sections and there are cross-references (denoted by an asterisk) to the other *Index*. The sections include political history, social and economic history, cultural history, law, architecture, art, literature, music, religion and myth, sciences and medicine, countries and regions, museums, excavations etc. There are also indexes of persons, of geographical terms and of subjects. The longest section, "Persons," runs to some 228 pages. Interestingly, no entry titles happen to contain a personal name. Under "Subjects" come national academies, museums, institutions, societies, libraries and universities which one may have expected to see in the section headed "Geographical Names." Major subjects include Church Fathers, Bible Patristics, Crusades, Jesuit Order, Reformation and Mysticism.

b) Anne Wittke, Echart Olshausen and Richard Szydlak (eds.), *Historical Atlas of the Ancient World* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) xix + 307 pp. ISBN 9004171565 €280 (= *Supplements* 3).

This splendid and impressive *Atlas* is a companion to the *Antiquities* volumes and has benefited from close assistance with the Tübingen cartographers responsible *inter alia* for the *Bibelatlas* of 2001. The maps are arranged under seven subsections ranging from I: "Ancient Concepts of the World" through to VII: "Byzantine Empire 5th-15th century" (containing 8 pages of maps accompanied, as all maps in the volume are, by "Commentary" on the facing page (and additionally in an appendix, when more space is needed)). These well-written commentaries provide valuable historical

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contexts. The section on the Roman Empire (27 BC-774 AD) with thirty maps is possibly of most interest to our readership; this includes The Growth of the Christian Congregations 1st-4th centuries, The Organisation of the Christian Church after 451, and Routes of Pilgrimages, although *NovT* readers will benefit from the section on Eastern Kingdoms too. The maps are handsomely printed in full colour and, as these are on atlas-size pages, they are easier to study than those within the *Antiquities* set—some 60% of the maps are the same. One short Index to this volume follows the Contents Page; it is a systematic listing of maps under places (e.g. Levant) or periods (e.g. Hellenistic). A full Index comes at the end and that conforms to the high standards we have come to expect from this series. The Bibliography here, unlike other Pauly bibliographies, contains no place of publication. The majority of titles are German.

c) Maria Moog-Grünewald (ed.), *The Reception of Myth and Mythology* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) viii + 683 pp. ISBN 9004183308 € 213 (= *Supplements* 4).

The volume on classical myth and mythology is based on entries of proper names. The usual suspects appear: Pan, Dionysus, Dido and Aeneas, Persephone, Odysseus etc. etc. We are concerned here with their reception throughout history—in antiquity, the Middle Ages, early modern period and modern where literature, philosophy, psychology, fine arts, opera, and film are given full and authoritative cover. The book is well illustrated, especially for works of art. *NovT* readers will not be surprised to see that classical myths are not obvious in the Bible, although entries here draw parallels between some myths and Biblical events and persons. The pervasiveness of this classical culture though has affected several Patristic writings. The index has several helpful references to entries concerning what Augustine, Clement of Alexandria, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory of Nazianzus and Origin say about many famous myths. The iconography of Orpheus parallels images of Christ. Likewise, once Christianity spread into the pagan world where classical tales were part of common currency, it is not surprising that mythology had an influence. Dennis McDonald has been successfully demonstrating over several years how several apocryphal Acts owe their inspiration to Homer. Some of these apocryphal yarns are the Christians' counterparts to erotic novels, so, not surprisingly, they owe much to myth and mythology. A short bibliography (pp. 621-4) contains mainly German titles.

The editors and publishers should now take comfort at having produced twenty-six excellent volumes in quick time, and for rendering this invaluable series available for an English-speaking readership. We convey our congratulations while they deservedly rest on their collective laurels.

2) *RPP*

Hans Dieter Betz *et al.* (eds.), *Religion Past and Present* volume 10 *Pet-Ref* (Leiden: Brill, 2011) cix + 725pp. ISBN 9004146945 $299; *id., ibid.* volume 11 *Reg-Sie* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) cx + 703 pp. ISBN 9004163331 $299.

These latest two volumes extend the entries to mid-'S'. In them we find items expected in this series (e.g. Prayer (30 columns); Protestantism; Priesthood; Peter (including The Gospel of... but not here The Apocalypse of...); Reformation; Purification; Psalms; Schleiermacher; Saints; Prophecy; Sacrifice; Rome (28 columns); Religion (46 columns!); Sacraments etc.). Most are relatively full exposés but "Rabbinic Literature" is disappointedly thin. There are occasional entries beyond the dominance of Christianity (Judaism in particular and also for, say, Prayer; Repentance; Revelation, where there are subsections dealing with Islam) but, in general oriental religions are not given much prominence. There are several items where readers are less likely to turn to these volumes to find enlightenment. Would enquirers after Rembrandt; Shakespeare; Schizophrenia; Psychology; Remedial Education; Racine; Quantum Theory expect to find entries here, unless through serendipitous riffling? As always, the German origin of the series is apparent, not only with the contributors and bibliographical references but also with entries on, say Religious Studies in German schools and Self Defense in German Law and other entries privileging perspectives from the Federal Republic of Germany. Bibliographies are generally succinct although that following the Epistle to the Romans runs to a column's length.

These are bulky and expensive volumes, beautifully produced (albeit extravagantly, with some 110 pages of virtually identical introductory matter prefacing *each* volume); one wonders how many librarians welcome such a hefty print edition on their shelves.

New Testament Apocrypha

1) *The Apocryphal Gospels: Texts and Translations* by Bart D. Ehrman and Zlatko Pleše (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011) xii + 611 pp. ISBN 0199732104 £22.50.

Ehrman and Pleše have issued forty texts containing apocryphal stories of Jesus' birth, infancy, ministry and passion; these are in Greek, Latin or Coptic with good, serviceable and new English translations. (Texts in other languages are not given; most Gnostic gospels are omitted.) These forty include Infancy Thomas A plus the alternative beginning in Infancy Thomas C; the Protevangelium of James; Pseudo-Matthew; the 'J' compilation (previously known as the Arundel Infancy Gospel); the History of Joseph the Carpenter; three Jewish-Christian gospels; the Gospel of the Egyptians and several of the fragmentary texts like P.Oxy 840 that may have originally belonged in a larger Gospel-type work; the Gospel of Thomas; the Gospel of Peter; the recently-discovered Gospel of Judas; various Pilate texts including Acts of Pilate A and B; the Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea; and the Gospel of Mary. They also include a rich selection of agrapha. For InfThomas A, the Acts of Pilate and for many of the other Pilate materials as well as for the Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea they still had to resort to Tischendorf. Since the Ehrman/ Pleše was being prepared we now have Tony Burke's recent *CCSA* volume on the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. Paul Foster's substantial *Gospel of Peter* (Leiden: Brill, 2010) also came too late for inclusion in the bibliographies.

Each text is introduced with a short and informative description. A bibliography follows the introductions. Texts have a short subjoined apparatus giving alternative readings from a selection of witnesses. Translations on the facing pages have footnotes, usually showing references to parallels in the canonical Gospels. There are no indexes. This is a useful and reliable introductory collection that should serve and satisfy most users.

2) J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Pseudo-Clementines* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010) xv + 342 pp. ISBN 9042922693 €48 (= *Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha* 10).

Within compendia of New Testament apocrypha the Pseudo-Clementines now rightly have an important place, especially in any reconstructing Jewish Christianity. The seventeen chapters here mainly emerged (as is common in this series) from conferences in Groningen or Budapest, although Bremmer's piece "Apion and Anoubion" is a revised version of an article he contributed to the Luttikhuizen *Festschrift* in 2005. As usual, most contributors are Dutch or Hungarian and these include regular scholars such as I. Czachecz, M. Pesthy, J. Bolyki and A. Hilhorst. But among others here is Stanley Jones, without whom any study of this literature would be diminished.

Chapters 1 and 2 cover introductory matters like dating and provenance; most of the remaining essays relate either to the Homilies (including essays on the relation of Judaism and Hellenism, and on the Two Ways) or the Recognitions (with articles on the Sadducees, on free will and on figures of speech). There are, therefore, some overarching topics and some more closely focussed studies. One particularly interesting essay looks at the way the Golden Legend handled the name and role of Clement. This is a valuable and interesting collection of essays, and it is well produced, as we have come to expect from this series. We congratulate editor and publisher for this useful volume.

3) Claire Clivaz, Andreas Dettwiler, Luc Devillers, Enrico Norelli with Benjamin Bertho (eds.), *Infancy Gospels: Stories and Identities* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) xxx + 755 pp. ISBN 3161508332 €149 (= *WUNT* 2. 281).

Interest in the Christian birth stories is growing, J. Corley's *New Perspectives on the Nativity of 2009* (reviewed in *NovT* 53 (2011) p. 307) is a case in point, being post-Raymond Brown's groundbreaking analysis of this material. Now we have the present volume which contains twenty-nine studies of the canonical birth and infancy gospels but also those found in the apocrypha, and which includes material applicable not only to Jesus but to Mary as well—an approach I adopted in my published *Synopsis* of 2006, a point M. Berder picked up (as indicated in the present book's introduction p. xvii). Seven essays are in French, two in German, twenty in English, and all these arose from a conference held in Lausanne in 2010.The helpful introductory matter, bizarre though its English sometimes is, helpfully puts the conference and its collected contributions in context.

Among the thirty contributors (one essay being co-authored) are Simon Mimouni, Philip Alexander, Benedict Viviano, Joseph Verheyden, Jean-Daniel Kaestli and Sever Voicu, invidiously to select just these in order to show the quality of the contributors. There are many useful, thought-provoking and historical surveys and discussions here.

4) Enrico Norelli, *Marie des apocryphes: Enquête sur la mère de Jésus dans la christianisme antique* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2009) 179 pp. ISBN 2830913408 CHF 34 (= *Christianismes antiques* 1).

As an example of the interest demonstrated in the preceding review, we note with pleasure Norelli's readable survey of what can, has been and should be made of the apocryphal stories about Mary, her infancy and dormition. Norelli encourages the wide use of canonical *and* apocryphal books as equally relevant historical sources. Apart from anything else, these all provide insights into Christian history and church tradition, liturgy, religious orders, art and literature. His wise advice proffered here to a wide audience (but with full footnoting and bibliographical referencing) should serve as a reminder that apocryphal texts now increasingly researched by experts are ignored by more general researchers at their peril. This new series has been launched with a flying start.

Synoptic Gospels

1) *Novum Testamentum Graecum: Editio Critica Maior. Parallel Pericopes/ Parallelperikopen.* Edited by Holger Strutwolf and Klaus Wachtel (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011) VII + 13* + 121+ xvi pp. ISBN 3438056085 $109.95.

Thirty-eight parallel pericopes in the Synoptic Gospels are presented here, plus three others (two from John; one from 1 Corinthians). The parallels are set out in fourteen sections with a subjoined apparatus. Maintaining the high standard set by the *Editio Critica Maior* (= *ECM*) for its volumes on the Catholic Epistles, the apparatus here is once again a model of clarity and comprehensiveness. Eighty-seven of the 159 manuscripts used are classified as Byzantine and are repeated in a separate listing on p 10*. Among these 159 manuscripts about one third have never previously been included in an *apparatus criticus* (although a few may be found in Tischendorf's or von Soden's editions). It is good that newly examined manuscripts are having their variants utilised now and it is expected that most of these witnesses will be made use of when the *ECM* volumes on the Synoptics are being prepared (see p. 5*). Page 8* informs us that the "majority text" is represented here by manuscripts 3, 18, 35, 150, 1110, 1296 together with 1339, 1341, 028, 031 and 045. We are told that if all eleven agree then the bulk of manuscripts support these.

Appendix I contains a list of all places where variation could have been due to harmonising to a parallel in any direction, that is, to Matthew, to Mark or to Luke. This looks comprehensive. Here is where work will focus in the future, especially when the editors are preparing their volumes on the Synoptics for *ECM*. It will become clearer then if behavioural patterns emerge within manuscripts. The conventional wisdom that says that most harmonisation is to Matthew can be tested scientifically. The pericopes in this book and Appendix I point us in the right directions, but of course they are a mere sample and we must wait for the total picture to emerge. There are three web addresses in connexion with this work: two online tools analyse and group the manuscript tradition: http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/ and http://intf.uni-muenster.de/PreCo/; the full critical apparatus is visible in http://intf.uni-muenster.de/PPApparatus/. We congratulate our two editors for revealing to us some of the preparatory work that lies behind their proposed volumes on the Synoptic Gospels for *ECM*.

2) Linden E. Youngquist (ed.), *Q6:37-42* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011) xxxi + 427 pp. ISBN 9042922938 €84 (= *Documenta Q*).

This, the latest volume examining the reconstruction of Q through two centuries of Gospel research "Excerpted, Sorted and Evaluated," here deals in minute detail with what various scholars have written on the sections contained in these verses (not judging; the blind leading the blind; the disciple and the teacher; the mote and the beam). Most contributions come from 20th century scholars but there are some from the 19th and 21st centuries. The regular, intrusive evaluations by four experts are welcome as they help orientate readers to assess the extracts; we are enabled to study the development of scholarly views on these important verses (even if one's main interests may no longer be the reconstructing of Q itself). The series including this latest volume (albeit at a frustratingly slow-moving pace) is a valued resource.

Ancient Christian Commentaries

Few modern scholars include patristic exegetes' works among their surveys of previous writings on a verse being commented upon, the *ICC* series being an honourable exception. But now, an appreciation of the contributions of patristic commentaries by modern-day scholarship grows apace. Two series, one relatively new, the other well established, encourage such study.

J. Patout Burns Jr. (ed.), *Romans interpreted by Early Christian Commentators* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012) xxvii + 428 pp. ISBN 0802825759 $46 (= *The Church's Bible*); William C. Weinrich (ed.), *Revelation* (Downers Grove IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 2005) xxxii + 454 pp. ISBN 0830814973 $32.99 (= *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture* 12).

Patout Burns' volume belongs to the newer series. The older series, giving a volume apiece to the Old Testament, Old Testament Apocrypha, and the New Testament, has only a few volumes to complete its project.

Burns provides extended portions from early Christian commentators up to *c.* 500 A.D. These are gathered under the 83 subsections into which the editor has divided up this epistle. In a few cases some more popular passages merit as many as eleven patristic extracts (e.g. at Rom 11: 25-32) or nine (as at Rom 16: 3-16) or eight (as at Rom 13: 11-14). There are selections from Apollinarius, Cyril of Alexandria, Gennadius, Origen, Rufinus, Pelagius, Chrysostom, the Ambrosiaster, Augustine and Theodoret as well as the anonymous fragments from the Budapest manuscript which Frede used in his *Vetus Latina* fascicles. New translations are provided. Helpful indexes and appendices are included. All is clearly set out. In some ways, we may compare the extracts from ancient writers to the selections of modern scholars included for instance in the *Documenta Q* series referred to above. But here we are seeing the valuable, often stylised work of patristic commentators, more interested in providing their readers with pastoral or devotional assistance. Nonetheless, the extracts give a useful insight into how the Bible was understood and interpreted in Christianity's formative centuries.

Weinrich's comparable work on the Book of Revelation serves a similar function. The sections are given appropriate sub-headings. It is interesting to see how Primasius ties himself in knots, as many a modern exegete does, trying to make sense of the figure 666 at Rev. 13:18. This series contains useful comments and has cross-references in the footnotes to the selected extracts. Among the fathers we have extracts from the works of Augustine, Bede, Primasius, Cyprian, Origen, Caesarius of Arles, Andrew of Caesarea, Oecumenius, Tyconius, and Victorinus. Gryson's recent editions of Apringius and of Bede are utilised. (Biographical sketches of each author appear at the end of the book.) There are good and useful indexes.

Both books and the series to which they belong are useful to all those readers who want a flavour of patristic exegesis but who do not need to study a father in full or the extracts *in extenso* or even in context. The editors of both series provide helpful overviews of the argument for each passage. Only the *ACCS* series prints an English translation of each biblical passage.

Textual Criticism

1) Jan Krans and Joseph Verheyden (eds.), *Patristic and Text-Critical Studies: The Collected Essays of William L. Petersen* (Leiden: Brill, 2012) xvi + 619 pp. €184 ISBN 9004192898 (= *NTTSD* 40).

Bill Petersen's name will forever be associated with his *magnum opus* on the Diatessaron. But he contributed many articles to journals and various collections of essays, and to learned gatherings. Krans and Verheyden have edited here thirty-two of his articles, two previously unpublished, from a variety of sources. This (lightly) edited volume includes essays on Romanos the Melodist (the subject of Bill Petersen's PhD dissertation), on Gospel harmonies, on patristic studies especially on Aphrahat and Ephraem, and aspects of New Testament textual criticism concerning the Syriac versions, as well as a lengthy and authoritative piece on Tatian. The thirty previously published articles appear in chronological order (from 1981 to 2006), thus allowing one to track Petersen's development. He was a sensitive, yet rigorous, scholar and critic whose often trenchantly expressed views were courteously—even humorously—expressed, and always based on a proper academic underpinning.

His early death in 2006 (at the age of 56) robbed New Testament scholarship of a distinctive and learned voice. This volume will serve as an In Memoriam and we thank its editors for bringing it about. It is splendid that this volume appears in a Dutch series; the Netherlands was a place where Bill felt at home.

2) Hikmat Kashouh, *The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: The Manuscripts and their Families* (Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2012) xiv + 761 pp. ISBN 3110228588 €269 (= *ANTF* 42).

As secondary versions, the Arabic New Testament is usually overlooked, or undervalued (as in Metzger's *Early Version* with just ten pages on it). Dr Kashouh shows that the Arabic version(s) display an individualistic, nay idiosyncratic text, and, as an example of his continuing research, he promises a further monograph on the distinctive contributions the version may make regarding text-types. On the basis of the current thesis, inevitably restrictive and limited in scope, as its sub-title indicates, he can conclude that the Arabic may be used to demonstrate the evolutionary nature of the Byzantine text from the 4th. century onwards. We are also shown how, despite expected close links to the Syriac and Coptic, there is much that is distinctive to the Arabic version.

Kashouh has examined nearly 300 manuscripts. These he has divided into family groups or sub-groups, based on his examining eight passages (two from each New Testament Gospel). The findings are laid out clearly. However, his stemmata of their interrelationships seem very sophisticated—and complicated.

Not only does this book contain a survey of modern scholarship on the subject (as all good theses do) but also, like many a thesis especially on textual criticism, there are extensive appendixes. His volume has four such appendixes beginning on p.352. All are useful points of reference but Appendix 1 on its *Teststellen* and Appendix 2 on textual evidence are particularly helpful. This bulky book could easily have been halved in length and the price reduced had all these appendixes been issued electronically or as an inserted CD.

Even those of us who know no Arabic can benefit from much here, especially in the first half of this book. It is well-researched and clearly presented. We await to learn more from a version on which much work is obviously required. *Desiderata* are listed on pp. 331f. and many another doctoral thesis awaits the writing on this all-too-often neglected witness.

J.K. Elliott

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